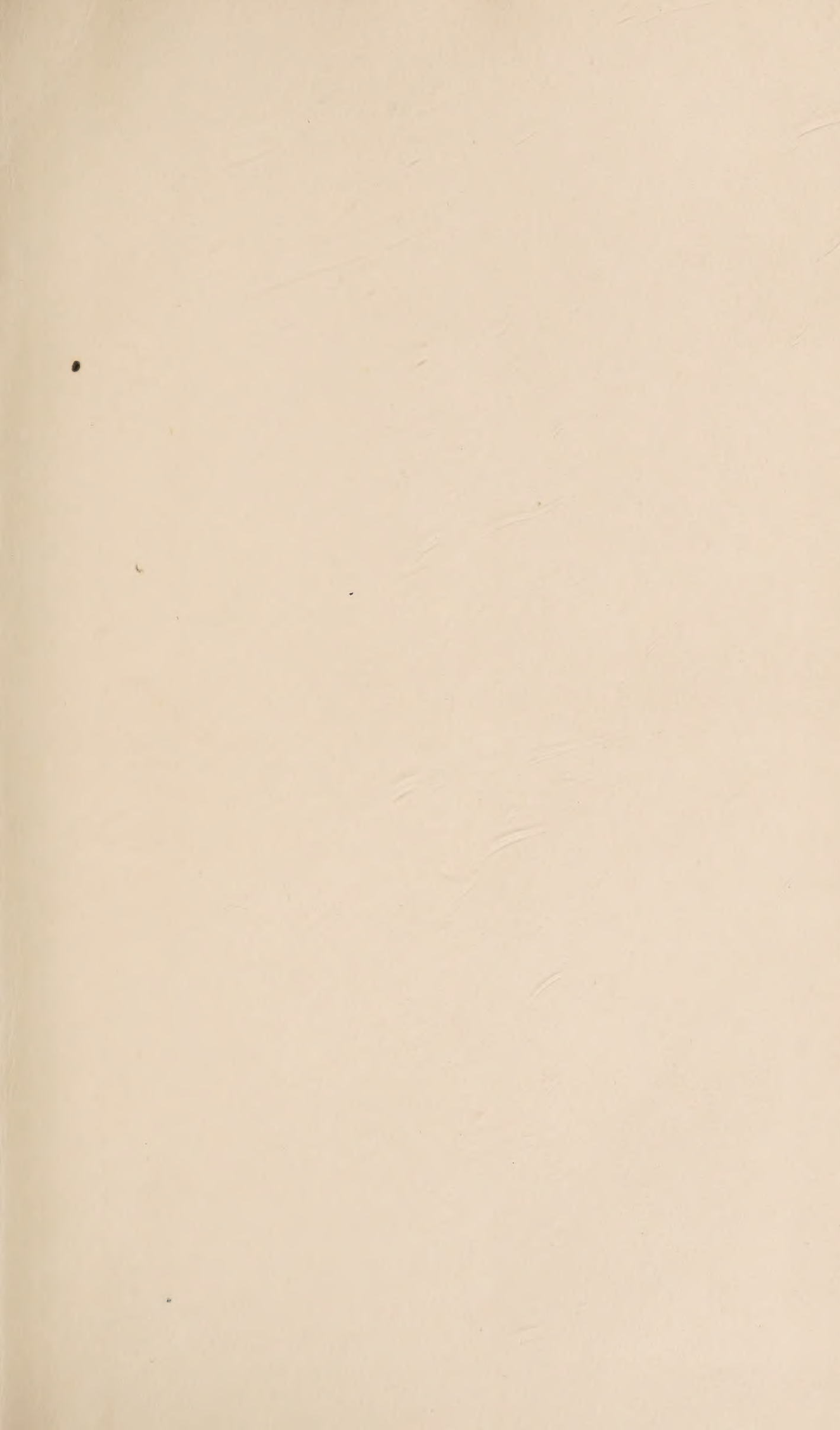



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PUBLIC PAPERS.

PRINCE REGENT'S SPEECH,
NOV. 30, 1812.

My lords, and gentlemen,

IT is with the deepest concern that I am obliged to announce to you, at the opening of this parliament, the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition, and the diminution of the hopes which I have most anxiously entertained of his recovery.

The situation of public affairs has induced me to take the earliest opportunity of meeting you after the late elections. I am persuaded you will cordially participate in the satisfaction which I derive from the improvement of our prospects during the course of the present year.

The valour and intrepidity displayed by his majesty's forces and those of his allies in the peninsula, on so many occasions during this campaign, and the consummate skill and judgement with which the operations have been conducted by general the marquis of Wellington, have led to consequences of the utmost importance to the common cause.

By transferring the war into the interior of Spain, and by the glorious and ever-memorable victory obtained at Salamanca, he has compelled the enemy to raise the siege of Cadiz; and the southern provinces of that kingdom have been delivered from the power and arms of France.

Although I cannot but regret that the efforts of the enemy, combined with a view to one great operation, have rendered it necessary to withdraw from the siege of Burgos, and to evacuate Madrid, for the purpose of concentrating the main body of the allied forces; these efforts of the enemy have, nevertheless, been attended with important sacrifices on their part, which must materially contribute to extend the resources and facilitate the exertions of the Spanish nation.

I am confident I may rely on your determination to continue to afford every aid, in support of a contest which has first given to the continent of Europe the example of persevering and successful resistance to the power of France, and on which not only the independence of the nations of the peninsula, but the best interests of his majesty's dominions essentially depend.

I have great pleasure in communicating to you, that the relations of peace and friendship have been restored between his majesty and the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm.

I have directed copies of the treaties to be laid before you.

In a contest for his own sovereign rights, and for the independence of his dominions, the emperor of Russia has had to oppose a
large

large proportion of the military power of the French government, assisted by its allies, and by the tributary states dependent upon it.

The resistance which he has opposed to so formidable a combination, cannot fail to excite sentiments of lasting admiration.

By his own magnanimity and perseverance, by the zeal and disinterestedness of all ranks of his subjects, and by the gallantry, firmness, and intrepidity of his forces, the presumptuous expectations of the enemy have been signally disappointed.

The enthusiasm of the Russian nation has increased with the difficulties of the contest, and with the dangers with which they were surrounded. They have submitted to sacrifices of which there are few examples in the history of the world; and I indulge the confident hope, that the determined perseverance of his imperial majesty will be crowned with ultimate success; and that this contest, in its result, will have the effect of establishing, upon a foundation never to be shaken, the security and independence of the Russian empire.

The proof of confidence which I have received from his imperial majesty, in the measure which he has adopted of sending his fleets to the ports of this country, is in the highest degree gratifying to me; and his imperial majesty may most fully rely on my fixed determination to afford him the most cordial support in the great contest in which he is engaged.

I have the satisfaction further to acquaint you, that I have concluded a treaty with his Sicilian majesty, supplementary to the treaties of 1808 and 1809.

As soon as the ratifications shall

have been exchanged, I will direct a copy of this treaty to be laid before you.

My object has been, to provide for the more extensive application of the military force of the Sicilian government to offensive operations; a measure which, combined with the liberal and enlightened principles which happily prevail in the councils of his Sicilian majesty, is calculated, I trust, to augment his power and resources, and at the same time to render them essentially serviceable to the common cause.

The declaration of war by the government of the United States of America was made under circumstances which might have afforded a reasonable expectation that the amicable relations between the two nations would not long be interrupted. It is with sincere regret that I am obliged to acquaint you, that the conduct and pretensions of that government have hitherto prevented the conclusion of any pacific arrangement.

Their measures of hostility have been principally directed against the adjoining British provinces, and every effort has been made to seduce the inhabitants of them from their allegiance to his majesty.

The proofs, however, which I have received of loyalty and attachment from his majesty's subjects in North America are highly satisfactory.

The attempts of the enemy to invade Upper Canada, have not only proved abortive, but, by the judicious arrangements of the governor general, and by the skill and decision with which the military operations have been conducted, the forces of the enemy assembled for that purpose in one quarter have been compelled to capitulate,

late, and in another have been completely defeated.

My best efforts are not wanting for the restoration of the relations of peace and amity between the two countries; but, until this object can be attained without sacrificing the maritime rights of Great Britain, I shall rely upon your cordial support in a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I have directed the estimates for the services of the ensuing year to be laid before you; and I entertain no doubt of your readiness to furnish such supplies as may enable me to provide for the great interests committed to my charge, and afford the best prospect of bringing the contest in which his majesty is engaged to a successful termination.

My lords, and gentlemen,

The approaching expiration of the charter of the East India company renders it necessary that I should call your early attention to the propriety of providing effectually for the future government of the provinces of India.

In considering the variety of interests which are connected with this important subject, I rely on your wisdom, for making such an arrangement as may best promote the prosperity of the British possessions in that quarter, and at the same time secure the greatest advantages to the commerce and revenue of his majesty's dominions.

I have derived great satisfaction from the success of the measures which have been adopted for suppressing the spirit of outrage and insubordination which had appeared in some parts of the country, and from the disposition which has been manifested to take advantage

of the indemnity held out to the deluded by the wisdom and benevolence of parliament.

I trust I shall never have occasion to lament the recurrence of atrocities so repugnant to the British character; and that all his majesty's subjects will be impressed with the conviction, that the happiness of individuals and the welfare of the state equally depend upon a strict obedience to the laws, and an attachment to our excellent constitution.

In the loyalty of his majesty's people, and in the wisdom of parliament, I have reason to place the fullest confidence. The same firmness and perseverance which have been manifested on so many and such trying occasions will not, I am persuaded, be wanting, at a time when the eyes of all Europe, and of the world, are fixed upon you. I can assure you, that in the exercise of the great trust reposed in me, I have no sentiments so near my heart as the desire to promote, by every means in my power, the real prosperity and lasting happiness of his majesty's subjects.

LETTER FROM THE PRINCESS OF WALES TO THE PRINCE REGENT.

"Sir,—It is with great reluctance that I presume to obtrude myself upon your royal highness, and to solicit your attention to matters which may, at first, appear rather of a personal than a public nature. If I could think them so—if they related merely to myself—I should abstain from a proceeding which might give uneasiness, or interrupt the more weighty occupations of your royal highness's time. I should continue, in silence and retirement, to lead the life which has been

been prescribed to me, and console myself for the loss of that society and those domestic comforts to which I have so long been a stranger, by the reflection that it has been deemed proper I should be afflicted without any fault of my own—and that your royal highness knows.

“But, sir, there are considerations of a higher nature than any regard to my own happiness, which render this address a duty both to myself and my daughter. May I venture to say—a duty also to my husband, and the people committed to his care? There is a point beyond which a guiltless woman cannot with safety carry her forbearance. If her honour is invaded, the defence of her reputation is no longer a matter of choice; and it signifies not whether the attack be made openly, manfully, and directly—or by secret insinuation, and by holding such conduct towards her as countenances all the suspicions that malice can suggest. If these ought to be the feelings of every woman in England who is conscious that she deserves no reproach, your royal highness has too sound a judgment, and too nice a sense of honour, not to perceive, how much more justly they belong to the mother of your daughter—the mother of her who is destined, I trust at a very distant period, to reign over the British empire.

“It may be known to your royal highness, that during the continuance of the restrictions upon your royal authority, I purposely refrained from making any representations which might then augment the painful difficulties of your exalted station. At the expiration of the restrictions, I still was inclined to delay taking this step, in the hope that I might owe the redress

I sought to your gracious and unsolicited condescension. I have waited, in the fond indulgence of this expectation, until, to my inexpressible mortification, I find that my unwillingness to complain, has only produced fresh grounds of complaint; and I am at length compelled, either to abandon all regard for the two dearest objects which I possess on earth, mine own honour, and my beloved child, or to throw myself at the feet of your royal highness, the natural protector of both.

“I presume, sir, to represent to your royal highness, that the separation, which every succeeding month is making wider, of the mother and the daughter, is equally injurious to my character and to her education. I say nothing of the deep wounds which so cruel an arrangement inflicts upon my feelings, although I would fain hope that few persons will be found of a disposition to think lightly of these. To see myself cut off from one of the few domestic enjoyments left me—certainly the only one upon which I set any value, the society of my child—involves me in such misery, as I well know your royal highness could never inflict upon me if you were aware of its bitterness. Our intercourse has been gradually diminished. A single interview, weekly, seemed sufficiently hard allowance for a mother’s affections. That, however, was reduced to our meeting once a fortnight; and I now learn that even this most rigorous interdiction is to be still more rigidly enforced.

“But while I do not venture to intrude my feelings as a mother upon your royal highness’s notice, I must be allowed to say, that in the eyes of an observing and jealous world, this separation of a daughter from

from her mother, will only admit of one construction—a construction fatal to the mother's reputation. Your royal highness will also pardon me for adding, that there is no less inconsistency than injustice in this treatment. He who dares advise your royal highness to overlook the evidence of my innocence, and disregard the sentence of complete acquittal which it produced; or is wicked and false enough still to whisper suspicions in your ear, betrays his duty to you, sir, to your daughter, and to your people, if he counsels you to permit a day to pass without a further investigation of my conduct. I know that no such calumniator will venture to recommend a measure which must speedily end in his utter confusion. Then let me implore you to reflect on the situation in which I am placed: without the shadow of a charge against me—without even an accuser—after an inquiry that led to my ample vindication—yet treated as if I were still more culpable than the perjuries of my suborned traducers represented me, and held up to the world as a mother who may not enjoy the society of her only child.

“The feelings, sir, which are natural to my unexampled situation, might justify me in the gracious judgment of your royal highness, had I no other motives for addressing you but such as relate to myself. But I will not disguise from your royal highness what I cannot for a moment conceal from myself, that the serious, and it soon may be, the irreparable injury which my daughter sustains from the plan at present pursued, has done more in overcoming my reluctance to intrude upon your royal highness, than any sufferings of my own could accomplish; and if for

her sake I presume to call away your royal highness's attention from the other cares of your exalted station, I feel confident I am not claiming it for a matter of inferior importance either to yourself or your people.

“The powers with which the constitution of these realms vests your royal highness in the regulation of the royal family, I know, because I am so advised, are ample and unquestionable. My appeal, sir, is made to your excellent sense and liberality of mind in the exercise of those powers; and I willingly hope that your own parental feelings will lead you to excuse the anxiety of mine for impelling me to represent the unhappy consequences which the present system must entail upon our beloved child.

“It is impossible, sir, that any one can have attempted to persuade your royal highness, that her character will not be injured by the perpetual violence offered to her strongest affections—the studied care taken to estrange her from my society, and even to interrupt all communication between us! That her love for me, with whom, by his majesty's wise and gracious arrangements, she passed the years of her infancy and childhood, never can be extinguished, I well know, and the knowledge of it forms the greatest blessing of my existence.

“But let me implore your royal highness to reflect how inevitably all attempts to abate this attachment, by forcibly separating us, if they succeed, must injure my child's principles—if they fail, must destroy her happiness.

“The plan of excluding my daughter from all intercourse with the world, appears to my humble judgment peculiarly unfortunate. She who is destined to be the sovereign

reign of this great country, enjoys none of those advantages of society which are deemed necessary for imparting a knowledge of mankind to persons who have infinitely less occasion to learn that important lesson; and it may so happen, by a chance which I trust is very remote, that she should be called upon to exercise the powers of the crown, with an experience of the world more confined than that of the most private individual. To the extraordinary talents with which she is blessed, and which accompany a disposition as singularly amiable, frank, and decided, I willingly trust much; but beyond a certain point the greatest natural endowments cannot struggle against the disadvantages of circumstances and situation. It is my earnest prayer, for her own sake, as well as her country's, that your royal highness may be induced to pause before this point be reached.

"Those who have advised you, sir, to delay so long the period of my daughter's commencing her intercourse with the world, and for that purpose to make Windsor her residence, appear not to have regarded the interruptions to her education which this arrangement occasions; both by the impossibility of obtaining the attendance of proper teachers, and the time unavoidably consumed in the frequent journeys to town which she must make, unless she is to be secluded from all intercourse even with your royal highness and the rest of the royal family. To the same unfortunate counsels I ascribe a circumstance in every way so distressing both to my parental and religious feelings, that my daughter has never yet enjoyed the benefit of confirmation, although above a year older than the age at which all the other

branches of the royal family have partaken of that solemnity. May I earnestly conjure you, sir, to hear my entreaties upon this serious matter, even if you should listen to other advisers on things of less near concernment to the welfare of our child?

"The pain with which I have at length formed the resolution of addressing myself to your royal highness is such as I should in vain attempt to express. If I could adequately describe it, you might be enabled, sir, to estimate the strength of the motives which have made me submit to it. They are the most powerful feelings of affection, and the deepest impressions of duty towards your royal highness, my beloved child, and the country, which I devotedly hope she may be preserved to govern, and to show, by a new example, the liberal affection of a free and generous people to a virtuous and constitutional monarch.

"I am, sir, with profound respect, and an attachment which nothing can alter,
Your royal highness's most devoted
and most affectionate

Consort, cousin, and subject,
(Signed) CAROLINE LOUISA:
Montague-house,
Jan. 14, 1813."

A copy of the report of the honourable the privy council, having been laid before the prince regent, was transmitted to her royal highness by viscount Sidmouth on the evening of the day on which the above letter was sent;—and lord Harrowby replied to her royal highness, by letter, to this effect:

The report is as follows:—
To his royal highness the prince regent.—The members of his majesty's most honourable privy council;

council: viz. his grace the archbishop of Canterbury, &c. &c.; having been summoned by command of your royal highness, on the 19th of February, to meet at the office of viscount Sidmouth, secretary of state for the home department, a communication was made by his lordship to the lords then present, in the following terms:—

“My lords,—I have it in command from his royal highness the prince regent, to acquaint your lordships, that a copy of a letter from the princess of Wales to the prince regent having appeared in a public paper, which letter refers to the proceedings that took place in an inquiry instituted by command of his majesty, in the year 1806, and contains among other matters, certain animadversions upon the manner in which the prince regent has exercised his undoubted right of regulating the conduct and education of his daughter the princess Charlotte; and his royal highness having taken into his consideration the said letter so published, and adverting to the directions heretofore given by his majesty, that the documents relating to the said inquiry should be sealed up, and deposited in the office of his majesty’s principal secretary of state, in order that his majesty’s government should possess the means of resorting to them if necessary: his royal highness has been pleased to direct, that the said letter of the princess of Wales, and the whole of the said documents, together with the copies of other letters and papers, of which a schedule is annexed, should be referred to your lordships, being members of his majesty’s most honourable privy council, for your consideration: and that you should report to his royal

highness your opinion, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper that the intercourse between the princess of Wales, and her daughter the princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulations and restrictions.”

“Their lordships adjourned their meetings to Tuesday, the 23d of February; and the intermediate days having been employed in perusing the documents referred to them, by command of your royal highness, they proceeded on that and the following day to the further consideration of the said documents, and have agreed to report to your royal highness as follows:—

“In obedience to the commands of your royal highness, we have taken into our most serious consideration the letter from her royal highness the princess of Wales to your royal highness, which has appeared in the public papers, and has been referred to us by your royal highness, in which letter the princess of Wales, amongst other matters, complains that the intercourse between her royal highness, and her royal highness the princess Charlotte, has been subjected to certain restrictions.

“We have also taken into our most serious consideration, together with the other papers referred to us by your royal highness, all the documents relative to the inquiry instituted in 1806, by command of his majesty, into the truth of certain representations, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales, which appear to have been pressed upon the attention of your royal highness, in consequence of the advice of lord Thurlow, and upon grounds of public duty; by whom they were transmitted to his majesty’s consideration;

deration; and your royal highness having been graciously pleased to command us to report our opinions to your royal highness, whether, under all the circumstances of the case, it be fit and proper, that the intercourse between the princess of Wales and her daughter, the princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint:

“We beg leave humbly to report to your royal highness, that after a full examination of all the documents before us, we are of opinion, that under all the circumstances of the case, it is highly fit and proper, with a view to the welfare of her royal highness the princess Charlotte, in which are equally involved the happiness of your royal highness, in your parental and royal character, and the most important interests of the state,—that the intercourse between her royal highness the princess of Wales, and her royal highness the princess Charlotte, should continue to be subject to regulation and restraint.

“We humbly trust that we may be permitted, without being thought to exceed the limits of the duty imposed on us, respectfully to express the just sense we entertain of the motives by which your royal highness has been actuated in the postponement of the confirmation of her royal highness the princess Charlotte; as it appears, by a statement under the hand of her majesty the queen, that your royal highness has conformed in this respect to the declared will of his majesty; who had been pleased to direct, that such ceremony should not take place till her royal highness should have completed her eighteenth year.

“We also humbly trust that we may be further permitted to notice

some expressions in the letter of her royal highness the princess of Wales, which may possibly be construed as implying a charge of too serious a nature to be passed over without observation. We refer to the words —“suborned traducers.” As this expression, from the manner it is introduced, may, perhaps, be liable to misconstruction (however impossible it may be to suppose that it can have been so intended) to have reference to some part of the conduct of your royal highness; we feel it our bounden duty not to omit this opportunity of declaring, that the documents laid before us, afford the most ample proof, that there is not the slightest foundation for such an aspersion.

(Signed)

C. CANTUAR.	MELVILLE,
ELDON,	SIDMOUTH,
E. EBOR.	J. LONDON,
W. ARMAGH,	ELLENBOROUGH,
HARROWBY, P. C.	CHAS. ABBOT,
WESTMORELAND,	N. VANSITTART,
C. P. S.	C. BATHURST,
BUCKINGHAMSHIRE,	W. GRANT,
BATHURST,	A. MACDONALD,
LIVERPOOL,	W. SCOTT,
MULGRAVE,	J. NICHOL,

A true copy, SIDMOUTH.”

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

May it please your majesty,

Your majesty having been graciously pleased, by an instrument under your majesty's royal sign manual, a copy of which is annexed to this report, to “authorize, empower, and direct us to inquire into the truth of certain written declarations, touching the conduct of her royal highness the princess of Wales, an abstract of which had been laid before your majesty, and to examine upon oath such persons as we should see fit, touching and concerning the same, and to report

to

to your majesty the result of such examinations." We have, in dutiful obedience to your majesty's commands, proceeded to examine the several witnesses, the copies of whose depositions we have hereunto annexed; and, in further execution of the said commands, we now most respectfully submit to your majesty the report of these examinations as it has appeared to us: but we beg leave at the same time humbly to refer your majesty, for more complete information, to the examinations themselves, in order to correct any error of judgment, into which we may have unintentionally fallen, with respect to any part of this business. On a reference to the above-mentioned declarations, as the necessary foundation of all our proceedings, we found that they consisted in certain statements, which had been laid before his royal highness the prince of Wales, respecting the conduct of her royal highness the princess. That these statements, not only, imputed to her royal highness great impropriety and indecency of behaviour, but expressly asserted, partly on the ground of certain alleged declarations from the princess's own mouth, and partly on the personal observation of the informants, the following most important facts: viz. That her royal highness had been pregnant in the year 1802, in consequence of an illicit intercourse, and that she had in the same year been secretly delivered of a male child, which child had ever since that period been brought up by her royal highness in her own house, and under her immediate inspection.

These allegations thus made, had, as we found, been followed by declarations from other persons, who had not indeed spoken to the

important facts of the pregnancy or delivery of her royal highness, but had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so when connected with the assertions already mentioned.

In the painful situation, in which his royal highness was placed, by these communications, we learnt that his royal highness had adopted the only course which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these, had been thus confidently alleged, and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other points of the same nature (though going to a far less extent), one line only could be pursued.

Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the informations, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt concerning them.

On this review, therefore, of the matters thus alleged, and of the course hitherto pursued upon them, we deemed it proper in the first

place, to examine those persons in whose declarations the occasion for this inquiry had originated. Because if they, on being examined upon oath, had retracted or varied their assertions, all necessity for further investigation might possibly have been precluded.

We accordingly first examined on oath the principal informants, sir John Douglas, and Charlotte his wife: who both positively swore, the former to his having observed the fact of the pregnancy of her royal highness, and the latter to all the important particulars contained in her former declaration, and above referred to. Their examinations are annexed to this report, and are circumstantial and positive.

The most material of those allegations, into the truth of which we had been directed to inquire, being thus far supported by the oath of the parties from whom they had proceeded, we then felt it our duty to follow up the inquiry by the examination of such other persons as we judged best able to afford us information, as to the facts in question.

We thought it beyond all doubt that, in this course of inquiry, many particulars must be learnt which would be necessarily conclusive on the truth or falsehood of these declarations. So many persons must have been witnesses to the appearances of an actually existing pregnancy; so many circumstances must have been attendant upon a real delivery; and difficulties so numerous and insurmountable must have been involved in any attempt to account for the infant in question, as the child of another woman, if it had been in fact the child of the princess; that we entertained a full and confident expectation of

arriving at complete proof, either in the affirmative or negative, on this part of the subject.

This expectation was not disappointed. We are happy to declare to your majesty our perfect conviction that there is no foundation whatever for believing that the child now with the princess is the child of her royal highness, or that she was delivered of any child in the year 1802; nor has any thing appeared to us which would warrant the belief that she was pregnant in that year, or at any other period within the compass of our inquiries.

The identity of the child, now with the princess, its parentage, the place and the date of its birth, the time and the circumstances of its being first taken under her royal highness's protection, are all established by such a concurrence both of positive and circumstantial evidence, as can, in our judgment, leave no question on this part of the subject. The child was, beyond all doubt, born in the Brownlow-street hospital, on the 11th day of July, 1802, of the body of Sophia Austin, and was first brought to the princess's house in the month of November following. Neither should we be more warranted in expressing any doubt respecting the alleged pregnancy of the princess, as stated in the original declarations;—a fact so fully contradicted, and by so many witnesses, to whom, if true, it must in various ways have been known, that we cannot think it entitled to the smallest credit. The testimonies on these two points are contained in the annexed depositions and letters. We have not partially abstracted them in this report, lest, by any unintentional omission, we might weaken their effect; but we humbly offer to
your

your majesty this our clear and unanimous judgment upon them, formed on full deliberation, and pronounced without hesitation, on the result of the whole inquiry.

We do not, however, feel ourselves at liberty, much as we should wish it, to close our report here. Besides the allegations of the pregnancy and delivery of the princess, those declarations, on the whole of which your majesty has been pleased to command us to inquire and report, contain, as we have already remarked, other particulars respecting the conduct of her royal highness, such as must, especially considering her exalted rank and station, necessarily give occasion to very unfavourable interpretations.

From the various depositions and proofs annexed to this report, particularly from the examinations of Robert Bidgood, William Cole, Frances Lloyd, and Mrs. Lisle, your majesty will perceive that several strong circumstances of this description have been positively sworn to by witnesses, who cannot, in our judgment, be suspected of any unfavourable bias, and whose veracity, in this respect, we have seen no ground to question.

On the precise bearing and effect of the facts thus appearing, it is not for us to decide; these we submit to your majesty's wisdom: but we conceive it to be our duty to report on this part of the inquiry, as distinctly as on the former facts: that, as on the one hand, the facts of pregnancy and delivery are to our minds satisfactorily disproved, so on the other hand we think, that the circumstances to which we now refer, particularly those stated to have passed between her royal highness and captain Manby, must be credited until they

shall receive some decisive contradiction; and, if true, are justly entitled to the most serious consideration.

We cannot close this report, without humbly assuring your majesty, that it was, on every account, our anxious wish, to have executed this delicate trust, with as little publicity as the nature of the case would possibly allow; and we entreat your majesty's permission to express our full persuasion, that if this wish has been disappointed, the failure is not imputable to any thing unnecessarily said or done by us.

All which is most humbly submitted to your majesty.

(Signed) ERSKINE,
 SPENCER,
 GRENVILLE,

July 14, 1806. ELLENBOROUGH.

A true copy,

(*J. Becket.*)

Blackheath, Aug. 12, 1806.

Sire,—With the deepest feelings of gratitude to your majesty, I take the first opportunity to acknowledge having received, as yesterday only, the report from the lords commissioners, which was dated from the 14th of July. It was brought by lord Erskine's footman, directed to the princess of Wales; besides a note enclosed, the contents of which were, that lord Erskine sent the evidences and report by commands of his majesty. I had reason to flatter myself that the lords commissioners would not have given in the report, before they had been properly informed of various circumstances, which must for a feeling, and delicate-minded woman, be very unpleasant to have spread, without having the means to exculpate herself. But I can

in the face of the almighty assure your majesty that your daughter-in-law is innocent, and her conduct unquestionable; free from all the indecorums, and improprieties, which are imputed to her at present by the lords commissiouners, upon the evidence of persons, who speak as falsely as sir John and lady Douglas themselves. Your majesty can be sure that I shall be anxious to give the most solemn denial in my power to all the scandalous stories of Bidgood, and Cole; to make my conduct be cleared in the most satisfactory way, for the tranquillity of your majesty, for the honour of your illustrious family, and the gratification of your afflicted daughter-in-law. In the mean time I can safely trust your majesty's gracious justice to recollect, that the whole of the evidence on which the commissioners have given credit to the infamous stories charged against me, was taken behind my back, without my having any opportunity to contradict or explain any thing, or even to point out those persons, who might have been called, to prove the little credit which was due to some of the witnesses, from their connection with sir John and lady Douglas; and the absolute falsehood of parts of the evidence, which could have been completely contradicted. Oh! gracious king, I now look for that happy moment, when I may be allowed to appear again before your majesty's eyes, and receive once more the assurance from your majesty's own mouth that I have your gracious protection; and that you will not discard me from your friendship, of which your majesty has been so condescending to give me so many marks of kindness; and which must be my only sup-

port, and my only consolation, in this country. I remain with sentiments of the highest esteem, veneration, and unfeigned attachment,
Sire,

Your majesty's most dutiful,
submissive, and humble
daughter-in-law and subject,
(Signed) CAROLINE.
To the king.

Aug. 17, 1806.

Sire,—Upon receiving the copy of the report, made to your majesty, by the commissioners, appointed to inquire into certain charges against my conduct, I lost no time, in returning to your majesty, my heartfelt thanks, for your majesty's goodness in commanding that copy to be communicated to me.

I wanted no adviser, but my own heart, to express my gratitude for the kindness and protection which I have uniformly received from your majesty. I needed no caution or reserve, in expressing my confident reliance, that that kindness and protection would not be withdrawn from me, on this trying occasion; and that your majesty's justice would not suffer your mind to be affected, to my disadvantage, by any part of a report, founded upon partial evidence, taken in my absence, upon charges, not yet communicated to me, until your majesty had heard, what might be alleged, in my behalf, in answer to it. But your majesty will not be surprised, nor displeased, that I, a woman, a stranger to the laws and usages of your majesty's kingdom, under charges, aimed, originally, at my life, and honour, should hesitate to determine, in what manner I ought to act, even under the present circumstances, with respect to such accusations, without

without the assistance of advice in which I could confide. And I have had submitted to me the following observations, respecting the copies of the papers with which I have been furnished. And I humbly solicit from your majesty's gracious condescension and justice, a compliance with the requests, which arise out of them.

In the first place, it has been observed to me, that these copies of the report, and of the accompanying papers, have come unauthenticated by the signature of any person, high, or low, whose veracity, or even accuracy, is pledged for their correctness, or to whom resort might be had, if it should be necessary, hereafter, to establish, that these papers are correct copies of the originals. I am far from insinuating that the want of such attestations was intentional. No doubt it was omitted through inadvertence; but its importance is particularly confirmed by the state, in which the copy of Mrs. Lisle's examination has been transmitted to me. For in the third page of that examination there have been two erasures; on one of which, some words have been, subsequently introduced apparently in a different hand-writing from the body of the examination; and the passage as it stands, is probably incorrect, because the phrase is unintelligible. And this occurs in an important part of her examination.

The humble, but earnest request, which I have to make to your majesty, which is suggested by this observation, is, that your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that the report, and the papers which accompany it, and which, for that purpose, I venture to transmit to your majesty with this letter, may be examined, and then

returned to me, authenticated as correct, under the signature of some person, who, having attested their accuracy, may be able to prove it.

In the second place, it has been observed to me, that the report proceeds, by reference to certain written declarations, which the commissioners describe as the necessary foundation of all their proceedings, and which contain, as I presume, the charge or information against my conduct. Yet copies of these written declarations have not been given to me. They are described indeed, in the report, as consisting in certain statements, respecting my conduct, imputing not only, gross impropriety of behaviour, but expressly asserting facts of the most confirmed, and abandoned criminality, for which, if true, my life might be forfeited. These are stated to have been followed by declarations from other persons, who, though not speaking to the same facts, had related other particulars, in themselves extremely suspicious, and still more so, as connected with the assertions already mentioned.

On this, it is observed to me, that it is most important that I should know the extent, and the particulars of the charges or informations against me, and by what accusers they have been made; whether I am answering the charges of one set of accusers, or more. Whether the authors of the original declarations, who may be collected from the report to be sir John and lady Douglas, are my only accusers; and the declarations which are said to have followed, are the declarations of persons adduced as witnesses by sir John and lady Douglas to confirm their accusation; or whether such declarations are the charges of persons, who

(N 3) have

have made themselves also, the authors of distinct accusations against me.

The requests, which, I humbly hope, your majesty will think reasonable, and just to grant, and which are suggested by these further observations are,

First, That your majesty would be graciously pleased to direct, that I should be furnished with copies of these declarations; and, if they are rightly described in the report, as the necessary foundation of all the proceedings of the commissioners, your majesty could not, I am persuaded, but have graciously intended, in directing that I should be furnished with a copy of the report, that I should also see this essential part of the proceeding, the foundation on which it rests.

Secondly, That I may be informed whether I have one or more, and how many accusers; and who they are; as the weight and credit of the accusation cannot but be much affected by the quarter from whence it originates.

Thirdly, That I may be informed of the time when the declarations were made. For the weight and credit of the accusation must, also, be much affected, by the length of time, which my accusers may have been contented to have been the silent depositories of those heavy matters of guilt, and charge; and,

Lastly, That your majesty's goodness will secure to me a speedy return of these papers, accompanied, I trust, with the further information which I have solicited; but at all events a speedy return of them. And your majesty will see, that it is not without reason, that I make this last request, when your majesty is informed, that though the report appears to have been made upon the 14th of July, yet it

was not sent to me, till the 11th of the present month. A similar delay, I should, of all things, deplore. For it is with reluctance, that I yield to those suggestions, which have induced me to lay, these my humble requests, before your majesty, since they must, at all events, in some degree, delay the arrival of that moment, to which, I look forward, with so earnest and eager an impatience; when I confidently feel, I shall completely satisfy your majesty, that the whole of these charges are alike unfounded; and are all parts of the same conspiracy against me. Your majesty, so satisfied, will, I can have no doubt, be as anxious as myself, to secure to me that redress, which the laws of your kingdom (administering under your majesty's just dispensation, equal protection, and justice, to every description of your majesty's subjects,) are prepared to afford to those who are so deeply injured as I have been.* That I have in this case the strongest claim to your majesty's justice, I am confident I shall prove; but I cannot, as I am advised, so satisfactorily establish that claim, till your majesty's goodness shall have directed me, to be furnished with an authentic statement of the actual charges against me, and that additional information, which it is the object of this letter most humbly, yet earnestly, to implore.

I am, sire,

Your majesty's most dutiful,
submissive, and humble
daughter-in-law,

Montague-house. (Signed) C. P.
To the king.

Montague-house, Dec. 8, 1806.

Sire,—I trust your majesty, who knows my constant affection, loyalty, and duty, and the sure confidence

dence with which I readily repose my honour, my character, my happiness in your majesty's hands, will not think me guilty of any disrespectful or undutious impatience, when I thus again address myself to your royal grace and justice.

It is, sire, nine weeks to-day, since my counsel presented to the lord high chancellor my letter to your majesty, containing my observations, in vindication of my honour and innocence, upon the report, presented to your majesty by the commissioners, who had been appointed to examine into my conduct. The lord chancellor informed my counsel, that the letter should be conveyed to your majesty on that very day; and further, was pleased, in about a week or ten days afterwards, to communicate to my solicitor, that your majesty had read my letter, and that it had been transmitted to his lordship with directions that it should be copied for the commissioners, and that when such copy had been taken, the original should be returned to your majesty.

Your majesty's own gracious and royal mind will easily conceive what must have been my state of anxiety and suspense, whilst I have been fondly indulging in the hope, that every day, as it passed, would bring me the happy tidings, that your majesty was satisfied of my innocence; and convinced of the unfounded malice of my enemies, in every part of their charge. Nine long weeks of daily expectation and suspense have now elapsed; and they have brought me nothing but disappointment. I have remained in total ignorance of what has been done, what is doing, or what is intended upon this subject. Your majesty's goodness will therefore pardon me, if in the step which I

now take, I act upon a mistaken conjecture with respect to the fact. But from the lord chancellor's communication to my solicitor, and from the time which has elapsed, I am led to conclude, that your majesty had directed the copy of my letter to be laid before the commissioners, requiring their advice upon the subject; and, possibly, their official occupations, and their other duties to the state, may not have, as yet, allowed them the opportunity of attending to it. But your majesty will permit me to observe that, however excusable this delay may be on their parts, yet it operates most injuriously upon me; my feelings are severely tortured by the suspense, while my character is sinking in the opinion of the public.

It is known that a report, though acquitting me of crime, yet imputing matters highly disreputable to my honour, has been made to your majesty;—that that report has been communicated to me;—that I have endeavoured to answer it; and that I still remain, at the end of nine weeks from the delivery of my answer, unacquainted with the judgment which is formed upon it. May I be permitted to observe upon the extreme prejudice which this delay, however to be accounted for by the numerous important occupations of the commissioners, produces to my honour? The world, in total ignorance of the real state of the facts, begin to infer my guilt from it. I feel myself already sinking, in the estimation of your majesty's subjects, as well as of what remains to me of my own family, into (a state intolerable to a mind conscious of its purity and innocence) a state in which my honour appears at least equivocal, and my virtue is suspected.

spected. From this state I humbly entreat your majesty to perceive that I can have no hope of being restored, until either your majesty's favourable opinion shall be graciously notified to the world, by receiving me again into the royal presence, or until the full disclosure of the facts shall expose the malice of my accusers, and do away every possible ground for unfavourable inference and conjecture.

The various calamities with which it has pleased God of late to afflict me, I have endeavoured to bear, and I trust I have borne, with humble resignation to the Divine will. But the effect of this infamous charge, and the delay which has suspended its final termination, by depriving me of the consolation which I should have received from your majesty's presence and kindness, have given a heavy addition to them all; and surely my bitterest enemies could hardly wish that they should be increased. But on this topic, as possibly not much affecting the justice, though it does the hardship, of my case, I forbear to dwell.

Your majesty will be graciously pleased to recollect, that an occasion of assembling the royal family and your subjects, in dutiful and happy commemoration of her majesty's birth-day, is now near at hand. If the increased occupations which the approach of parliament may occasion, or any other cause, should prevent the commissioners from enabling your majesty to communicate your pleasure to me before that time; the world will infallibly conclude, (in their present state of ignorance,) that my answer must have proved unsatisfactory, and that the infamous charges have been thought to be but too true.

These considerations, sire, will, I

trust, in your majesty's gracious opinion, rescue this address from all imputation of impatience. For, your majesty's sense of honourable feeling will naturally suggest, how utterly impossible it is that I, conscious of my own innocence, and believing that the malice of my enemies has been completely detected, can, without abandoning all regard to my interests, my happiness, and my honour, possibly be contented to perceive the approach of such utter ruin to my character, and yet wait, with patience, and in silence, till it overwhelms me. I therefore take this liberty of throwing myself again at your majesty's feet, and entreating and imploring of your majesty's goodness and justice, in pity for my miseries, which this delay so severely aggravates, and in justice to my innocence and character, to urge the commissioners to an early communication of their advice.

To save your majesty and the commissioners all unnecessary trouble, as well as to obviate all probability of further delay, I have directed a duplicate of this letter to be prepared, and have sent one copy of it through the lord chancellor, and another through colonel Taylor, to your majesty.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

To the king.

Jan. 28, 1807.

The lord chancellor has the honour to present his most humble duty to the princess of Wales, and to transmit to her royal highness the accompanying message from the king; which her royal highness will observe, he has his majesty's commands to communicate to her royal highness.

The lord chancellor would have done himself the honour to have waited

waited personally upon her royal highness, and have delivered it himself; but he considered the sending it sealed, as more respectful and acceptable to her royal highness. The lord chancellor received the original paper from the king yesterday, and made the copy now sent in his own hand.

*To her royal highness the
princess of Wales.*

The king having referred to his confidential servants the proceeding and papers relative to the written declarations, which had been before his majesty, respecting the conduct of the princess of Wales, has been apprized by them, that, after the fullest consideration of the examinations taken on the subject, and of the observations and affidavits brought forward by the princess of Wales's legal advisers, they agree in the opinions, submitted to his majesty in the original report of the four lords, by whom his majesty directed that the matter should in the first instance be inquired into; and that, in the present stage of the business, upon a mature and deliberate view of this most important subject in all its parts and bearings, it is their opinion, that the facts of this case do not warrant their advising that any further step should be taken in the business by his majesty's government, or any other proceedings instituted upon it, except such only as his majesty's law servants may, on reference to them, think fit to recommend, for the prosecution of lady Douglas, on those parts of her depositions which may appear to them to be justly liable thereto.

In this situation, his majesty is advised, that it is no longer necessary for him to decline receiving the princess into his royal presence.

The king sees, with great satisfaction, the agreement of his confidential servants, in the decided opinion expressed by the four lords, upon the falsehood of the accusations of pregnancy and delivery, brought forward against the princess by lady Douglas.

On the other matters produced in the course of the inquiry, the king is advised that none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, can be considered as legally or conclusively established. But in those examinations, and even in the answer drawn in the name of the princess by her legal advisers, there have appeared circumstances of conduct on the part of the princess, which his majesty never could regard but with serious concern. The elevated rank which the princess holds in this country, and the relation in which she stands to his majesty and the royal family, must always deeply involve both the interests of the state, and the personal feelings of his majesty, in the propriety and correctness of her conduct. And his majesty cannot therefore forbear to express in the conclusion of the business, his desire and expectation, that such a conduct may in future be observed by the princess, as may fully justify those marks of paternal regard and affection, which the king always wishes to shew to every part of his royal family.

His majesty has directed that this message should be transmitted to the princess of Wales, by his lord chancellor, and that copies of the proceedings, which had taken place on the subject, should also be communicated to his dearly beloved son the prince of Wales.

Montague-house, Jan. 29, 1807.

Sire,—I hasten to acknowledge the receipt of the paper, which, by your majesty's direction, was yesterday transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, and to express the unfeigned happiness, which I have derived from one part of it. I mean that which informs me that your majesty's confidential servants have at length thought proper to communicate to your majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for your majesty to decline receiving me into your royal presence." And I therefore humbly hope that your majesty will be graciously pleased to receive, with favour, the communication of my intention to avail myself, with your majesty's permission, of that advice, for the purpose of waiting upon your majesty on Monday next, if that day should not be inconvenient; when I hope again to have the happiness of throwing myself, in filial duty and affection, at your majesty's feet.

Your majesty will easily conceive that I reluctantly name so distant a day as Monday, but I do not feel myself sufficiently recovered from the measles, to venture upon so long a drive at an earlier day. Feeling, however, very anxious to receive again as soon as possible that blessing, of which I have been so long deprived, if that day should happen to be in any degree inconvenient, I humbly entreat and implore your majesty's most gracious and paternal goodness, to name some other day, as early as possible, for that purpose.

I am, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

To the king.

Windsor Castle, Jan. 29, 1807.
The king has this moment re-

ceived the princess of Wales's letter, in which she intimates her intention of coming to Windsor on Monday next; and his majesty, wishing not to put the princess to the inconvenience of coming to this place so immediately after her illness, hastens to acquaint her that he shall prefer to receive her in London upon a day subsequent to the ensuing week, which will also better suit his majesty, and of which he will not fail to apprise the princess.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

To the princess of Wales.

Windsor Castle, Feb. 10, 1807.

As the princess of Wales may have been led to expect, from the king's letter to her, that he would fix an early day for seeing her, his majesty thinks it right to acquaint her, that the prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents which the king directed his cabinet to transmit to him, made a formal communication to him, of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers; accompanied by a request, that his majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to him the statement which he proposed to make. The king therefore considers it incumbent upon him to defer naming a day to the princess of Wales, until the further result of the prince's intention shall have been made known to him.

(Signed) GEORGE R.

To the princess of Wales.

Montague-house, Feb. 12, 1807.

Sire,—I received yesterday, and with inexpressible pain, your majesty's last communication. The duty of stating, in a representation to your majesty, the various grounds upon

upon which I feel the hardship of my case, and upon which I confidently think that, upon a review of it, your majesty will be disposed to recal your last determination, is a duty I owe to myself: and I cannot forbear, at the moment when I acknowledge your majesty's letter, to announce to your majesty that I propose to execute that duty without delay.

After having suffered the punishment of banishment from your majesty's presence for seven months, pending an inquiry which your majesty had directed, into my conduct, affecting both my life and my honour;—after that inquiry had, at length, terminated in the advice of your majesty's confidential and sworn servants, that there was no longer any reason for your majesty's declining to receive me;—if after your majesty's gracious communication, which led me to rest assured that your majesty would appoint an early day to receive me;—if after all this, by a renewed application on the part of the prince of Wales, upon whose communication the first inquiry had been directed, I now find that that punishment, which has been inflicted, pending a seven months inquiry before the determination, should, contrary to the opinion of your majesty's servants, be continued after that determination, to await the result of some new proceeding, to be suggested by the lawyers of the prince of Wales; it is impossible that I can fail to assert to your majesty, with the effect due to truth, that I am, in the consciousness of my innocence, and with a strong sense of my unmerited sufferings,

Your majesty's much injured
subject and daughter-in-law, C.P.
To the king.

Montague-house, Feb. 16, 1807.

Sire,—By my short letter to your majesty of the 12th instant, in answer to your majesty's communication of the 10th, I notified my intention of representing to your majesty the various grounds, on which I felt the hardship of my case; and a review of which, I confidently hoped, would dispose your majesty to recal your determination to adjourn, to an indefinite period, my reception into your royal presence; a determination, which, in addition to all the other pain which it brought along with it, affected me with the disappointment of hopes which I had fondly cherished with the most perfect confidence, because they rested on your majesty's gracious assurance.

Independently, however, of that communication from your majesty, I should have felt myself bound to have troubled your majesty with much of the contents of the present letter.

Upon the receipt of the paper which, by your majesty's commands, was transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, on the 28th of last month, and which communicated to me the joyful intelligence, that your majesty was "advised, that it was no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence," I conceived myself necessarily called upon to send an immediate answer to so much of it as respected that intelligence. I could not wait the time which it would have required to state those observations, which it was impossible for me to refrain from making at some period, upon the other important particulars which that paper contained. Accordingly, I answered it immediately; and as your majesty's gracious and instant reply of last Thursday

Thursday fortnight announced to me your pleasure that I should be received by your majesty on a day subsequent to the then ensuing week, I was led most confidently to assure myself that the last week would not have passed without my having received that satisfaction. I therefore determined to wait in patience, without further intrusion upon your majesty, till I might have the opportunity of guarding myself from the possibility of being misunderstood, by personally explaining to your majesty, that, whatever observations I had to make upon the paper so communicated to me on the 28th ult., and whatever complaints respecting the delay, and the many cruel circumstances which had attended the whole of the proceedings against me, and the unsatisfactory state in which they were at length left by that last communication, they were observations and complaints which affected those only, under whose advice your majesty had acted, and were not, in any degree, intended to intimate even the most distant insinuation against your majesty's justice or kindness.

That paper established the opinion, which I certainly had ever confidently entertained, but the justness of which I had not before any document to establish, that your majesty had, from the first, deemed this proceeding a high and important matter of state, in the consideration of which your majesty had not felt yourself at liberty to trust to your own generous feelings, and to your own royal and gracious judgment. I never did believe that the cruel state of anxiety in which I had been kept ever since the delivery of my answer, (for at least sixteen weeks) could be at all attributable to your ma-

jesty; it was most unlike every thing which I had ever experienced from your majesty's condescension, feeling, and justice; and I found, from that paper, that it was to your confidential servants I was to ascribe the length of banishment from your presence, which they at last advised your majesty it was no longer necessary should be continued. I perceive, therefore, what I always believed, that it was to them, and to them only, that I owed the protracted continuance of my sufferings and of my disgrace; and that your majesty, considering the whole of this proceeding to have been instituted and conducted under the grave responsibility of your majesty's servants, had not thought proper to take any step or express any opinion upon any part of it, but such as was recommended by their advice. Influenced by these sentiments, and anxious to have the opportunity of conveying them, with the overflowings of a grateful heart, to your majesty, what were my sensations of surprise, mortification, and disappointment, on the receipt of your majesty's letter of the 10th inst., your majesty may conceive, though I am utterly unable to express.

That letter announces to me, that his royal highness the prince of Wales, upon receiving the several documents which your majesty directed your cabinet to transmit to him, made a personal communication to your majesty of his intention to put them into the hands of his lawyers, accompanied by a request, that your majesty would suspend any further steps in the business, until the prince of Wales should be enabled to submit to your majesty the statement which he proposed to make; and it also announces to me that your majesty therefore

therefore considered it incumbent on you to defer naming a day to me, until the further result of the prince of Wales's intention should have been made known to your majesty.

This determination of your majesty, on this request made by his royal highness, I humbly trust your majesty will permit me to entreat you, in your most gracious justice, to reconsider. Your majesty, I am convinced, must have been surprised at the time, and prevailed upon by the importunity of the prince of Wales, to think this determination necessary, for your majesty's generosity and justice would never have adopted it. And if I can satisfy your majesty of the unparalleled injustice and cruelty of this interposition of the prince of Wales at such a time and under such circumstances, I feel the most perfect confidence that your majesty will hasten to recal it.

I should basely be wanting to my own interest and feelings, if I did not plainly state my sense of that injustice and cruelty; and if I did not most loudly complain of it. Your majesty will better perceive the just grounds of my complaint, when I retrace the course of these proceedings from their commencement.

The four noble lords, appointed by your majesty to inquire into the charges brought against me, in their report of the 14th of July last, after having stated that his royal highness the prince of Wales had had laid before him, the charge which was made against me by lady Douglas, and the declaration in support of it, proceed in the following manner:

"In the painful situation in which his royal highness was placed by

these communications, we learnt that his royal highness had adopted *the only course* which could, in our judgment, with propriety be followed. When informations such as these had been thus confidently alleged and particularly detailed, and had been in some degree supported by collateral evidence, applying to other facts of the same nature, (though going to a far less extent,) *one line only* could be pursued.

"Every sentiment of duty to your majesty, and of concern for the public welfare, required that these particulars should not be withheld from your majesty, to whom more particularly belonged the cognizance of a matter of state, so nearly touching the honour of your majesty's royal family, and, by possibility, affecting the succession of your majesty's crown.

"Your majesty had been pleased, on your part, to view the subject in the same light. Considering it as a matter which, on every account, demanded the most immediate investigation, your majesty had thought fit to commit into our hands the duty of ascertaining, in the first instance, what degree of credit was due to the information, and thereby enabling your majesty to decide what further conduct to adopt respecting them."

His royal highness then, pursuing, as the four lords say, *the only course*, which could in their judgment, with propriety, be pursued, submitted the matter to your majesty.—Your majesty directed the inquiry by the four noble lords.—The four lords in their report upon the case, justly acquitted me of all crime, and expressed (I will not wait now to say how unjustly) the credit which they gave, and the conse-

conse-

consequence they ascribed to other matters, which they did not, however, characterize as amounting to any crime.—To this report I made my answer.—That answer, together with the whole proceedings, was referred by your majesty, to the same four noble lords, and others of your majesty's confidential servants. They advised your majesty, amongst much other matter, (which must be the subject of further observations) that there was no longer any reason why you should decline receiving me.

Your majesty will necessarily conceive that I have always looked upon my banishment from your royal presence, as, in fact, a punishment, and a severe one too. I thought it sufficiently hard, that I should have been suffering that punishment, during the time that this inquiry has been pending, while I was yet only under accusation, and, upon the principles of the just laws of your majesty's kingdom, entitled to be presumed to be innocent, till I was proved to be guilty. But I find this does not appear to be enough, in the opinion of the prince of Wales. For now, when after this long inquiry, into matters which required immediate investigation, I have been acquitted of every thing which could call for my banishment from your royal presence;—after your majesty's confidential servants have thus expressly advised your majesty that they see no reason why you should any longer decline to receive me into your presence;—after your majesty had graciously notified to me, your determination to receive me at an early day, his royal highness interposes the demand of a new delay; desires your majesty not to take any step; desires you not to act

upon the advice which your own confidential servants have given you, that you need no longer decline seeing me;—not to execute your intention and assurance, that you would receive me at an early day;—because he has laid the documents before his lawyers, and intends to prepare a further statement. And the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, is, as it were, appealed from by the prince of Wales, (whom, from this time at least, I must be permitted to consider as assuming the character of my accuser);—the justice due to me is to be suspended, while the judgment of your majesty's sworn servants is to be submitted to the revision of my accuser's counsel; and I, though acquitted in the opinion of your majesty's confidential servants, of all that should induce your majesty to decline seeing me, am to have that punishment, which had been inflicted upon me during the inquiry, continued after that acquittal, till a fresh statement is prepared, to be again submitted, for aught I know, to another inquiry, of as extended a continuance as that which has just terminated.

Can it be said that the proceedings of the four noble lords, or of your majesty's confidential servants, have been so lenient and considerate towards me and my feelings, as to induce a suspicion that I have been too favourably dealt with by them? and that the advice which has been given to your majesty, that your majesty need no longer decline to receive me, was hastily and partially delivered? I am confident that your majesty must see the very reverse of this to be the case—that I have every reason to complain of the inexplicable delay which so long withheld that advice.

advice. And the whole character of the observations with which they accompanied it, marks the reluctance with which they yielded to the necessity of giving it.

For your majesty's confidential servants advise your majesty, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me into your royal presence." If this is their opinion and their advice now, why was it not their opinion and their advice four months ago, from the date of my answer? Nay, why was it not their opinion and advice from the date even of the original report itself? For not only had they been in possession of my answer for above *sixteen weeks*, which at least furnished them with all the materials on which this advice at length was given, but further, your majesty's confidential servants are forward to state, that after having read my observations and the affidavits which they annexed to them, they agree in *the opinions* (not in any single opinion upon any particular branch of the case, but in *the opinions generally*) which were submitted to your majesty, in the original report of the four lords. If therefore (notwithstanding their concurrence in *all* the opinions contained in the report) they have nevertheless given to your majesty their advice, "that it is no longer necessary for you to decline receiving me;"—what could have prevented their offering that advice, even from the 14th of July, the date of the original report itself? Or what could have warranted the withholding of it, even for a single moment? Instead, therefore, of any trace being observable, of hasty, precipitate, and partial determination in my favour, it is impossible to interpret their conduct and their reasons together in any other sense,

than as amounting to an admission of your majesty's confidential servants themselves, that I have, in consequence of their withholding that advice, been unnecessarily and cruelly banished from your royal presence, from the 14th of July to the 28th of January, including a space of above six months; and the effect of the interposition of the prince, is to prolong my sufferings, and my disgrace, under the same banishment, to a period perfectly indefinite.

The principle which will admit the effect of such interposition now, may be acted upon again; and the prince may require a further prolongation, upon fresh statements and fresh charges, kept back possibly for the purpose of being from time to time conveniently interposed, to prevent for ever the arrival of that hour, which, displaying to the world the acknowledgment of my unmerited sufferings and disgrace, may at the same time expose the true malicious and unjust quality of the proceedings which have been so long carried on against me.

This unseasonable, unjust, and cruel interposition of his royal highness, as I must ever deem it, has prevailed upon your majesty to recall to my prejudice your gracious purpose of receiving me, in pursuance of the advice of your servants. Do I then flatter myself too much, when I feel assured that my *just* entreaty, founded upon the reasons which I urge, and directed to counteract only the effect of that *unjust* interposition, will induce your majesty to return to your original determination?

Restored, however, as I should feel myself, to a state of comparative security, as well as credit, by being at length permitted, upon
your

your majesty's, gracious reconsideration of your last determination, to have access to your majesty; yet, under all the circumstances under which I should now receive that mark and confirmation of your majesty's opinion of my innocence, my character would not, I fear, stand cleared in the public opinion, by the mere fact of your majesty's reception of me. This revocation of your majesty's gracious purpose has flung an additional cloud about the whole proceeding, and the inferences drawn in the public mind, from this circumstance, so mysterious and so perfectly inexplicable, upon any grounds which are open to their knowledge, has made, and will leave so deep an impression to my prejudice, as scarce any thing short of a public exposure of all that has passed can possibly efface.

The publication of all these proceedings to the world, then, seems to me, under the present circumstances, (whatever reluctance I feel against such a measure, and however I regret the hard necessity which drives me to it,) to be almost the only remaining resource, for the vindication of my honour and character. The falsehood of the accusation is, by no means, all that will, by such publication, appear to the credit and clearance of my character; but the course in which the whole proceedings have been carried on, or rather delayed, by those to whom your majesty referred the consideration of them, will show that, whatever measure of justice I may have ultimately received at their hands, it is not to be suspected as arising from any merciful and indulgent consideration of me, of my feelings, or of my case.

It will be seen how my feelings had been harassed, and my charac-

ter and honour exposed by the delays which have taken place in these proceedings: it will be seen that the existence of the charge against me had avowedly been known to the public from the 7th of June in the last year—I say known to the public, because it was on that day that the commissioners, acting, as I am to suppose, (for so they state in their report) under the anxious wish, that their trust should be executed with as little publicity as possible, authorized that unnecessary insult and outrage upon me, as I must always consider it, which, however intended, gave the utmost publicity and exposure to the existence of these charges—I mean the sending two attornies, armed with their lordships' warrant, to my house, to bring before them, at once, about one half of my household for examination. The idea of privacy, after an act so much calculated, from the extraordinary nature of it, to excite the greatest attention and surprise, your majesty must feel to have been impossible and absurd; for an attempt at secrecy, mystery, and concealment, on my part, could, under such circumstances, only have been construed into the fearfulness of guilt.

It will appear also, that from that time, I heard nothing authentically upon the subject till the 11th of August, when I was furnished, by your majesty's commands, with the report. The several papers necessary to my understanding the whole of these charges, in the authentic state in which your majesty thought it proper, graciously to direct that I should have them, were not delivered to me till the beginning of September. My answer to these various charges, though the whole subject of them was new to those

those whose advice I had recourse to, long as that answer was necessarily obliged to be, was delivered to the lord chancellor, to be forwarded to your majesty, by the 6th of October; and, from the 6th of October to the 28th of January, I was kept in total ignorance of the effect of that answer. Not only will all this delay be apparent, but it will be generally shown to the world how your majesty's servants had, in this important business, treated your daughter-in-law, the princess of Wales; and what measure of justice she, a female and a stranger in your land, has experienced at their hands.

Undoubtedly against such a proceeding I have ever felt, and still feel, an almost invincible repugnance. Every sentiment of delicacy, with which a female mind must shrink from the act of bringing before the public such charges, however conscious of their scandal and falsity, and however clearly that scandal and falsity may be manifested by the answer to those charges;—the respect still due from me, to persons employed in authority under your majesty, however little respect I may have received from them;—my duty to his royal highness the prince of Wales;—my regard for all the members of your august family;—my esteem, my duty, my gratitude to your majesty,—my affectionate gratitude for all the paternal kindness which I have ever experienced from you;—my anxiety, not only to avoid the risk of giving any offence or displeasure to your majesty, but also to fly from every occasion of creating the slightest sentiment of uneasiness in the mind of your majesty, whose happiness it would be the pride and pleasure of my life to consult and to pro-

mote; all these various sentiments have compelled me to submit, as long as human forbearance could endure, to all the unfavourable inferences which were through this delay daily increasing in the public mind. What the strength and efficacy of these motives have been, your majesty will do me the justice to feel, when you are pleased, graciously, to consider how long I have been contented to suffer those suspicions to exist against my innocence, which the bringing before the public of my accusation and my defence to it, would so indisputably and immediately have dispelled.

The measure, however, of making these proceedings public, whatever mode I can adopt (considering especially the absolute impossibility of suffering any partial production of them, and the necessity that, if for any purpose any part of them should be produced, the whole must be brought before the public) remains surrounded with all the objections which I have enumerated; and nothing could ever have prevailed upon me, or can now even prevail upon me to have recourse to it, but an imperious sense of indispensable duty to my future safety, to my present character and honour, and to the feelings, the character, and the interests of my child. I had flattered myself, when once this long proceeding should have terminated in my reception into your majesty's presence, that that circumstance alone would have so strongly implied my innocence of all that had been brought against me, as to have been perfectly sufficient for my honour and my security; but accompanied, as it now must be, with the knowledge of the fact, that your majesty has been brought to hesitate upon its pro-

priety, and accompanied also with the very unjustifiable observations, as they appear to me, on which I shall presently proceed to remark; and which were made by your majesty's servants, at the time when they gave you their advice to receive me; I feel myself in a situation, in which I deeply regret that I cannot rest in silence without an immediate reception into your majesty's presence; nor, indeed, with that reception, unless it be attended by other circumstances which may mark my satisfactory acquittal of the charges which have been brought against me.

It shall at no time be said, with truth, that I shrunk back from these infamous charges; that I crouched before my enemies, and courted them, by my submission, into moderation! No, I have ever boldly defied them. I have ever felt and still feel, that, if they should think, either of pursuing these accusations, or of bringing forward any other which the wickedness of individuals may devise, to affect my honour; (since my conscience tells me, that they must be as base and groundless as those brought by lady Douglas,) while the witnesses to the innocence of my conduct, are all living, I should be able to disprove them all; and, whoever may be my accusers, to triumph over their wickedness and malice. But should these accusations be renewed; or any other be brought forward, in any future time, death may, I know not how soon, remove from my innocence its best security, and deprive me of the means of my justification, and my defence.

There are therefore other measures, which I trust your majesty will think indispensable to be taken, for my honour, and for my security. Amongst these, I most humbly

submit to your majesty my most earnest entreaties that the proceedings, including not only my first answer, and my letter of the 8th of December, but this letter also, may be directed by your majesty to be so preserved and deposited, as that they may, all of them, securely remain permanent authentic documents and memorials, of this accusation and of the manner in which I met it; of my defence, as well as of the charge. That they may remain capable at any time, of being resorted to, if the malice which produced the charge originally, shall ever venture to renew it.

Beyond this, I am sure your majesty will think it but proper and just, that I should be restored, in every respect, to the same situation, from whence the proceedings, under these false charges, have removed me. That, besides being graciously received, again, into the bosom of your majesty's royal family, restored to my former respect and station amongst them, your majesty will be graciously pleased, either to exert your influence, with his royal highness the prince of Wales, that I may be restored to the use of my apartment in Carlton-house, which was reserved for me, except while the apartments were undergoing repair, till the date of these proceedings; or to assign to me some apartment in one of your royal palaces. Some apartment in or near to London is indispensably necessary for my convenient attendance at the drawing-room. And if I am not restored to that at Carlton-house, I trust your majesty will graciously perceive, how reasonable it is, that I should request, that some apartment should be assigned to me, suited to my dignity and situation, which may mark my reception and acknowledgment, as
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one of your majesty's family, and from which my attendance at the drawing-room may be easy and convenient.

If these measures are taken, I should hope that they would prove satisfactory to the public mind, and that I may feel myself fully restored in public estimation, to my former character. And should they prove so satisfactory, I shall indeed be delighted to think, that no further step may, even now, appear to be necessary to my peace of mind, my security, and my honour.

But your majesty will permit me to say, that if the next week, which will make more than a month from the time of your majesty's informing me that you would receive me, should pass without my being received into your presence, and without having the assurance that these other requests of mine shall be complied with; I shall be under the painful necessity of considering them as refused. In which case, I shall feel myself compelled, however reluctantly, to give the whole of these proceedings to the world. Unless your majesty can suggest other adequate means of securing my honour and my life, from the effect of the continuance or renewal of these proceedings, for the future, as well as the present. For I entreat your majesty to believe, that it is only in the absence of all other adequate means, that I can have resort to that measure. That I consider it with deep regret; that I regard it with serious apprehension, by no means so much on account of the effect it may have upon myself, as on account of the pain which it may give to your majesty, your august family, and your loyal subjects.

As far as myself am concerned, I am aware of the observations to

which this publication will expose me. But I am placed in a situation in which I have the choice only of two most unpleasant alternatives. And I am perfectly confident that the imputations and the loss of character which must, under these circumstances, follow from my silence, are most injurious and unavoidable; that my silence, under such circumstances, must lead inevitably to my utter infamy and ruin. The publication, on the other hand, will expose to the world nothing, which is spoken to by any witness (whose infamy and discredit is not unanswerably exposed and established) which can, in the slightest degree, affect my character, for honour, virtue, and delicacy.

There may be circumstances disclosed, manifesting a degree of condescension and familiarity in my behaviour and conduct, which in the opinions of many, may be considered as not sufficiently guarded, dignified, and reserved. Circumstances however which my foreign education, and foreign habits, misled me to think, in the humble and retired situation in which it was my fate to live, and where I had no relation, no equal, no friend to advise me, were wholly free from offence. But when they have been dragged forward, from the scenes of private life, in a grave proceeding on a charge of high treason and adultery, they seem to derive a colour and character, from the nature of the charge, which they are brought forward to support. And I cannot but believe, that they have been used for no other purpose than to afford a cover, to screen from view the injustice of that charge; that they have been taken advantage of, to let down my accusers more gently; and to deprive me of that full acquittal on the re-

port of the four lords, which my innocence of all offence most justly entitled me to receive.

Whatever opinion however may be formed upon any part of my conduct, it must in justice be formed, with reference to the situation in which I was placed; if I am judged of as princess of Wales, with reference to the high rank of that station, I must be judged as princess of Wales, banished from the prince, unprotected by the support and the countenance, which belong to that station; and if I am judged of in my private character, as a married woman, I must be judged of as a wife banished from her husband, and living in a widowed seclusion from him, and retirement from the world. This last consideration leads me to recur to an expression in Mrs. Lisle's examination, which describes my conduct, in the frequency and the manner of my receiving the visits of captain Manby, though always in the presence of my ladies, as unbecoming a married woman. Upon the extreme injustice of setting up the *opinion* of one woman, as it were, in judgment upon the conduct of another; as well as of estimating the conduct of a person in my unfortunate situation, by reference to that, which might in general be expected from a married woman living happily with her husband, I have before generally remarked: but beyond these general remarks in forming any estimate of my conduct, your majesty will never forget the very peculiar circumstances and misfortunes of my situation. Your majesty will remember that I had not been much above a year in this country, when I received the following letter from his royal highness the prince of Wales:

“Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.

“Madam,—As lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head, with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. Our inclinations are not in our power, nor should either of us be held answerable to the other, because nature has not made us suitable to each other. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that, and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required, through lady Cholmondeley, that even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which I trust Providence in its mercy will avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction by proposing at any period, a connection of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence, trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in uninterrupted tranquillity.

I am, madam, with great truth,
Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) “GEORGE P.”

And that to this letter I sent the following answer:

May 6, 1796.

“The avowal of your conversation with lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you have tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself.

“I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been

been conceived in terms to make it doubtful, whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me, and you are aware that the credit of it belongs to you alone.

“The letter which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the king, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the king. I apprize you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his majesty, I refer myself solely to him upon this subject, and if my conduct meets his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as princess of Wales, enabled by your means, to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart, I mean charity.

“It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial.

“Do me the justice to believe that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be

“Your much devoted

“CAROLINE.”

The date of his royal highness's letter is the 30th of April, 1796. The date of our marriage, your majesty will recollect, is the 8th day of April, in the year 1795, and that of the birth of our only child the 7th of January, 1796.

On the letter of his royal highness I offer no comment. I only entreat your majesty not to understand me to introduce it, as affording any supposed justification or excuse, for the least departure from the strictest line of virtue, or the slightest deviation from the most

refined delicacy. The crime, which has been insinuated against me, would be equally criminal and detestable; the indelicacy imputed to me would be equally odious and abominable, whatever renunciation of conjugal authority and affection, the above letter of his royal highness might in any construction of it be supposed to have conveyed. Such crimes, and faults, derive not their guilt from the consideration of the conjugal virtues of the individual, who may be the most injured by them, however much such virtues may aggravate their enormity. No such letter, therefore, in any construction of it, no renunciation of conjugal affection or duties, could ever palliate them. But whether conduct free from all crime, free from all indelicacy, (which I maintain to be the character of the conduct to which Mrs. Lisle's observations apply,) yet possibly not so measured, as a cautious wife, careful to avoid the slightest appearance, of not preferring her husband to all the world, might be studious to observe; whether conduct of such description, and possibly, in such sense, not becoming a married woman, could be justly deemed, in my situation, an offence in me; I must leave to your majesty to determine.

In making that determination, however, it will not escape your majesty to consider, that the conduct which does or does not become a married woman materially depends upon what is, or is not, known by her to be agreeable to her husband. His pleasure and happiness ought unquestionably to be her law; and his approbation the most favourite object of her pursuit. Different characters of men require different modes of conduct in their wives; but when a wife

can no longer be capable of perceiving from time to time, what is agreeable or offensive to her husband, when her conduct can no longer contribute to his happiness, no longer hope to be rewarded by his approbation, surely to examine that conduct by the standard of what ought, in general, to be the conduct of a married woman, is altogether unreasonable and unjust.

What then is my case? Your majesty will do me the justice to remark, that, in the above letter of the prince of Wales, there is not the most distant surmise, that crime, that vice, that indelicacy of any description, gave occasion to his determination; and all the tales of infamy and discredit, which the inventive malice of my enemies has brought forward on these charges, have their date, years, and years, after the period to which I am now alluding. What then, let me repeat the question, is my case? After the receipt of the above letter, and in about two years from my arrival in this country, I had the misfortune entirely to lose the support, the countenance, the protection of my husband—I was banished, as it were, into a sort of humble retirement, at a distance from him, and almost estranged from the whole of the royal family. I had no means of having recourse, either for society or advice, to those, from whom my inexperience could have best received the advantages of the one, and with whom I could, most becomingly, have enjoyed the comforts of the other; and if in this retired, unassisted, unprotected state, without the check of a husband's authority, without the benefit of his advice, without the comfort and support of the society of his family, a stranger to the habits and fashions of this country,

I should, in any instance, under the influence of foreign habits, and foreign education, have observed a conduct, in any degree deviating from the reserve and severity of British manners, and partaking of a condescension and familiarity which that reserve and severity would, perhaps, deem beneath the dignity of my exalted rank, I feel confident, (since such deviation will be seen to have been ever consistent with perfect innocence), that not only your majesty's candour and indulgence, but the candour and indulgence, which, notwithstanding the reserve and severity of British manners, always belong to the British public, will never visit it with severity or censure.

It remains for me now to make some remarks upon the further contents of the paper, which was transmitted to me by the lord chancellor, on the 28th ult. And I cannot, in passing, omit to remark, that that paper has neither title, date, signature, nor attestation; and unless the lord chancellor had accompanied it with a note, stating, that it was copied in his own hand from the original, which his lordship had received from your majesty, I should have been at a loss to have perceived any single mark of authenticity belonging to it; and as it is, I am wholly unable to discover what is the true character which does belong to it. It contains, indeed, the advice which your majesty's servants have offered to your majesty, and the message which, according to that advice, your majesty directed to be delivered to me.

Considering it, therefore, wholly as their act, your majesty will excuse and pardon me, if, deeply injured as I feel myself to have been by them, I express myself with freedom upon their conduct. I may speak,

speak, perhaps, with warmth, because I am provoked by a sense of gross injustice; I shall speak certainly with firmness and with courage, because I am emboldened by a sense of conscious innocence.

Your majesty's confidential servants say, "they agree in the opinions of the four lords," and they say this, "after the fullest consideration of my observations, and of the affidavits which were annexed to them." Some of these opinions, your majesty will recollect, are, that "William Cole, Fanny Lloyd, Robert Bidgood, and Mrs. Lisle, are witnesses who cannot," in the judgment of the four lords, "be suspected of any unfavourable bias;" and "whose veracity, in this respect, they had seen no ground to question;" and "that the circumstances to which they speak, particularly as relating to captain Manby, must be credited until they are decisively contradicted." Am I then to understand your majesty's confidential servants to mean, that they agree with the four noble lords in these opinions? Am I to understand, that after having read, with the fullest consideration, the observations which I have offered to your majesty; after having seen William Cole there proved to have submitted himself, five times at least, to private, unauthorized, voluntary examination by sir John Douglas's solicitor, for the express purpose of confirming the statement of lady Douglas, (of that lady Douglas, whose statement and deposition they are convinced to be so malicious and false, that they propose to institute such prosecution against her, as your majesty's law officers may advise, upon a reference, now at length, after six months from the detection of that malice and falsehood, intended to

be made)—after having seen this William Cole, submitting to such repeated voluntary examinations for such a purpose, and although he was all that time a servant on my establishment, and eating my bread, yet never once communicating to me, that such examinations were going on—am I to understand, that your majesty's confidential servants agree with the four lords in thinking, that he cannot, under such circumstances, *be suspected of unfavourable bias?* That after having had pointed out to them the direct, flat contradiction between the same William Cole and Fanny Lloyd, they nevertheless agree to think them both (though in direct contradiction to each other, *yet both*) witnesses, *whose veracity they see no ground to question?* After having seen Fanny Lloyd directly and positively contradicted, in an assertion, most injurious to my honour, by Mr. Mills and Mr. Edmeades, do they agree in opinion with the four noble lords, that they see *no ground to question her veracity?*—After having read the observations on Mr. Bidgood's evidence; after having seen, that he had the hardihood to swear, that he believed captain Manby slept in my house, at Southend, and to insinuate that he slept in my bed-room; after having seen that he founded himself on this most false fact, and most foul and wicked insinuation, upon the circumstance of observing a bason and some towels where he thought they ought not to be placed; after having seen that this fact, and this insinuation, were disproved before the four noble lords themselves, by two maid-servants, who, at that time, lived with me at Southend, and whose duties about my person, and my apartments, must have made them acquainted with this fact, as asserted,

or as insinuated, if it had happened; after having observed too, in confirmation of their testimony, that one of them mentioned the name of another female servant (who was not examined), who had, from her situation, equal means of knowledge with themselves—I ask whether, after all this decisive weight of contradiction to Robert Bidgood's testimony, I am to understand your majesty's confidential servants to agree with the four noble lords in thinking, that Mr. Bidgood is a witness, who *cannot be suspected of unfavourable bias*, and that there is *no ground to question his veracity*? If, sire, I were to go through all the remarks of this description, which occur to me to make, I should be obliged to repeat nearly all my former observations, and to make this letter as long as my original answer; but to that answer I confidently appeal, and I will venture to challenge your majesty's confidential servants to find a single impartial, and honourable man, unconnected in feeling and interest with the parties, and unconnected in council, with those who have already pledged themselves to an opinion upon this subject, who will lay his hand upon his heart, and say that these three witnesses, on whom that report so mainly relies, are not to be suspected of the grossest partiality, and that their veracity is not most fundamentally impeached.

Was it then noble, was it generous, was it manly, was it just, in your majesty's confidential servants, instead of fairly admitting the injustice, which had been, inadvertently, and unintentionally, no doubt, done to me, by the four noble lords in their report, upon the evidence of these witnesses, to state to your majesty, that they agree with these

noble lords in their opinion, though they cannot, it seems, go the length of agreeing any longer to withhold the advice, which restores me to your majesty's presence? And with respect to the particulars, to my prejudice, remarked upon in the report as those “which justly deserve the most serious consideration, and which must be credited till decisively contradicted,” instead of fairly avowing, either that there was originally no pretence for such a remark, or that, if there had been originally, yet that my answer had given that decisive contradiction which was sufficient to discredit them; instead, I say, of acting this just, honest, and open part, to take no notice whatsoever of those contradictions, and content themselves with saying, that “none of the facts or allegations stated in preliminary examinations, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, could be considered as *legally or conclusively* established?”

They agree in the opinion that the facts or allegations, though stated in preliminary examination, carried on in the absence of the parties interested, *must be credited till decisively contradicted, and deserve the most serious consideration*. They read, with the fullest consideration, the contradiction which I have tendered to them; they must have known, that no other sort of contradiction could, by possibility, from the nature of things, have been offered upon such subjects; they do not question the truth; they do not point out the insufficiency of the contradiction, but in loose, general, indefinite terms, referring to my answer, consisting, as it does, of above two hundred written pages, and coupling it with those examinations (which they admit establish nothing against an absent party),
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they advise your majesty, that "there appear many circumstances of conduct, which could not be regarded by your majesty without serious concern;" and that, as to all the other facts and allegations, except those relative to my pregnancy and delivery, they are not to be considered as "*legally and conclusively established*," because spoken to in preliminary examinations, not carried on in the presence of the parties concerned. They do not, indeed, expressly assert, that my contradiction was not decisive or satisfactory; they do not expressly state, that they think the facts and allegations want nothing towards their legal and conclusive establishment, but a re-examination in the presence of the parties interested, but they go far to imply such opinions. That those opinions are utterly untenable, against the observations I have made upon the credit and character of those witnesses, I shall ever most confidently maintain; but that those observations leave their credit wholly unaffected, and did not deserve the least notice from your majesty's servants, it is impossible that any honourable man can assert, or any fair, and unprejudiced mind, believe.

I now proceed, sire, to observe, very shortly, upon the advice further given to your majesty as contained in the remaining part of the paper; which has represented that, both in the examinations, and even in my answer, there have appeared many circumstances of conduct which could not be regarded but with serious concern, and which have suggested the expression of a desire and expectation, that such a conduct may in future, be observed by me, as may fully justify these marks of paternal regard and affec-

tion, which your majesty wishes to show to all your royal family.

And here, sire, your majesty will graciously permit me to notice the hardship of the advice, which has suggested to your majesty, to convey to me this reproof. I complain not so much for what it does, as for what it does not contain; I mean the absence of all particular mention of what it is, that is the object of their blame. The circumstances of conduct, which appear in these examinations, and in my answer to which they allude as those which may be supposed to justify the advice, which has led to this reproof, since your majesty's servants have not particularly mentioned them, I cannot be certain that I know. But I will venture confidently to repeat the assertion, which I have already made, that there are no circumstances of conduct, spoken to by any witness, (whose infamy and discredit are not unanswerably exposed, and established,) nor any where apparent in my answer, which have the remotest approach either to crime, or to indelicacy.

For my future conduct, sire, impressed with every sense of gratitude for all former kindness, I shall be bound, unquestionably, by sentiment as well as duty, to study your majesty's pleasure. Any advice which your majesty may wish to give to me in respect of any particulars of my conduct, I shall be bound, and be anxious to obey as my law. But I must trust that your majesty will point out to me the particulars, which may happen to displease you, and which you may wish to have altered. I shall be as happy, in thus feeling myself safe from blame under the benefit of your majesty's advice, as I am
now

now in finding myself secured from danger, under the protection of your justice.

Your majesty will permit me to add one word more.

Your majesty has seen what detriment my character has, for a time, sustained, by the false and malicious statement of lady Douglas, and by the depositions of the witnesses who were examined in support of her statement. Your majesty has seen how many enemies I have, and how little their malice has been restrained by any regard to truth in the pursuit of my ruin. Few as, it may be hoped, may be the instances of such determined and unprovoked malignity, yet, I cannot flatter myself, that the world does not produce other persons, who may be swayed by similar motives to similar wickedness. Whether the statement, to be prepared by the prince of Wales, is to be confined to the old charges, or is intended to bring forward new circumstances, I cannot tell; but if any fresh attempts of the same nature shall be made by my accusers, instructed as they will have been, by their miscarriage in this instance, I can hardly hope that they will not renew their charge, with an improved artifice, more skilfully directed, and with a malice inflamed rather than abated, by their previous disappointment. I therefore can only appeal to your majesty's justice, in which I confidently trust, that whether these charges are to be renewed against me, either on the old or on fresh evidence; or whether new accusations, as well as new witnesses, are to be brought forward, your majesty, after the experience of these proceedings, will not suffer your royal mind to be prejudiced by *ex*

parte, secret examinations, nor my character to be whispered away by insinuations, or suggestions, which I have no opportunity of meeting. If any charge, which the law will recognise, should be brought against me in an open and a legal manner, I should have no right to complain, nor any apprehension to meet it. But till I may have a full opportunity of meeting it, I trust your majesty will not suffer it to excite even a suspicion to my prejudice. I must claim the benefit of the presumption of innocence till I am proved to be guilty; for, without that presumption, against the effects of secret insinuation and *ex parte* examinations, the purest innocence can make no defence, and can have no security.

Surrounded, as it is now proved, that I have been, for years, by domestic spies, your majesty must, I trust, feel convinced, that if I had been guilty, there could not have been wanting evidence to have proved my guilt. And, that these spies have been obliged to have resort to their own invention for the support of the charge, is the strongest demonstration that the truth, undisguised, and correctly represented, could furnish them with no handle against me. And when I consider the nature and malignity of that conspiracy which, I feel confident I have completely detected and exposed, I cannot but think of that detection, with the liveliest gratitude, as the special blessing of Providence, who, by confounding the machinations of my enemies, has enabled me to find, in the very excess and extravagance of their malice, in the very weapons, which they fabricated and sharpened for my destruction, the sufficient guard to my innocence, and

and the effectual means of my justification and defence.

I trust therefore, sire, that I may now close this long letter, in confidence that many days will not elapse before I shall receive from your majesty, that assurance that my just requests may be so completely granted, as may render it possible for me (which nothing else can) to avoid the painful disclosure to the world of all the circumstances of that injustice, and of those unmerited sufferings, which these proceedings, in the manner in which they have been conducted, have brought upon me.

I remain, sire, &c.

(Signed) C. P.

As these observations apply not only to the official communication through the lord chancellor, of the 28th ult.; but also to the private letter of your majesty, of the 12th instant, I have thought it most respectful to your majesty and your majesty's servants, to send this letter in duplicate, one part through colonel Taylor, and the other through the lord chancellor, to your majesty.

To the king. (Signed) C. P.

Montague-house, March 5, 1807.

Sire,—When I last troubled your majesty upon my unfortunate business, I had raised my mind to hope, that I should have the happiness of hearing from your majesty, and receiving your gracious commands, to pay my duty in your royal presence, before the expiration of the last week. And when that hope was disappointed, (eagerly clinging to any idea, which offered me a prospect of being saved from the necessity of having recourse, for the vindication of my character, to the publication of the proceedings upon the inquiry into my conduct,)

I thought it just possible, that the reason for my not having received your majesty's commands to that effect, might have been occasioned by the circumstance of your majesty's staying at Windsor through the whole of the week. I, therefore, determined to wait a few days longer, before I took a step, which, when once taken, could not be recalled. Having, however, now assured myself, that your majesty was in town yesterday—as I have received no command to wait upon your majesty, and no intimation of your pleasure—I am reduced to the necessity of abandoning all hope, that your majesty will comply with my humble, my earnest, and anxious requests.

Your majesty, therefore, will not be surprised to find, that the publication of the proceedings alluded to, will not be withheld beyond Monday next.

As to any consequences which may arise from such publication, unpleasant or hurtful to my own feelings and interests, I may, perhaps, be properly responsible; and, in any event, have no one to complain of but myself, and those with whose advice I have acted; and whatever those consequences may be, I am fully and unalterably convinced, that they must be incalculably less than those, which I should be exposed to from my silence: but as to any other consequences, unpleasant or hurtful to the feelings and interests of others, or of the public, my conscience will certainly acquit me of them;—I am confident that I have not acted impatiently, or precipitately. To avoid coming to this painful extremity, I have taken every step in my power, except that which would be abandoning my character to utter infamy, and my station and life to

no uncertain danger, and, possibly to no very distant destruction.

With every prayer, for the lengthened continuance of your majesty's health and happiness; for every possible blessing, which a gracious God can bestow upon the beloved monarch of a loyal people, and for the continued prosperity of your dominions, under your majesty's propitious reign,

I remain, &c.

To the king. (Signed) C. P.

MINUTE OF COUNCIL, April 22, 1807.

(Present)

Lord chancellor (ELDON)

Lord president (CAMDEN)

Lord privy seal (WESTMORELAND)

The duke of PORTLAND

The earl of CHATHAM

The earl of BATHURST

Viscount CASTLEREAGH

Lord MULGRAVE

Mr. secretary CANNING.

Lord HAWKESBURY.

Your majesty's confidential servants have, in obedience to your majesty's commands, most attentively considered the original charges and report, the minutes of evidence, and all the other papers submitted to the consideration of your majesty, on the subject of those charges against her royal highness the princess of Wales.

In the stage in which this business is brought under their consideration, they do not feel themselves called upon to give any opinion as to the proceeding itself, or to the mode of investigation in which it has been thought proper to conduct it. But adverting to the advice which is stated by his royal highness the prince of Wales to have directed his conduct, your majesty's confidential servants are anxious to impress upon your majesty their conviction that his royal highness

could not, under such advice, consistently with his public duty, have done otherwise than lay before your majesty the statement and examinations which were submitted to him upon this subject.

After the most deliberate consideration, however, of the evidence which has been brought before the commissioners, and of the previous examination, as well as of the answer and observations which have been submitted to your majesty upon them, they feel it necessary to declare their decided concurrence in the clear and unanimous opinion of the commissioners, confirmed by that of all your majesty's late confidential servants, that the two main charges alleged against her royal highness the princess of Wales, of pregnancy and delivery, are completely disproved; and they further submit to your majesty, their unanimous opinion, that all other particulars of conduct brought in accusation against her royal highness, to which the character of criminality can be ascribed, *are satisfactorily contradicted, or rest upon evidence* of such a nature, and which was given under such circumstances, as render it, in the judgment of your majesty's confidential servants, undeserving of credit.

Your majesty's confidential servants, therefore, concurring in that part of the opinion of your late servants, as stated in their minute of the 25th of January, that there is no longer any necessity for your majesty being advised to decline receiving the princess into your royal presence, humbly submit to your majesty, that it is essentially necessary, *in justice to her royal highness, and for the honour and interests of your majesty's illustrious family*, that her royal highness the princess of Wales *should be admitted, with*

as little delay as possible, into your majesty's royal presence, and that she should be received in a manner due to her rank and station, in your majesty's court and family.

Your majesty's confidential servants also beg leave to submit to your majesty, that considering that it may be necessary that your majesty's government should possess the means of referring to the state of this transaction, it is of the utmost importance that these documents, demonstrating the ground on which your majesty has proceeded, should be preserved in safe custody; and that for that purpose the originals, or authentic copies of all these papers, should be sealed up and deposited in the office of your majesty's principal secretary of state.

PROCLAMATION OF LOUIS XVIII.

Translation.

LOUIS XVIII, &c.

The moment is at length arrived when Divine Providence appears ready to break in pieces the instrument of its wrath. The usurper of the throne of St. Louis, the devastator of Europe, experiences reverses in his turn. Shall they have no other effect but that of aggravating the calamities of France; and will she not dare to overturn an odious power, no longer protected by the illusions of victory? What prejudices, or what fears, can now prevent her from throwing herself into the arms of her king; and from recognising, in the establishment of his legitimate authority, the only pledge of union, peace, and happiness, which his promises have so often guaranteed to his oppressed subjects?

Being neither able, nor inclined to obtain, but by their efforts, that throne which his rights and their affection can alone confirm, what wishes should be adverse to those which he has invariably entertained? What doubt can be started with regard to his paternal intentions?

The king has said in his preceding declarations, and he reiterates the assurance, that the administrative and judicial bodies shall be maintained in the plenitude of their powers; that he will preserve their places to those who at present hold them, and who shall take the oath of fidelity to him; that the tribunals, depositaries of the laws, shall prohibit all prosecutions bearing relation to those unhappy times of which his return will have for ever sealed the oblivion; that, in fine, the code polluted by the name Napoleon, but which, for the most part, contains only the ancient ordinances and customs of the realm, shall remain in force, with the exception of enactments contrary to the doctrines of religion, which, as well as the liberty of the people, has long been subjected to the caprice of the tyrant.

The senate, in which are seated some men so justly distinguished for their talents, and whom so many services may render illustrious in the eyes of France, and of posterity—that corps, whose utility and importance can never be duly appreciated till after the restoration—can it fail to perceive the glorious destiny which summons it to become the first instrument of that great benefaction, which will prove the most solid as well as the most honourable guarantee of its existence and its prerogatives?

On the subject of property, the king, who has already announced his intention

intention to employ the most proper means for conciliating the interests of all, perceives, in the numerous settlements which have taken place between the old and the new landholders, the means of rendering those cares almost superfluous. He engages, however, to interdict all proceedings by the tribunals, contrary to such settlements,—to encourage voluntary arrangements, and, on the part of himself and his family, to set the example of all those sacrifices which may contribute to the repose of France, and the sincere union of all Frenchmen*.

The king has guarantied to the army the maintenance of the ranks, employments, pay, and appointments which it at present enjoys. He promises also to the generals, officers, and soldiers, who shall signalise themselves in support of his cause, rewards more substantial, distinctions more honourable, than any they can receive from an usurper,—always ready to disown, or even to dread their service. The king binds himself anew to abolish that pernicious conscription, which destroys the happiness of families and the hope of the country.

Such always have been, such still are, the intentions of the king. His re-establishment on the throne of his ancestors will be for France only the happy transition from the calamities of a war which tyranny perpetuates, to the blessings of a solid peace, for which foreign powers can never find any security but in the word of the legitimate sovereign.

LOUIS.

Hartwell, Feb. 1, 1813.

TREATY BETWEEN RUSSIA AND SWEDEN.

Substance of the engagements between the courts of St. Petersburg and Stockholm, signed at St. Petersburg the 24th of March 1812, so far as the same are referred to in the treaty between his majesty and the king of Sweden signed at Stockholm on the 3d of March 1813.

The object of the emperor of Russia and the king of Sweden in forming an alliance is stated to be for the purpose of securing reciprocally their states and possessions against the common enemy.

The French government having by the occupation of Swedish Pomerania committed an act of hostility against the Swedish government, and by the movement of its armies having menaced the tranquillity of the empire of Russia, the contracting parties engage to make a diversion against France and her allies, with a combined force of twenty-five or thirty thousand Swedes, and of fifteen or twenty thousand Russians, upon such point of the coast of Germany as may be judged most convenient for that purpose.

As the king of Sweden cannot make this diversion in favour of the common cause, consistently with the security of his dominions, so long as he can regard the kingdom of Norway as an enemy, his majesty the emperor of Russia engages, either by negotiation or by military co-operation, to unite the kingdom of Norway to Sweden. He engages moreover to guaranty the peaceable possession of it to his Swedish majesty.

The two contracting parties en-

* The *uti possidetis*.

ur-

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gage

gage to consider the acquisition of Norway by Sweden as a preliminary military operation to the diversion on the coast of Germany, and the emperor of Russia promises to place for this object, at the disposal and under the immediate orders of the prince royal of Sweden, the corps of Russian troops above stipulated.

The two contracting parties being unwilling, if it can be avoided, to make an enemy of the king of Denmark, will propose to that sovereign to accede to this alliance, and will offer to his Danish majesty to procure for him a complete indemnity for Norway, by a territory more contiguous to his German dominions, provided his Danish majesty will cede for ever his rights on the kingdom of Norway to the king of Sweden.

In case his Danish majesty shall refuse this offer, and shall have decided to remain in alliance with France, the two contracting parties engage to consider Denmark as their enemy.

As it has been expressly stipulated that the engagement of his Swedish majesty to operate with his troops in Germany in favour of the common cause, shall not take effect until after Norway shall have been acquired by Sweden, either by the cession of the king of Denmark, or in consequence of military operations, his majesty the king of Sweden engages to transport his army into Germany, according to a plan of campaign to be agreed upon, as soon as the above object shall have been attained.

His Britannic majesty to be invited by both powers to accede to and to guaranty the stipulations contained in the said treaty.

By a subsequent convention, signed at Abo the 30th of August 1812, the Russian auxiliary force was to be carried to thirty-five thousand men.

PROCLAMATION OF THE KING OF PRUSSIA.

His majesty the king of Prussia, having made an offensive and defensive treaty with the emperor Alexander, has issued the following proclamation :

TO THE PUBLIC.

It is unnecessary to render an account to my good people of Germany of the motives for the war which is now commencing ; they are evident to impartial Europe.—Bent under the superior power of France, that peace which deprived me of half my subjects, procured us no blessings—it on the contrary hurt us more than war itself. The heart of our country was impoverished. The principal fortresses were occupied by the enemy ; agriculture was neglected, as well as the industry of our cities, which had risen to a very high degree. Liberty of trade being interrupted, naturally closed all the sources of ease and prosperity.—By the most exact observance of the stipulated treaties, I hoped to obtain an alleviation for my people, and at last to convince the French emperor that it was his own interest to have Prussia independent ; but my intentions, my exertions, to attain so desirable an object proved fruitless. Nothing but haughtiness and treachery was the result ! We discovered, but rather late, that the emperor's conventions were more ruinous to us than his open wars. The moment is now arrived in which no illusion

illusion respecting our condition can remain. Brandenburgiers! Prussians! Silesians! Pomeranians! Lithuanians! you know what you have suffered during the last seven years—you know what a miserable fate awaits you, if you do not honourably finish the now commencing conflict. Remember former times—remember the illustrious elector, the great Frederick—remember the benefits for which our ancestors contended under their direction. The liberty of conscience—honour—independence—trade—industry—and knowledge. Bear in mind the great example of our allies the Russians—think of the Spaniards and Portuguese; small nations have even gone to battle, for similar benefits, against a more powerful enemy, and obtained victory. Remember the Swiss and the Netherlands.—Great sacrifices are required from all ranks; because our plan is great, and the number and means of our enemy not less so. You will make them sooner for your country—your king—than for a foreign regent, who by so many examples has proved he would take your sons and last strength for designs to which you are strangers. Confidence in God, constancy, courage, and the powerful assistance of our allies, will favour our just cause with glorious victory. But however great the sacrifices that may be required from individuals, they will not outweigh the sacred interests for which they are given, for which we combat and must conquer, or cease to be Prussians or Germans.—We are now engaged in the last decisive contest for our existence, our independence, and our property. There is no medium between an honourable peace or glorious ruin.

Even this you would manfully support for your honour, because a Prussian and German cannot live without it. But we dare confidently trust, God and our firm purpose will give our just cause victory, and with this an uninterrupted peace, and the return of happier times.

FREDERICK WILLIAM.

Breslau, March 17.

[Another address, to the army, couched in similar energetic terms, promises that their king and princes will always be with them, and fight by their side.]

AMERICA.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT MADISON.

Fellow citizens of the senate, and of the house of representatives,

At an early day after the close of last session of congress, an offer was formally communicated from the emperor of Russia of his mediation as the common friend of the United States and Great Britain, for the purpose of facilitating a peace between them. The high character of the emperor Alexander being a satisfactory pledge for the sincerity and impartiality of his offer, it was immediately accepted; and as a further proof of the disposition on the part of the United States to meet their adversary in honourable experiments for terminating the war, it was determined to avoid intermediate delay, incident to the distance of the parties, by a definitive provision for the contemplated negotiation. Three of our eminent citizens were accordingly commissioned, with the requisite powers, to conclude a treaty of peace, with persons clothed with like powers on the part of Great Britain. They were authorised

rised also to enter into such conventional regulations of the commerce between the two countries as may be mutually advantageous.—The two envoys, who were in the United States at the time of their appointment, have proceeded to join their colleagues already at St. Petersburg.

The envoys have received another commission, authorising them to conclude with Russia a treaty of commerce, with a view to strengthen the amicable relations, and improve the beneficial intercourse, between the two countries.

The issue of this friendly intercourse of the Russian emperor, and this pacific manifestation on the part of the United States, time only can decide. That the sentiments of Great Britain towards that sovereign will have produced an acceptance of his offered mediation, must be presumed. That no adequate motives exist to prefer a continuance of war with the United States to the terms on which they are willing to close it, is certain.

The British cabinet also must be sensible, that with respect to the important question of impressment, on which the war so essentially turns, a search for or seizure of British persons or property on board neutral vessels on the high seas, is not a belligerent right derived from the law of nations; and it is obvious, that no visit or search, or use of force, for any purpose, on board the vessel of one independent power on the high seas, can, in war or peace, be sanctioned by the laws or authority of another power. It is equally obvious, that for the purpose of preserving to each state its sea-faring members, by excluding them from the vessels of the other, the mode heretofore proposed by the United States, and now en-

acted by them, as an article of municipal policy, cannot for a moment be compared with the mode practised by Great Britain without a conviction of its title to preference; inasmuch as the latter leaves the discrimination between the mariners of the two nations to officers exposed to unavoidable bias, as well as, by a defect of evidence, to a wrong decision under circumstances precluding, for the most part, the enforcement of controlling penalties, and where a wrong decision, besides the irreparable violation of the sacred rights of persons, might frustrate the plans and profits of entire voyages; whereas the mode assumed by the United States guards with studied fairness and efficacy against errors in such cases, and avoids the effect of casual errors on the safety of navigation and the success of mercantile expeditions.

If the reasonableness of expectations, drawn from these considerations, could guaranty their fulfilment, a just peace would not be distant. But it becomes the wisdom of the national legislature to keep in mind the true policy, or rather the indispensable obligation, of adapting its measures to the supposition that the only course to that happy event is in the vigorous employment of the resources of war. And painful as the reflection is, this duty is particularly enforced by the spirit and manner in which the war continues to be waged by the enemy, who, uninfluenced by the unvaried examples of humanity set them, are adding to the savage fury of it on one frontier a system of plunder and conflagration on the other, equally forbidden by respect for national character, and by the established rules of civilized warfare.

As an encouragement to persevering

vering and invigorated exertions to bring the contest to a happy result, I have the satisfaction of being able to appeal to the auspicious progress of our arms both by land and on the water.

In continuation of the brilliant achievements of our infant navy, a signal triumph has been gained by captain Lawrence and his companions in the *Hornet* sloop of war, which destroyed a British sloop of war, with a celerity so unexampled, and with a slaughter of the enemy so disproportionate to the loss in the *Hornet*, as to claim for the conquerors the highest praise, and the full recompense provided by congress in preceding cases. Our public ships of war, in general, as well as the private armed vessels, have continued also their activity and success against the commerce of the enemy, and by their vigilance and address have greatly frustrated the efforts of the hostile squadrons distributed along our coasts, to intercept them in returning into port and resuming their cruises.—The augmentation of our naval force, as authorised at the last session of congress, is in progress. On the lakes our superiority is near at hand, were it not already established.

The events of the campaign, so far as they are known to us, furnish matter of congratulation, and show that, under a wise organization and efficient direction, the army is destined to a glory not less brilliant than that which already encircles the navy. The attack and capture of York is, in that quarter, a pre-sage of future and greater victories—while, on the western frontier, the issue of the late siege of Fort Meigs leaves nothing to regret but a single act of inconsiderate valour.

The sudden death of the di-

stinguished citizen who represented the United States in France, without any special arrangements by him for such a contingency, has left us without the expected sequel to his last communications; nor has the French government taken any measures for bringing the depending negotiations to a conclusion through its representative in the United States. This failure adds to delays before so unusually spun out. A successor to our departed minister has been appointed, and is ready to proceed on his mission. The course which he will pursue in fulfilling it, is that prescribed by a steady regard to the true interests of the United States, which equally avoids an abandonment of their just demands, and a connection of their features with the system of other powers.

The receipts into the treasury, from the 1st of October to the 31st of March last, including the sums received on account of treasury notes, and of the loans authorised by the acts of the last and the preceding session of congress, have amounted to 15,412,000 dollars. The expenditures during the same period amounted to 15,920,000, and left in the treasury on the 1st of April 1,857,000 dollars. The loan of 16 millions of dollars, authorised by the act of the 8th of February last, has been contracted for. Of that sum more than a million of dollars had been paid into the treasury prior to the 1st of April, and formed a part of the receipts as above stated. The remainder of that loan, amounting to near 15 millions of dollars, with the sum of five millions of dollars authorised to be issued in treasury notes, and the estimated receipts from the customs and the sales of public lands, amounting to 9,000,000 dollars, and making

making in the whole 29,300,000 dollars, to be received during the last nine months of the present year, will be necessary to meet the expenditures already authorised, and the engagements contracted in relation to the public debt. These engagements amount, during that period, to 10,500,000 dollars, which, with near one million for the civil, miscellaneous, and diplomatic expenses, both foreign and domestic; and 17,800,000 for the military and naval expenditures, including the ships of war building, and to be built, will leave a sum in the treasury at the end of the present year equal to that of the 1st of April last. A part of this sum may be considered as a resource for defraying any extraordinary expenses already authorised by law, beyond the sums above mentioned; and a further resource for any emergency may be found in the sum of one million of dollars, the loan of which to the United States has been authorised by the state of Pennsylvania, but which has not yet been brought into effect.

This view of our finances, whilst it shows that due provision has been made for the expenses of the current year, shows at the same time, by the limited amount of the actual revenue, and the dependence on loans, the necessity of providing more adequately for the future supplies of the treasury. This can best be done by a well digested system of internal revenue, in aid of existing sources; which will have the effect both of abridging the amount of necessary loans, and on that account, as well as by placing the public credit on a more satisfactory basis, of improving the terms on which loans may be obtained.

The loan of sixteen millions was not contracted for at a less interest

than about seven and a half per cent.; and although other causes may have had an agency, it cannot be doubted that, with the advantage of a more extended and less precarious revenue, a lower rate of interest might have sufficed. A longer postponement of the advantage could not fail to have a still greater influence on future loans.

In recommending to the national legislature this resort to additional taxes, I feel great satisfaction in the assurance, that our constituents, who have already displayed so much zeal and firmness in the cause of their country, will cheerfully give other proofs of their patriotism, which it calls for. Happily no people, with local and territorial exceptions never to be wholly avoided, are more able than the people of the United States to spare for the public wants a portion of their private means, whether regard be had to the ordinary profits of industry, or the ordinary price of subsistence in our country, compared with those in any other. And in no case could stronger reasons be felt for the yielding the requisite contributions.

By rendering the public resources certain, and commensurate to the public exigencies, the constituted authorities will be able to prosecute the war more rapidly to its proper issue; every hostile hope, founded on a calculated failure of our resources, will be cut off; and by adding to the evidence of bravery and skill, in combats on the ocean and on the land, an alacrity in supplying the treasury necessary to give them their fullest effect; and thus demonstrating to the world the public energy which our political institutions combine with the personal liberty distinguishing them, the best security will be provided

against future enterprises on the rights or the peace of the nation.

The contest in which the United States are engaged, appeals for its support to every motive that can animate an uncorrupted and enlightened people, to the love of country, to the voice of liberty, to the glorious founders of their independence, to a successful vindication of its violated attributes; to the gratitude and sympathy which demands security from the most degrading wrongs, of a class of citizens who have proved so worthy of the protection of their country by their heroic zeal in its defence; and finally to the sacred obligations of transmitting entire to future generations, that precious patrimony of national rights and independence, which is held in trust by the present from the goodness of Divine Providence.

Being aware of the inconveniences to which a protracted session, at this season, would be liable, I limit the present communication to objects of primary importance. In special messages which may ensue, regard will be had to the same consideration.

JAMES MADISON.

Washington, May 25, 1813.

ARMISTICE.

To-day, 4th June, (23d May), the plenipotentiaries named by the belligerent powers—

The duke of Vicenza, grand écuyer of France, general of division, &c. appointed minister plenipotentiary by his majesty the emperor of the French, &c. furnished with full powers by his highness the prince of Neufchatel, &c.

Count Schouvaloff, lieutenant-general and aid-de-camp to the emperor of all the Russias, &c. and

lieutenant-general Kleist, in the service of his majesty the king of Prussia, &c. furnished with full powers by his excellency the general of infantry Barclay de Tolly, general in chief of the combined armies:

After having exchanged their full powers, at Gebersdorff, the 1st June (20th May), and signed a suspension of arms for thirty-six hours, at the village of Peicherwitz, neutralized for that purpose, between the advanced posts of the respective armies, to continue the negotiations for an armistice proper to suspend hostilities between all the belligerent troops, no matter on what point they are, have agreed upon the articles following:

Art. I. Hostilities shall cease upon all points, upon the notification of the present armistice.

II. The armistice shall last to the 8th (20th) July, inclusive. Hostilities not to commence without giving six days notice.

III. Hostilities shall not consequently recommence till six days after the denunciation of the armistice at the respective headquarters.

IV. The line of demarcation between the belligerent armies is fixed as follows:—in Silesia, the line of demarcation of the combined army, setting out from the frontiers of Bohemia, shall pass through Dettersbach, Saffendorf, Landshut, follow the Bober to Rudelstadt; pass from thence through Bolkenhan, Striegau, follow the Strieganerwasser to Gauth, and get on the Oder by passing through Bettlern, Olfaschin, and Altholf. The combined army shall be at liberty to occupy the towns of Landshut, Rudelstadt, Bolkenhagen, Striegau, and Gauth, as well as their suburbs.

The line of the French army, also setting

setting out from the frontier which touches Bohemia, shall pass through Seiffershauf and Altkamnitz, follow the course of the small river which falls into the Bober, not far from Bertelsdorf: afterwards from the Bober to Lahn; from thence to Newkeek upon the Katzbach, by the most direct line, from whence it will follow the course of that river to the Oder. The towns of Parchwitz, Leignitz, Goldberg, and Lahn, no matter on what side the river they are situated, may, as well as their suburbs, be occupied by the French troops.

All the territory between the French and combined armies shall be neutral, and cannot be occupied by any troops; not even by the landsturm. This disposition consequently applies to the town of Breslau. From the mouth of the Katzbach the line of demarcation shall follow the course of the Oder to the frontiers of Saxony and Prussia, and join the Elbe, in passing the Oder, not far from Muhlrose, and following the frontiers of Prussia, so that all Saxony, the country of Dessau, and the small states surrounding the princes of the confederation of the Rhine, shall belong to the French army, and all Prussia shall belong to the combined army.

The Prussian territories in Saxony shall be considered as neutral, and shall not be occupied by any troops.

The Elbe to its mouth fixes and determines the line of demarcation between the belligerent armies, with the exception of the points hereafter mentioned.

The French army shall remain in possession of the isles, and every thing which it occupied in the 32d military division, on the 27th May (8th June) at midnight.

If Hamburg is only besieged, that town shall be treated like the other besieged towns. All the articles of the present armistice, which are relative to them, are applicable to it.

The line of the advanced posts of the belligerent armies at the epoch of the 27th May (8th June) at midnight, shall form, for the 32d military division, that of the demarcation of the armistice, with the military alterations which the respective commandants shall judge necessary. These alterations shall be made in concert with an officer of the staff of each army, upon the principle of perfect reciprocity.

V. The fortresses of Dantzic, Modlin, Zamosc, Stettin, and Custrin, shall be re-victualled every five days, according to the force of their garrisons, through the care of the commanders of the blockading troops. A commissary appointed by the commandant of each place shall be with one of the besieging troops, to see that the stipulated provisions is exactly supplied.

VI. During the time of the armistice every fortress shall have behind its walls an extent of a French league. This ground shall be neutral. Magdeburg will consequently have its frontier a league upon the right bank of the Elbe.

VII. A French officer shall be sent into each of the besieged places, to inform the commandant of the conclusion of the armistice, and of its re-victualling. A Russian or Prussian officer shall accompany him during the journey, both going and coming.

VIII. Commissaries named on both sides, in each place, shall fix the price of the provisions furnished. This account, settled at the end of every month by the commissioners charged with maintaining the ar-

mistice, shall be paid at the headquarters by the paymaster-general of the army.

IX. Officers of the staff shall be appointed on either side to regulate in concert the general line of demarcation, respecting points which shall not be determined by running water, and respecting which there may arise any difficulty.

X. All the movements of the troops shall be so regulated, that each army shall occupy its new line on the 12th June (31st May). All the corps, or parts of the combined army which may be beyond the Elbe or in Saxony, shall return into Prussia.

XI. Officers of the French and combined armies shall be dispatched conjointly, to cause hostilities to cease on all points, and make the armistice known. The respective commanders in chief shall furnish them with the necessary powers.

XII. On both sides two commissaries, general officers, shall be appointed to watch over the stipulations of the present armistice. They shall remain in the line of neutrality at Neumarkt, to decide upon such disputes as may occur.

These commissaries shall proceed there within twenty-four hours, in order to expedite officers and orders that may be sent in consequence of the present armistice.

Done and settled the present act in twelve articles, in double copies, the day, month, and year above mentioned.

CAULINCOURT, duke of Vicenza.

COUNT SCHOUVALOFF—DE KLEIST.

Seen and ratified by order of the emperor and king, the prince vice-constable of France, major-general of the grand army.

(Signed) ALEXANDER.

June 4, 1813.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS MAJESTY THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, SIGNED AT REICHENBACH, THE 15TH OF JUNE, 1813.

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity.

His majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, have spared no sacrifice, neglected no effort, to put a limit to the destructive projects of the enemy of Europe. It is at a period when Providence has manifestly favoured their arms, that their majesties, animated with the desire of restoring independence, peace, and prosperity to nations, have agreed, with a view of employing all the means in their power for the attainment of this salutary end, to adjust, by a particular convention, the nature and extent of the pecuniary succours, and the assistance which the two crowns shall mutually afford to each other during this war. Accordingly, they have appointed their respective plenipotentiaries, namely, his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, William Shaw, viscount Cathcart, &c. ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to his majesty the emperor of all the Russias; and his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, Charles count de Nesselrode, a privy councillor, secretary of state, &c. who, after having compared and exchanged their full powers, have concluded the following articles:—

Art. I. His majesty the emperor of all the Russias, being firmly resolved to carry on the present war with the utmost energy, engages to employ throughout,

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one hundred and sixty thousand effective troops of every description of force, exclusive of the garrisons of the fortresses.

Art. II. To contribute on his part to the same end, in the most effectual and prompt manner, his majesty the king of Great Britain engages to place at the disposal of his majesty the emperor of all the Russias, for the service of the year 1813, the following sums:

Art. 1. One million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-four pounds sterling, payable in London.

2. England takes upon herself the maintenance of the Russian fleet, and the crews thereof, now in the ports of Great Britain; an expense estimated at five hundred thousand pounds sterling.

Art. III. The sum of one million three hundred and thirty-three thousand three hundred and thirty-four pounds sterling shall be payable from month to month, in such manner as that the whole shall be discharged on the 1st of January, 1814.

Art. IV. To supply the deficiency of specie, the want of which is daily more felt in the circulation of the continent, to combine in this important contest all the means which may secure its success, the two high contracting parties, in concert with his majesty the king of Prussia, have agreed to issue notes, payable to bearer, under the denomination of federative paper.

a. The amount of this paper-money shall not exceed the sum of five millions sterling, for which the three contracting powers are conjointly guarantees. Two-thirds of this sum are placed at the disposal of Russia, and one-third at that of Prussia.

b. The reimbursement of this

sum of five millions sterling is to be made by the three powers in the following proportions, and in such manner that

England shall only take upon herself - - - three-sixths.

Russia - - - two-sixths.

Prussia - - - one-sixth.

c. This reimbursement is not to take effect before the 1st day of July, 1815, or six months after the conclusion of a definitive peace.

d. The sum of five millions sterling of federative paper, so to be issued in the name of the three powers, is in no case to be applied to any other than the expenses of the war, and the maintenance of the armies in activity.

e. A commission, named by the three powers, will regulate whatever relates to the distribution of this sum. The payments are to be made progressively from month to month. All that relates, however, to the form, the guarantee, the issue, appropriation, circulation, and reimbursement of this paper, is to be regulated in a still more particular manner by a special convention, the stipulations whereof shall have the same force and validity, as if they had been inserted word for word in the present treaty.

Art. V. The British government having taken upon itself the maintenance of the Russian fleet, for the sum of 500,000*l.* sterling, as stated in article II. his majesty the emperor of all the Russias consents, on the other hand, to the employment by his Britannic majesty of the said fleet in the European seas, in the manner which he may judge the most useful to the operations against the common enemy.

Art. VI. Although the present convention stipulates only the succours to be supplied by Great Bri-

tain during the year 1813; still, as their reciprocal engagements are to be in force as long as the present war shall last, the two high contracting parties formally promise, to concert anew on the aid they are to afford each other, if, which God forbid, the war should be prolonged beyond the abovementioned period; such fresh agreement being chiefly with the view of giving a greater development to their efforts.

Art. VII. The two high contracting parties will act in the most perfect concert with regard to military operations, and will freely communicate to each other whatever relates to their respective policy. They above all reciprocally engage, not to negotiate separately with their common enemies, to sign neither peace, truce, nor any convention whatsoever, otherwise than by mutual agreement.

Art. VIII. Officers shall be allowed to be accredited to the generals commanding in chief the several armies in active service: they shall be at liberty to correspond with their courts, and keep them constantly informed of the military events which may have taken place, as well as of every thing relative to the operations of those armies.

Art. IX. The present convention shall be ratified with the least possible delay.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention with their hands, and have thereunto affixed the seal of their arms.

Done at Reichenbach, the third (fifteenth) June, 1813.

(L. S.) CATHCART.

(L. S.) CHARLES COUNT DE NESSELRODE.

(L. S.) JEAN D'ANSTETT.

CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND HIS MAJESTY THE KING OF PRUSSIA, SIGNED AT REICHENBACH, THE 14TH OF JUNE, 1813.

Art. I.—The object of the present war being to re-establish the independence of the States oppressed by France, the two high contracting parties bind themselves in consequence, to direct all their operations towards that end; and as, in order to accomplish the same, it will be essential to replace Prussia in possession of her relative power, and to prevent France from ever occupying henceforward any of the strong places in the North of Germany, or exercising any sort of influence in that quarter; his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland engages to co-operate effectually to that end. On the other hand, his majesty the king of Prussia, who, in his transactions with Russia, has already expressly reserved the rights of the house of Brunswick Lunenburgh upon Hanover, will co-operate with all his means towards the restoration of their hereditary states to that august house, and to the ducal house of Brunswick.

Art. II. Prussia engages to maintain in the field an army of eighty thousand men, exclusive of the garrisons in the fortresses.

Art. III. England engages to place, for the year 1813, at the disposal of his Prussian majesty, 666,666*l.* in monthly payments. The same engagement, for five millions of federative paper, as in the Russian treaty.

Arts. IV. V. and VI. as in the Russian treaty.

Art. VII. The British navy shall co-operate, wherever it is practicable,

ble, in the defence of the Prussian States, in support of the military expeditions in aid of the common cause, and in the protection of the commerce of Prussia.

Art. VIII. This treaty shall forthwith be communicated to Russia, Sweden, and Austria.

Art. IX. It shall be ratified with the least possible delay.

In witness whereof, &c.

Reichenbach, the 14th June,
1813.

CHARLES STEWART.

C. A. DE HARDENBERG.

PRINCIPAL ARTICLES OF THE CONVENTION BETWEEN HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY AND THE EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS, SIGNED AT PETERSWALDAW, 6TH OF JULY, 1813.

Art. I. The vast resources of the Russian empire furnishing to his imperial majesty the number of troops which he has determined to employ beyond the frontiers of his empire, and his majesty the king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland having appropriated the greatest part of his own to the defence of Spain, and to the protection of Portugal, his Britannic majesty has consented to take upon himself the expense of the maintenance of the German legion in the service of his imperial majesty, the strength of which shall be increased to ten thousand men.

Art. II. So long as Great Britain shall provide for the maintenance of the said legion, the same shall remain at the absolute disposal of his Britannic majesty, to be employed on the continent of Europe. It shall be commanded by general officers of his choice.

His imperial majesty engages to

provide for the recruiting of the legion, and to keep it in a state for service, and complete, as far as may be practicable, whilst the replacing the articles furnished for the equipment, arming, and the *mise en campagne* of the said legion, shall appertain to his Britannic majesty.

All the sums paid by Great Britain in virtue of the articles of the present convention, shall be employed solely for the purpose of defraying the expenses and the maintenance of the German legion in the service of his imperial majesty.

Art. III. The high contracting parties have agreed, that the sums destined for the maintenance of the said corps shall be paid to the order of the government of his imperial majesty, at the rate of ten pounds fifteen shillings sterling per annum for each effective man of the legion, with the express reservation, that its numbers shall not exceed ten thousand men.

His Britannic majesty engages to furnish the arms, ammunition, clothing, and the articles of equipment, which shall be wanting at the period when the corps shall be placed at his disposal.

Art. V. The subsidy fixed by the third article shall be paid every two months in advance, for the number of officers and soldiers who shall have been returned as effective in the last day of the preceding month.

Art. X. His majesty the emperor consents to cede to his Britannic majesty, either in his character of king of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or in that of the elector of Hanover, the property of the legion, if the circumstances of the war should induce his majesty the king to desire

sire this arrangement; which, however, shall in no way invalidate the capitulations granted by his imperial majesty to the individuals who compose the legion.

Done at Peterswaldaw in Silesia, the 24th June (6th July), 1813.

CATHCART.

(L.S.)

D. ALOPEUS.

(L.S.)

There were also supplementary conventions by this country, and Russia and Prussia, chiefly relating to bills of exchange.

PRINCE REGENT'S LETTER TO LORD WELLINGTON.

Copy of the prince regent's late letter to lord Wellington.

Carlton-house, July 3, 1813.

My dear lord,—Your glorious conduct is beyond all human praise, and far above my reward; I know no language the world affords worthy to express it. I feel I have nothing left to say, but devoutly to offer up my prayers of gratitude to Providence, that it has, in its omnipotent bounty, blessed my country and myself with such a general. You have sent me among the trophies of your unrivalled fame the staff of a French marshal, and I send you in return that of England. The British army will hail it with enthusiasm, while the whole universe will acknowledge those valorous efforts which have so imperiously called for it. That uninterrupted health, and still increasing laurels, may continue to crown you through a glorious and long career of life, are the never-ceasing and most ardent wishes of,

My dear lord,

your very sincere and
faithful friend,

G. P. R.

The marquis of Wellington.

PRAYER AND THANKSGIVING FOR
THE VICTORY.

The following form of prayer and thanksgiving was read in all the churches last Sunday. Nobody will accuse us of thinking lightly either of lord Wellington or his victory; but we believe that except in the case of royal personages, it has not hitherto been usual to call the attention of Heaven in this manner to an individual human being. Indeed, in a religion which discountenances every species of violence and even retaliation, it is scarcely decorous to offer up prayers or thanksgivings on the score of war; to say nothing of the policy of making success a proof of being in favour with Heaven:—

“O Lord God of hosts, who chiefly declarest thy Almighty power, by protecting the oppressed, and smiting to the ground the proud oppressor, and who, in the defence of injured nations, teachest thy servants to war, and girdest them with strength for battle, we yield thee praise and thanksgiving for the continued successes in Spain, with which thou hast been pleased to crown the conduct of our general, and the valour of our soldiers; but more especially for the signal and decisive victory which, under the same commander, thou hast recently vouchsafed to the allied armies in the battle of Vittoria. Continue, we pray thee, thy blessing upon the counsels of our general; maintain and support the courage and strength of the allied armies; sanctify the cause in which they are united; and as it hath pleased thee to put back, with confusion of face, the proud invader of Spain and Portugal, let the allied armies and allied kingdoms prostrate themselves with
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one consent before thee, and acknowledge with humility of heart the victory to be thine. These prayers and thanksgivings we humbly offer to thy divine majesty, in the name and through the mediation of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ.—Amen.”

GENERAL ORDERS.

Horse Guards, July 6.

The commander in chief commands it to be declared in general orders, that his royal highness the prince regent, in consideration of the meritorious services of the non-commissioned officers of the army, and with a view of extending encouragement and advantages to those of the infantry, corresponding to the benefit which the appointments of troop serjeant-majors offer in the cavalry, has been most graciously pleased, in the name and on the behalf of his majesty, to direct, that in all regiments of infantry, whose services are not subject to limitation, the pay of the serjeant-major shall henceforth be raised to 3*s.* per day, and that the pay of one serjeant in each company of battalions of the above description, viz. of those serving without limitation, shall be raised to 2*s.* 4*d.* per day, and that the said serjeants shall be distinguished by an honourable badge, of which, however, and of the advantages attending it, they will, in case of misconduct, be liable to be deprived, at the discretion of the colonel or commanding officer of the regiment, or by the sentence of a court-martial.

In consequence of the above most gracious intimation of his royal highness the prince regent's pleasure, the commander in chief directs, that the serjeants selected for this distinction shall be called

the “colour serjeants,” and that they shall bear above their chevron, the honourable badge of a regimental colour supported by two cross swords.

It is his royal highness's pleasure, that the duty of attending the colours in the field, shall, at all times, be performed by these serjeants, but that these distinctions shall in no wise interfere with the regular performance of their regimental and company duties.

The commander in chief recommends to the colonels of regiments the utmost circumspection in the selection of the colour serjeants; and he hopes that this honourable appellation will invariably be bestowed on men of approved valour, distinguished by their attention to the duties of their station, and to the discipline of their respective companies.

The commander in chief avails himself of this opportunity of addressing himself to those who are the immediate objects of this order.

His royal highness entertains a just sense of the meritorious services of the non-commissioned officers of the army; and he is persuaded that, under the direction of their officers, they have individually and collectively contributed largely to uphold the character of the British army in its present pre-eminence, and his royal highness rejoices most cordially that these services have been thus graciously noticed.

It may reasonably be expected that the reward which is thus held out to merit, will prove an incitement to all; for it is within the reach of all who have hands and hearts to serve their king and country; it is offered equally to the young as to the old soldier; it is the recompense of honesty, sobriety, fidelity,

fidelity, and personal bravery ; and his royal highness trusts it will prove the most powerful incentive to the non-commissioned officers of the British army to persevere in that line of conduct, which has obtained for them this munificent and distinguished favour from their country and sovereign.

By command of his royal highness the commander in chief,

HARRY CALVERT, adj.-gen.

THE SPEAKER'S ADDRESS TO THE PRINCE REGENT, July 22.

May it please your royal highness,

We his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain and Ireland in parliament assembled, have closed the supplies for the service of the present year ; and reflecting upon the various transactions which have come before us, we look back with satisfaction upon those which concern our domestic policy, entertaining also a confident hope in the prosperous issue of those great events which must regulate the settlement of our foreign relations.

Under the pressure of great burdens at home, and the still continuing necessity of great exertions, a plan has been devised and executed, which, by a judicious and skilful arrangement of our finances, will for a considerable period postpone, or greatly mitigate, the demands for new taxation, and at the same time materially accelerate the final extinction of the national debt.

Our reviving commerce also looks forward to those new fields of enterprise which are opening in the East ; and after long and labo-

rious discussions, we presume to hope, that (in conformity with the injunctions delivered to us by your royal highness at the commencement of the present session) such prudent and adequate arrangements have been made for the future government of the British possessions in India, as will combine the greatest advantages of commerce and revenue, and provide also for the lasting prosperity and happiness of that vast and populous portion of the British empire.

But, sir, these are not the only objects to which our attention has been called : other momentous changes have been proposed for our consideration. Adhering, however, to those laws by which the throne, the parliament, and the government of this country, are made fundamentally protestant, we have not consented to allow that those who acknowledge a foreign jurisdiction should be authorised to administer the powers and jurisdictions of this realm ; willing as we are, nevertheless, and willing as I trust we ever shall be, to allow the largest scope to religious toleration.—With respect to the established church, following the munificent example of the last parliament, we have continued the same annual grant for improving the value of its smaller benefices ; and we have at the same time endeavoured to provide more effectually for the general discharge of those sacred duties of a church establishment, which, by forming the moral and religious character of a brave and intelligent people, have, under the blessing of God, laid the deep foundations of British greatness.

Sir, by your royal highness's commands, we have also turned our views to the state of our foreign relations. In the North, we rejoice

rejoice to see, by the treaties laid before us, that a strong barrier is erected against the inordinate ambition of France, and we presume to hope that the time may now be arriving which shall set bounds to her remorseless spirit of conquest.

In our contest with America it must be always remembered that we have not been the aggressors. Slow to take up arms against those who should have been naturally our friends by the original ties of kindred—a common language—and (as might have been hoped) by a joint zeal in the cause of national liberty—we must now nevertheless put forth our whole strength, and maintain, with our ancient superiority upon the ocean, those maritime rights which we have resolved never to surrender.

But, sir, whatever doubts may cloud the rest of our views and hopes, it is to the peninsula that we look with sentiments of unquestionable delight and triumph; there the world has seen two gallant and independent nations rescued from the mortal grasp of fraud and tyranny, by British councils and British valour; and within the space of five short years from the dawn of our successes at Roleia and Vimiera, the same illustrious commander has received the tribute of our admiration and gratitude for the brilliant passage of the Douro, the hard-fought battle of Talavera, the day of Busaco, the deliverance of Portugal, the mural crowns won at Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos, the splendid victory of Salamanca, and the decisive overthrow of the armies of France in their total rout at Vittoria—deeds which have made all Europe ring with his renown, and have covered the British name with a blaze of unrivalled glory.

Sir, that the cause of this country

and of the world may not at such a crisis suffer from any want of zeal on our part to strengthen the hands of his majesty's government, we have finished our supplies with a large and liberal aid, to enable your royal highness to take all such measures as the emergencies of public affairs may require, for disappointing or defeating the enterprises and designs of the enemy.

The bill which I have to present to your royal highness for this purpose is entitled

An act for enabling his majesty to raise the sum of five millions for the service of Great Britain, and for applying the sum of 200,000*l.* for the service of Ireland.

To which bill his majesty's faithful commons, with all humility, entreat his majesty's royal assent.

The speaker having concluded, and bowed to the prince, his royal highness moved his hat.

The clerks then made their obeisances, and the deputy-clerk of the crown read the title of the vote of credit bill. Mr. Cowper, the clerk assistant of the parliaments, made his obeisance, and the prince regent having moved his hat, Mr. Cowper notified the royal assent in the usual form and words, as applied to a money bill, namely, *Le Roi remercie ses bons sujets, accepte leur benevolence, et aussi le veut.*

The title of the remaining bill, The penitentiaryhouse bill, was then read; and his royal highness having moved his hat, Mr. Cowper notified the royal assent in the usual form and words as applied generally to a public bill, namely, *Le Roi le veut.*

His royal highness then delivered the following speech:

My lords and gentlemen,

I cannot release you from your attendance in parliament without repeating

repeating the expression of my deep regret at the continuance of his majesty's lamented indisposition.

The attention which you have paid to the public interests in the course of this session demands my warmest acknowledgements.

The splendid and signal success which has attended the commencement of the campaign in the peninsula, the consummate skill and ability displayed by field-marshal the marquis of Wellington in the progress of those operations which have led to the great and decisive victory obtained near Vittoria, and the valour and intrepidity by which his majesty's forces and those of his allies have been distinguished, are as highly gratifying to my feelings as they have been to those of the whole nation. Whilst these operations have added new lustre to the British arms, they afford the best prospect of the deliverance of the peninsula from the tyranny and oppression of France; and they furnish the most decisive proof of the wisdom of that policy which has induced you, under every vicissitude of fortune, to persevere in the support of this glorious contest.

The entire failure of the French ruler in his designs against the Russian empire, and the destruction of the French army employed on that service, were followed by the advance of the Russian forces, since joined by those of Prussia, to the banks of the Elbe; and though upon the renewal of the contest the allied armies have found themselves obliged to retreat before the superior numbers collected by the enemy, their conduct during a series of severe and sanguinary conflicts has nobly upheld their military character, and commanded the admiration of Europe.

I have great satisfaction in acquainting you, that there exists between me and the courts of St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Stockholm, the most cordial union and concert; and I trust I shall be enabled, by the aids which you have so liberally afforded, to render this union effectual for the accomplishment of the great purpose for which it has been established.

I regret the continuance of the war with the United States of America.

My desire to re-establish between the two countries those friendly relations, so important to their mutual interests, continues unabated; but I cannot consent to purchase the restoration of peace by any sacrifice of the maritime rights of the British empire.

Gentlemen of the house of commons,

I thank you for the liberal provision you have made for the services of the present year.

It is a great satisfaction to me to reflect, that, by the regulations you have adopted for the redemption of the national debt, you have established a system which will not retard its ultimate liquidation, whilst at the same time it provides for the vigorous prosecution of the war, with the least practicable addition to the public burdens.

My lords and gentlemen,

I entirely approve of the arrangements which you have made for the government of the British territories in India, and for the regulation of the British commerce in that part of the world. They appear to have been wisely framed, with a view to the circumstances which have occurred since this subject was last under the consideration of parliament. By these arrangements you have preserved in its

its essential parts that system of government which experience has proved to be not less calculated to provide for the happiness of the inhabitants of India, than to promote the interests of Great Britain; and you have judiciously extended to the subjects of the united kingdom in general a participation in the commerce of countries within the limits of the East India company's charter, which will, I doubt not, have the effect of augmenting the resources of India, and of increasing and improving the trade and navigation of his majesty's dominions.

The tried and affectionate loyalty of his majesty's people, the constancy which they have displayed during this long and arduous war, and the patience with which they have sustained the burdens necessarily imposed upon them, have made an indelible impression on my mind. Such continued and persevering exertions, under so severe a pressure, afford the strongest proof of their attachment to that constitution which it is the first object of my life to maintain.

In the success which has recently attended his majesty's arms, I acknowledge with devout gratitude the hand of Divine Providence. The use I desire to make of these and of all other advantages, is to promote and secure the welfare of his majesty's people; and I cannot more decidedly evince this disposition, than by employing the powerful means you have placed in my hands, in such a manner as may be best calculated to reduce the extravagant pretensions of the enemy, and thereby to facilitate the attainment, in conjunction with my allies, of a secure and honourable peace.

Then the lord chancellor, by

the prince regent's command, said:—

My lords and gentlemen,

It is the command of his royal highness the prince regent, acting in the name and on behalf of his majesty, that this parliament be prorogued to Monday the 23d day of August next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Monday the 23d day of August next.

PROCLAMATION OF MARSHAL SOULT.

To be read by a commanding officer at the head of companies in each regiment.

Soldiers!—The recent events of the war have induced his majesty the emperor to invest me, by an imperial decree of the 1st inst. with the command of the armies of Spain, and to honour me with the flattering title of his '*lieutenant*.' This high distinction cannot but convey to my mind sensations of gratitude and joy; but they are not unalloyed with regret at the train of events which have, in the opinion of his majesty, rendered such an appointment necessary in Spain. It is known to you, soldiers, that the enmity of Russia, roused into active hostility by the eternal enemy of the continent, made it incumbent that numerous armies should be assembled in Germany early in the spring. For this purpose were many of your comrades withdrawn. The emperor himself assumed the command; and the arms of France, guided by his powerful and commanding genius, achieved a succession of as brilliant victories as any that adorn the annals of our country. The presumptuous hopes of aggrandisement entertained by the enemy were confounded. Pacific overtures

tures were made; and the emperor, always inclined to consult the welfare of his subjects, by following moderate councils, listened to the proposals that were made. While Germany was thus the theatre of great events, that enemy, who, under pretence of succouring the inhabitants of the peninsula, has in reality devoted them to ruin, was not inactive. He assembled the whole of his disposable force, English, Spaniards, and Portuguese, under his most experienced officers, and, relying upon the superiority of his numbers, advanced in three divisions against the French force assembled upon the Douro. With well-provided fortresses in his front and rear, a skilful general, enjoying the confidence of his troops, might, by selecting good positions, have braved and discomfited this motley levy. But, unhappily, at this critical period, timorous and pusillanimous councils were followed. The fortresses were abandoned and blown up. Hasty and disorderly marches gave confidence to the enemy; and a veteran army, small indeed in number, but great in all that constitutes the military character, which had fought, bled, and triumphed in every province of Spain, beheld with indignation its laurels tarnished, and itself compelled to abandon all its acquisitions—the trophies of many a well fought and bloody day. When at length the indignant voice of the troops arrested this disgraceful flight, and its commander, touched with shame, yielded to the general desire, and determined upon giving battle near Vittoria, who can doubt—from this generous enthusiasm—this fine sense of honour—what would have been the result had the general been worthy of his troops? had he, in short, made those dis-

positions and movements which would have secured to one part of his army the co-operation and support of the other?—Let us not, however, defraud the enemy of the praise which is due to him. The dispositions and arrangements of their general have been prompt, skilful, and consecutive. The valour and steadiness of his troops have been praiseworthy. Yet do not forget that it is to the benefit of your example they owe their present military character; and that whenever the relative duties of a French general and his troops have been ably fulfilled, their enemies have commonly had no other resource than flight.—Soldiers,—I partake your chagrin—your grief—your indignation. I know that the blame of the present situation of the army is imputable to others; be the merit of repairing it yours. I have borne testimony to the emperor of your bravery and zeal. His instructions are to drive the enemy from those lofty heights which enable him proudly to survey our fertile valleys, and chase them across the Ebro. It is on the Spanish soil that your tents must next be pitched, and from thence your resources drawn. No difficulties can be insurmountable to your valour and devotion. Let us then exert ourselves with mutual ardour; and be assured that nothing can give greater felicity to the paternal heart of the emperor than the knowledge of the triumphs of his army—of its increasing glory—of its having rendered itself worthy of him, and of our dear country. Extensive but combined movements for the relief of the fortresses are on the eve of taking place. They will be completed in a few days. Let the account of our success be dated from Vittoria—and

—and the birth of his imperial majesty be celebrated in that city : so shall we render memorable an epoch deservedly dear to all Frenchmen.

(Signed) SOULT, duke of Dalmatia,
lieutenant de l'empereur.

July 23, 1813.

BAVARIAN DECLARATION.

Every one knows the relations which for eight years past have bound Bavaria to France, as well as the motives which occasioned them, and the conscientious good faith with which the king has fulfilled their conditions.

Other states gradually joined themselves to the first ally of the French empire. This junction of sovereigns took the form of an union, of such a nature as the German history exhibits more than one example.

The act of confederation, signed at Paris on the 12th of July 1806, although imperfect, stipulated the mutual conditions which were to exist between the confederated states and his majesty the emperor of the French, as protector of this alliance.

The foundation of this treaty on both sides was the interest of both parties ; none other could exist ; for otherwise this act of confederation would have been nothing else than an act of unconditional submission. Meanwhile the French government appears to have considered it absolutely in that light, because that, in every act which followed on that solemn contract, it never took retrospect in application of the fundamental points, which rendered the continental war mutual to the several contracting parties, neither

1813.

the spirit nor the intent which presided in its tenor, but gave to it, at her own pleasure, the most extended explanation ; she required at her own will the military forces of the confederates, for wars which were totally foreign to their interests, and the motives for which had not been previously intimated to them.

Bavaria, which considered France as a main support for her preservation, but whose principles, nevertheless, caused her the most serious apprehensions, reflected on and fulfilled all her obligations to France with the most unbounded zeal and integrity ; no sacrifice to her seemed too great to fulfil the wishes of her ally, and to contribute to the restoration of the continental peace, which was stated to be the end of these renewed undertakings.

When the emperor Napoleon had in the year 1812 determined on the war against Russia, he demanded of Bavaria to come forward with the maximum of her contingent. This war was undeniably entirely foreign to the interests of Bavaria ; it was painful to her, in every respect, to suffer her troops to march against a state which had always been her friend, and for a long time past was the guarantee of her independence, and against a sovereign who is allied to the royal family by a double tie of consanguinity. Already had the French ministry expressed themselves in the most alarming terms, and even proclaimed them in diplomatic documents in the face of Europe. These expressions aimed at nothing less than to represent the confederated states in such a light as if they were the vassals of France, and their princes bound, under punishment of felony, to do every thing which his majesty the

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emperor

emperor Napoleon might think proper to require of them.

Notwithstanding the alarm which the expression of such principles must necessarily cause, Bavaria still resolved, as she had no point of law to support, to let 30,000 men of her troops join the French army. The unexampled misfortunes which distinguished that campaign are too well known to repeat the distressing portrait of it here. The whole Bavarian army, including a reinforcement of 8000 men, which joined it in the month of October, was destroyed.

There are but few families that were not put into mourning by that dreadful catastrophe; and what was still more painful to his majesty's paternal heart was, that so much blood had been shed in a cause which was not the cause of the nation.—Meanwhile, preparations were made for a new campaign; and Bavaria, which was only the more steadfast to her ally in proportion to his being unfortunate, made no hesitation in replacing the weak remains of 38,000 Bavarians, who had fought under the French standards, by a new division.

At the commencement of the campaign, glorious prospects crowned the so often victorious arms of the emperor Napoleon. Germany, and all Europe, believed that, as the emperor now found himself in a condition wherein he might show his moderation, without exposing himself to any suspicion of weakness, he would have accepted the mediation which Austria, from the most wise and generous motives, offered, for the purpose of procuring peace to the world, or at least to the continent. This hope was destroyed. On the contrary, she saw the number of her enemies increase, by the powerful coalition of Austria to the coalition already

formed against the emperor Napoleon. From this moment the situation of Bavaria became very critical. The energy of the Bavarian government, and the attachment of a nation which considers no sacrifice heavy when it is necessary to prove their love to an adored sovereign, had already, as by a magic stroke, created a new army, which marched towards the borders on the side of Austria. But the French army, to which the emperor had given the name of "The army of observation of Bavaria," and which was assembling in the vicinity of Wurtzbourg, and in the surrounding territory, instead of supporting the Bavarian army, suddenly received another destination.

In this critical situation, the emperor did not even deign to bestow on his most faithful ally the least consideration of means for his protection. Nay, more, the second army of observation, which was to assemble under the command of marshal Augereau, was not formed; and its weak stem, which was still at Wurtzbourg, totally disappeared.

Being in this manner totally deserted, his majesty would have infringed on the most sacred of all his duties, had he not yielded to the wishes of his faithful subjects, which were daily more loudly expressed. The sovereigns allied against France did not neglect to inform the Bavarian government of the principles of moderation which animated them, and to assure it of their formal guarantee of the integrity of the kingdom of Bavaria and its full borders, as at that time, on condition of the king's joining his warlike powers to theirs, not to carry on a war of ambition or aggrandisement against France, but to secure the independence of the German nation, and of the states

states of which it consists, and to prevail on the emperor Napoleon to sign an honourable peace. His majesty could not have given a refusal to such proposals without becoming criminal to his own subjects, and being blind to the sacred principles on which only their welfare can be founded. In full confidence in such open and generous offers, he has therefore resolved to accept them in their full extent, and to conclude an alliance with the three princes against the extensive views which France has shown to entertain, and for the good effects of which his majesty will use his utmost endeavours.

His majesty wishes that a speedy peace may soon restore the relations which he would not now have relinquished, had not the illegal extension of a power, which grew every day more insupportable, rendered it his duty to take the steps and form the alliance he has done.

From henceforward, united in interest and sentiments with his high and powerful allies, his royal Bavarian majesty would neglect no means which may contribute to draw closer the ties that bind him to them.

Munich, Oct. 17, 1813.

PROCLAMATION OF THE SPANISH
GENERAL GIRON TO THE FRENCH.

Soldiers,—The war in which you are engaged is not now a national war; it is the result of the mad ambition of your emperor, who wishes to subject all nations.

Spain was in intimate friendship with France; Napoleon wished to conquer her; 400,000 warriors remain interred in her soil, and you now find yourselves, after so many labours, once more on the other side of the Pyrenees.

Prussia was almost subjected; the emperor wished to destroy her;

and 100,000 Prussians are now fighting for liberty.

Russia, relying upon the good faith of her treaties, your chief wished to invade; you lost in a single campaign 300,000 soldiers, 40,000 horses, and more than 1000 cannon; and Russia's victorious armies having saved Poland, have collected upon the Elbe, and threaten France herself. See, then, how he despises the blood which you spill, and laughs at your valour.

Soldiers! Europe has determined to be free, and the armies of Napoleon cannot resist her—she fights for the peace and liberty of the world, and Frenchmen should take as much or more interest than we in the good success of this contest, equally terrible as necessary.

Soldiers! It is now requisite to put an end to this war of twenty years, which would last as long as your emperor's life. Hasten to concur in this grand work; Spaniards invite you, and will receive you as brothers; and every French soldier, as soon as he presents himself, shall receive his daily ration and bread; the cavalry soldier shall likewise be at liberty to sell his horse; you shall be at liberty to go wherever you wish, or to enter into the foreign corps which are in our pay.

Soldiers! In a just and national war no man of honour would abandon his colours; but under existing circumstances it is better to join the cause of the whole world than combat for that of a single man, and contribute to the disgrace of your own country. Who among you can be actuated by greater honour, valour, and love for France than Moreau and Bernadotte? You know them well, and you know that they fight for our cause, which is that of justice and of glory. Haste to imitate them.

TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE ITALIAN AND ILLYRIAN QUARTER OF THE TYROL.

On the 8th instant there was signed at Ried, by the plenipotentiaries of his imperial apostolic majesty, and of his majesty the king of Bavaria, a treaty of alliance and amity, by which Bavaria renounces her connection with the confederation of the Rhine, and joins all her forces to those of the allied powers, for the important objects which they have in view. In communicating this great event, which must have consequences so important and so happy, to the knowledge of the inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian Tyrol, it is unnecessary to add, that every kind of hostility ceases towards that power, our new ally; and that it is the duty of every individual to contribute by all the means in his power to consolidate that union, the object of which must cause it to be regarded as sacred. His majesty the emperor of Austria will consider every violation of the Bavarian territory, and all resistance of the authorities established by his high ally, as an act of hostility against Austria, inasmuch as what is done for the one, contributes to the advantage of both. There is nothing but a durable peace which can restore the welfare of the Tyrol, the former prosperous state of its commerce, and a regular civil constitution; and that peace can only be brought about by the close union of the allied courts. His imperial majesty promises peace to the inhabitants of the Italian and Illyrian Tyrol, and hopes that every one will await in tranquillity, and with confidence, the particular indemnifications to which he may have claims, and which his majesty will in no

case regulate before hand. The fixing of the boundaries of each state will not in future depend on the pleasure of a single sovereign, or on the right of conquest, but on the consent of other powers. Such is the wish of my master,—the object of this war,—the spirit of the peace which must be conquered, and which shall restore their rights to every people in Europe.

(Signed) ROSCHMANNY,
Privy-councillor of his imperial majesty, &c.

Hildesheim, Nov. 6.

In virtue of a convention between his royal highness the prince regent of England and the king of Prussia, the principality of Hildesheim has been reunited to the states of his royal highness in Germany. Count Walmoden has been charged to take possession of it. The ceremony took place on the 3d inst. on which occasion the following proclamation was published:

GEORGE PRINCE REGENT, IN THE
NAME OF HIS MAJESTY GEORGE
III, ETC.

Inhabitants of the principality of Hildesheim!—After numerous vicissitudes, you are placed under my government. This state of things is the most natural, and the most desirable for you. Your country is surrounded on almost all sides by the German provinces of my house; your usages, your ancient constitution, resemble ours; the greater part of your territory was, at a former period, for more than a century under the sway of my ancestors. Vicinity and experience have made you acquainted with the principles upon which the princes of Brunswick Luneberg have been accustomed to reign. We make no distinction between our old and our new subjects; we exercise no authority

authority over any of them but for their own good, and never for any object that is foreign to them: to conciliate their attachment and affection, by causing the welfare of all, is the constant object and best reward of our efforts. I expect of you, with entire confidence, the same fidelity which the Hanoverians, amidst the severe trials of these latter times, have constantly displayed towards his majesty in a manner the most affecting. Reckon upon my protection in the exercise of your religion, in the enjoyment of your property, your rights, and on my most zealous cares for your welfare. You also have partaken of the calamities which for many years have weighed heavily on so many of the German states: the fortune of war for some time tore you from the sway of a German monarch to subject you to foreign laws, altogether unsuitable to your country, and for the interests of a sovereign who was still more foreign to you. You have deep wounds to cicatrize; and great sacrifices, generous efforts, will still be demanded of you, in order to conquer a solid peace, and to secure public order and tranquillity, without which the general happiness can never be successfully re-established. Do not lose sight of this necessity; but place your confidence in the aid of the Almighty, who has already granted to me and my high allies victory over the common enemy; who has also delivered you, and who will assuredly bless my constant efforts to restore and augment your prosperity.

By order of his royal highness the prince regent,

(Signed) DECKEN.
BREMER.

SWISS CONFEDERATION.

We the landamman and the members of the diet of the cantons of the Swiss confederation,

To you, dear confederates, health.

The war which was lately far from our frontier, is approaching our country and our peaceable dwellings.

Under these circumstances it was our duty, as deputies of the confederate cantons, to maturely reflect upon the situation of the country, to address communications to the belligerent powers, and make all the ulterior dispositions which our circumstances demand.

Faithful to the principles of their forefathers, we have, in virtue of the power and orders of our government, declared with unanimous voice and will the neutrality of the Swiss. We are going to have transmitted and notified in the most proper forms, to the sovereigns at war, the solemn act which we have just passed with this intention.

Thanks to divine protection, the observation of an exact neutrality has, during ages, guarantied the liberty and repose of our country. Now, as in times of old, this neutrality alone belongs to our position and to our wants. We therefore wish to establish and make it respected by all the means which are in our power; we wish to ensure the liberty and independence of Switzerland, maintain its present constitution, and preserve our territory from all attempts: such is the only end of all our efforts.

To this effect we address ourselves to you, dear confederates of all the cantons of Switzerland, in immediately giving you information of the declaration which has just been issued. The diet expects of each of you, whoever he may be, that he will act in the same views; that

that he will contribute by all his means to the common cause; that he will make the efforts and sacrifices which the good of the country and its preservation demand; and that thus the whole nation will show itself worthy of their forefathers, and of the happiness which they enjoy.

May the sovereign master of the world be pleased to accept the homage of our profound gratitude for the immense benefits which he has hitherto diffused over our country! and may the preservation, the tranquillity, and the happiness of this state, placed under his protection, be granted to our prayers!

Given at Zurich, Nov. 20.

The landamman of the Swiss,
president of the diet,

J. DE REINHARD.

The chancellor of the confederation,
MORRISON.

HOLLAND.

Amsterdam, Nov. 19, 1813.

The following has been published here:—

PROCLAMATION.

The provisional government of the city of Amsterdam having experienced how it has pleased the Divine Providence to crown its endeavours for the restoration of the quiet of this great and considerable city, with the best effects; so that not only every thing has been speedily, and according to the constitution, restored to order; but that, ever since, the best founded hopes are increasing, that in future the public order will not again be disturbed: This happy and speedy result is, under God, chiefly to be ascribed to the unexpected efforts, as well of the officers and men of the armed

burghers, who have acted with so much discrimination in the performance of this, to them, severe duty, as to the other official persons, who, both on horse and foot, have contributed to the preservation of the public tranquillity. They give due thanks on behalf of the whole burghership, for the services which, with the blessing of God, they have rendered, and which have put a stop to the further progress of irregularities, and thereby prevented it from suffering greater misfortunes, and at the same time obliged all others to go forward with the same ardent zeal, to assist the provisional government in securing the peace and security of all persons and effects; and they likewise admonish all the official persons in this city to refrain from all excesses, but, on the contrary, by all means to assist the activity of the national guards, and others who have joined them, for the restoration of public order; and the government will, so far as lays in its power, use its best endeavours, that the services rendered for the benefit of this city, and of its appointed official persons, shall not be forgotten; and that those who unhappily may have proved themselves guilty of excesses, shall be exemplarily punished; because the government likewise means to put those who do service as substitutes in the national guards, on duty, from the moment it falls to them by their contract; in full confidence that they will always proceed with the same zeal as they have hitherto shown, in assisting to preserve the peace and good order.

The provisional government
aforesaid,

J. C. VAN DER HOOF.
Amsterdam, Nov. 18.

IN THE NAME OF HIS SERENE HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE AND NASSAU.

The general government of the United Netherlands to the magistrates and governments of the Low Countries.

The general government has with pleasure learnt, that peace and order have almost generally been restored in the Low Countries, notwithstanding that in some villages the authorities have absented themselves. It is therefore our pleasure, that there, and in all other places where such may be needful, the most considerable and best informed magistrates shall join hands, and constitute themselves as a provisional government, with a president, empowered, in case of need, to proceed immediately in affairs of pressing necessity.

Netherlanders! our cause is safe if we continue unanimous and preserve good order: and that no one shall bring upon himself the charge of cowardice, or coldly consider only his self-preservation, to stamp for ever the Netherlands with shame in the eyes of all the nations of Europe; let none of you forget, that if the event of this combat should be doubtful, every one would nevertheless have to expect the effects of the most dreadful rage from him who envies Holland even the slightest remains of her former welfare!!!

Let none of us forget that, if we fail, our sons will by new designs be unmercifully torn from our breasts, and that the blood of our noble Netherland youth must flow to satisfy the ambition of a conqueror, because that you hesitate in rising for the liberty and independence of our dear country.

F. VAN DER D. VAN MAASDAM.
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.

At the Hague, Nov. 17.

As the want of government for our dear state might cause the most dreadful effects of plunder and bloodshed, should it continue so for a few days, we have therefore deemed it necessary to summon the principal persons and ministers of the old government, such as it consisted of in the year 1794 and 5, to assemble with the utmost speed; and in pursuance thereof, to write to some of them to make it further more known.

The meeting is to be held in the house of M. Gysbert Karel van Hogendorp, on the Kueulerdyk, on Thursday, the 18th November, at twelve o'clock.

F. VAN DER D. VAN MAASDAM.
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.
O. REPELAER VAN DRIEL.
J. F. VAN HOGENDORP.
F. D. CHANGUION.
F. C. DE JONGE.

PROCLAMATION.

IN THE NAME OF HIS HIGHNESS THE PRINCE OF ORANGE, THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF THE UNITED NETHERLANDS:—

Inhabitants of the Netherlands! —The moment is arrived for recovering our existence as a nation; the triumph of the allies has laid low the pride of our oppressor, and has broken in pieces his colossal power.

At this important moment every Dutchman feels his courage inflamed to throw off the yoke by which we have been so disgracefully subjugated. “National freedom and independence” is the watch-word of every one; ORANGE! the general rallying cry of all who are proud of bearing the name of Dutchmen. We only fulfil the wishes of all our fellow-citizens, by this day, in expectation of the arrival of his high-

ness

ness the prince of Orange, and in his name placing ourselves at the head of the government; we take upon us this task, confiding in the aid of Divine Providence, whose hand has been so conspicuously manifested in the present deliverance of our beloved country, but also confident of the support and assistance of every Dutchman, who, forgetting all that is past, and without distinction of rank, station, or religious persuasion, is with us determined once more to rescue that native country, which, ravished from the fury of the elements—from Philip and Alva, was so gloriously defended by the valour of our forefathers, though it has long been covered with reproach and dishonour.

From this moment our chains are thrown off; no foreigner shall any more tyrannise over you; every tie of compulsion and slavish submission to the common enemy of Europe, to the disturber of the peace, welfare, and independence of nations, we renounce irrevocably and for ever.

In the name of his highness the prince of Orange, and as invested for the present with the supreme government of the Netherlands, we release our fellow-citizens throughout the whole extent of the United Provinces from the oath of allegiance and fidelity taken to the emperor of the French; and we declare to be traitors to their country, rebels against the legitimate national government, and liable to all the consequent penalties, such as, under pretence of connection with the French government, or in compliance with its authority, shall obey any orders issued by it, or its agents, or maintain any correspondence with it.

All connections with our oppres-

sors, whose contempt and reproach have kindled a flame in every countenance and heart, are from this day at an end. But this is not enough!

Dutchmen! We call upon you unanimously to rally round the standard which we have this day planted; we call upon you to take up arms like men, and drive from our confines the enemy, who still appears to dare us upon our territory, but already trembles at our union.

Let all of us think of the deeds of our brave forefathers, when, through the immortal William I. Dutch valour broke out into an extinguishable flame; and let the noble example of the Spanish people, who, by the most persevering exertions, accompanied with infinite loss of property and blood, have broke to pieces the hated yoke, and upon whom the dawn of deliverance and victory now shines,—let this example teach us that the issue cannot fail of success.

We have every where intrusted to men of tried military skill the task of a general arming: they will go before you in that danger which can only be of short duration, till the arrival of our allies for our deliverance.

Order and military discipline shall distinguish our troops; they are inseparable from true valour.

We shall take care that those who fight for us want for nothing; that our confidence never fail; that the God of Holland warreth for us!

But as, in order to carry on the operations for the arming and for the defence of the territory, the expenditure of the interior government must be very considerable, we trust that the Dutch will not be deficient in this part of their duty;

duty; the revenues of the country shall be expended for the welfare of the country. It becomes the duty of every one, therefore, zealously to discharge his obligations to the treasury of the state; and he who would act a fraudulent part under the present circumstances, must be regarded as an enemy to his country, and shall not go unpunished.

We order all Dutch magistrates to remain at their posts, and in the discharge of their duties we place them under the protection of all patriotic Dutchmen.

We also confide in that spirit of order which has ever distinguished the Dutch people; that in all the offices of authority, and especially in those of the administration of justice, every one will continue in the faithful and uninterrupted performance of his duty, according to the laws still in force.

We command and order all authorities of departments, cities, and towns, to make known and affix the present proclamation, according to the usual forms.

Done at the Hague, this 21st of Nov. 1813.

VAN DER DUIN VAN MAASDAM.
G. K. VAN HOGENDORP.

For the declaration of the allied powers, see British and Foreign History, p. 376.

Amsterdam, Dec. 2.

PROCLAMATION.

We, William Frederick, by the grace of God, prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c. to all to whom these presents come, greeting.

You invited me, fellow-countrymen, to bring to completion the
1813,

task so gloriously begun by yourselves. I have taken upon me the maintenance of that independence which your courage restored; and I now promise to deem no difficulty, no labour, no sacrifice, too great on my part, to convince you how much I love that people, of whose affection I have received and am daily receiving such signal proofs.

But what other is our first duty at the present moment, than the complete expulsion of the French from our country, which they have so long tormented by their oppression? A portion of that country is still the prey of the enemy, whose designs and intentions the horrible events at Woerden must make manifest to us all. To arms, then, Netherlands! to arms! to avenge the defenceless victims who fell under the murderous sword of these robbers. To arms! to secure for ever your wives, your children, and your property, against all possible return of these plundering murderers. The old flag is again the point of union, and the old flag shall also again revive the ancient valour. Every moment of lethargy may prove destructive to one or other of your towns, to hundreds of your countrymen; the time is come which must prove for ever decisive of our fate:—lost, irrecoverably lost, is our country, should we slumber upon the success of our first efforts: the country is rescued for ever, when its sons, animated with one spirit, shall every where run to arms, to support the efforts of the allied deliverers of Europe:—the Netherlands united to France were involved in the infamy of France; the Netherlands united to the allies shall participate in the glory of having delivered Europe. Old men! the country and Orange call upon your sons able to bear arms,

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not

not to be sacrificed in battle in foreign climes for a foreign yoke, but to protect you and your defenceless children from plundering and murder. Wives! your husbands are summoned to arms, not to fight for a foreign tyranny, which would leave you to perish here in beggary, but to secure you in that tranquillity for which the country will make ample provision.

And you who cannot personally engage in this contest, the noblest that Providence ever opened up to us, support those who fight for you; provide, by your ample contributions, for their arming, clothing, and subsistences—in short, for all the first necessities of war.

Plundered treasuries, confusion and discord in the administrations, were all that your oppressors left behind them; but your patriotism shall teach the oppressors themselves, that no Netherlander reckons that a sacrifice which may place his country in freedom.

I conjure you in the name of the country,—I conjure you by your past misfortunes,—inquire not what you ought to lay on the altar of your country; ask only what would be your sufferings, should the return of your tyrants, which God avert! be the effect of narrow calculations.

All the nations of Europe, whose magnanimous sacrifices have been crowned with the most glorious results, have their eyes upon you at this moment: our allies expect the putting forth of all our powers, and we must show them that we are not backward in the noble strife.

Again I conjure you not to delay your voluntary offers for the support of our efforts towards the deliverance of our beloved country.

Forced loans correspond not with a people who have freely taken upon

themselves the direction of their own affairs; and the increase of the debts of the state is one of those extreme measures the adoption of which we must avoid. We would not commence our reign with financial regulations which might tend to shake public credit: that good faith with which our ancestors fulfilled their engagements, and which we still reckon among the virtues of the Netherlands, shall be sacredly observed by us in all measures relating to the finance of the country.

We order our commissaries general of war, finance, and for foreign affairs, to make all the necessary dispositions for forwarding the object of our paternal summons, and to submit to us the necessary regulations respecting the same.

We will and order, that the whole of the sums arising from voluntary contributions, being set apart from the general revenue of the country, shall be wholly appropriated for the purpose of the extraordinary arming; and we require this address to be read from the pulpits of the different churches, on the first ensuing Sunday, and otherwise made known in the most solemn manner.

Done at the Hague, this 6th of December, 1813, and in the first year of our reign.

(Signed) WILLIAM.
By order, VAN DER DUIN.
VAN MAASDAM.

The following is an extract of a proclamation of the prince of Orange, dated the Hague, Dec. 6.

PROCLAMATION.

We, William Frederick, by the grace of God, prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign prince of the United Netherlands, &c.

When on the 2d inst. We accepted

cepted at Amsterdam the sovereignty over the United Netherlands, in consequence of the universally expressed wish of the people, we greatly wished to confirm and crown, by a solemn installation, that event, which binds us, our children, and descendants, more strongly than ever to the fate of this nation. But the circumstances in which our country is placed, and the important occupations caused thereby, have made us deem it expedient to reserve for the present the fixing of the time when that ceremony shall take place, in the pleasing expectation that in the course of a few weeks we shall be able to announce to the nation, and also to submit to our beloved fellow-countrymen, a constitution which, under a monarchical form, which they themselves have chosen, may secure to them their morals, their personal rights and privileges,—in one word, their ancient freedom. In the mean time we cannot longer delay taking the reins of government into our own hands, and charging ourselves with the immediate direction of the affairs of the state.

We therefore now declare, that the hitherto subsisting general government of the United Netherlands is this day dissolved, and that henceforward no one can or may make any order or regulation of binding force, but in as far as it has emanated from us, or from magistrates appointed and commissioned by us.

The provisional government of the city of Leyden, to the good citizens of that city.

Citizens and inhabitants of Leyden!—Scarcely had the beloved prince of the Netherlands again set

his foot on his natal soil, when from all sides the wish was expressed that William Frederic, prince of Orange and Nassau, should stand not only in the same dignity and relation to our country as his illustrious ancestors, but that he should be sovereign prince of the Netherlands.

We heartily wished, with you, to offer his highness this great dignity in the name of all the citizens, and, like the great city of Amsterdam, to salute him as such on the day when our city should be honoured with his high presence.

But though the joyful day is not far off, the inhabitants of Leyden are too impatient to wait for it to fulfil their wish.

Well, then, citizens and inhabitants of Leyden, from this day forward we recognise the illustrious descendant of the house of Orange as sovereign prince, and respect him as such.

The unity of the sovereign power must now be the corner-stone of our political edifice—then shall our civil liberty revive, and be secured by wise laws. Then, under the government of a prince of the blood of Nassau born in our own country, educated in the principles of honour and the religion of our forefathers, who knows our wants and respects our manners, shall the re-establishment of the Netherlands be begun, and under the blessing of God be happily accomplished.

Let every one, then, take his post about our beloved prince, and promote, with all his ability, the great work which he has to accomplish for our sakes. The preservation of the Netherlands, our happiness, and that of our posterity, are his sole object, and shall be secured under his government.

No sacrifices can be too great to save, to preserve our country. No foreign

foreign constraint, no domination more, no external power, shall longer drag our children to slaughter.

Let William Frederic, prince of Orange and Nassau, sovereign of the Netherlands, be then the rallying point of all brave Netherlanders. Be he the shield against which all discord and party spirit is broken, and strengthen the bond by which union gives power; and honour and prosperity may again abide among us. The God of the Netherlands, the God of our fathers, bless, strengthen, help, and support him!

Done and resolved by the provisional government of the city of Leyden, the 8th of December, 1813; and after ringing the bells, published to the people from the tower of the town-house, on the following day, by the heads of the provisional government of the city of Leyden, Anthony Gustay, baron of Boetzelaer; Mr. Girardus Martinus Von Bommel, Johan Gael, Mr. Daniel Michael Gysbers Heldevier, and Mr. William Peter Kleist.

This proclamation was received with unanimous acclamations by the assembled crowds, with the cry

of Long live William Frederic, prince of Orange, sovereign prince of the Netherlands!

[A similar proclamation to the above was adopted by the citizens of Dort.]

PROCLAMATION FROM FIELD MARSHAL THE MARQUIS OF WELLINGTON TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

Upon entering your country, learn that I have given the most positive orders (a translation of which is subjoined to this) to prevent those evils which are the ordinary consequences of invasion, which you know is the result of that which your government made into Spain, and of the triumphs of the allied army under my command.

You may be certain that I will carry these orders into execution, and I request of you to cause to be arrested, and conveyed to my headquarters, all those who contrary to these dispositions do you any injury.

But it is requisite you should remain in your houses, and take no part whatever in the operations of the war of which your country is going to become the theatre.

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

LITERARY SELECTIONS

AND

RETROSPECT.



BIOGRAPHICAL ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

EARLY LIFE OF MR. PENN.

[FROM MR. CLARKSON'S MEMOIRS.]

WILLIAM PENN was descended from an ancient family, respectable both in point of character and independence as early as the first public records notice it. The following is a concise account of his origin :

“ Among his early ancestors were those of the same name, who were living, between four and five centuries ago, at the village of Penn in Buckinghamshire. Further traces of this family are to be found in *Penlands*, *Pen-street*, *Pen-house*, all of them the names of places in the same county.

“ From the Penns of Penn in Buckinghamshire came the Penns of Penn's Lodge, near Myntie on the edge of Bradon Forest, in the north-west part of the county of Wilts or rather in Gloucestershire, the small part of the latter being inclosed within the former county. Here, that is, at Penn's Lodge, we now that two, if not more, of the male branches so descended lived in succession. The latter, whose name was William, was buried in Myntie church. A flat gravestone, which

perpetuates this event, is still remaining. It stands in the passage between two pews in the chancel. It states, however, only, that he died on the twelve of March 1591.

“ From William just mentioned came Giles Penn. Giles, it is known, was a captain in the royal navy. He held also for some time the office of English consul in the Mediterranean. Having intermarried with the family of the Gilberts, who came originally from Yorkshire, but who then lived in the county of Somerset, he had issue a son, whom he called William.

“ The last mentioned William, following the profession of his father, became a distinguished naval officer. He was born in the year 1621, and commanded at a very early age the fleet which Oliver Cromwell sent against Hispaniola. This expedition, though it failed, brought no discredit upon him, for Colonel Venables was the cause of its miscarriage. It was considered, on the other hand, as far as Admiral Penn was concerned, that he conducted it with equal wisdom and courage.

After the restoration of Charles the Second he was commander under the Duke of York in that great and terrible sea-fight against the Dutch, under Admiral Opdam, in the year 1665, where he contributed so much to the victory, that he was knighted. He was ever afterwards received with all the marks of private friendship at court. Though he was thus engaged both under the parliament and the king, he took no part in the civil war, but adhered to the duties of his profession, which, by keeping him at a distance from the scene of civil commotion, enabled him to serve his country without attaching himself to either of the interests of the day. Besides the reputation of a great and patriot officer, he acquired that of having improved the naval service in several important departments. He was the author of several little tracts on this subject, some of which are preserved in the British Museum. From the monument erected to his memory by his wife, and which is to be seen in Radcliffe church, in the city of Bristol, we may learn something of his life, death, and character. 'He was made captain (as this monument records) at the years of twenty-one, rear admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, vice admiral of Ireland at twenty-five, admiral to the Streights at twenty-nine, vice admiral of England at thirty-one, and general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two; whence returning anno 1655, he was parliament-man for the town of Weymouth; 1660 made commissioner of the admiralty and navy, governor of the town and fort of Kingsale, vice-admiral of Munster, and a member of that provincial council, and anno 1664 was chosen great captain com-

mander under his royal highness in that signal and most evidently successful fight against the Dutch fleet. Thus he took leave of the sea, his old element, but continued still his other employs till 1669: at that time, through bodily infirmities contracted by the care and fatigue of public affairs, he withdrew, prepared, and made for his end; and with a gentle and even gale, in much peace arrived and anchored in his last and best port, at Wanstead in the county of Essex, the 16th of September 1670, being then but forty-nine years and four months old.' These are the words of the monument.

"It will be proper now to observe, that Admiral Sir William Penn, descended in the manner I have related, married Margaret, the daughter of John Jasper, a merchant of Rotterdam in Holland, and that he had a son, William, the person whose life is the subject of the present work.

"William last mentioned, and now to be distinguished from Admiral Sir William Penn, was born in London, in the parish of St. Catherine on Tower-Hill, on the fourteenth day of October 1644.

"He received the first rudiments of his education at Chigwell, in Essex, where there was an excellent free grammar school founded only fifteen years before by Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York. Chigwell was particularly convenient for this purpose, being but at a short distance from Wanstead, which was then the country residence of his father. As something remarkable is usually said of all great men in the early part of their lives, so it was said of William Penn that, while here and alone in his chamber, being then eleven years old, he

was

was suddenly surprised with an inward comfort; and as he thought an external glory in the room, which gave rise to religious emotions, during which he had the strongest convictions of the being of a God, and that the soul of man was capable of enjoying communication with him. He believed also, that the seal of divinity had been put upon him at this moment, or that he had been awakened or called upon to a holy life. But whatever was the external occasion, or whether any or none, or whatever were the particular notions which he is said to have imbibed at this period, certain it is, that while he was at Chigwell school his mind was seriously impressed on the subject of religion.

“ Having left Chigwell at twelve years of age, he went to a private school on Tower Hill, which was near his father's London residence. Here he had greater advantages than before; for his father, to promote his scholarship, kept for him a private tutor in his own house.

“ At the age of fifteen he had made such progress in his studies, that it was thought fit to send him to college. He was accordingly entered a gentleman commoner at Christ's Church, Oxford. He is said to have paid great attention to his college exercises, and yet to have allowed himself all reasonable recreation. The latter consisted partly of manly sports, in which he took great delight, and partly of the society of those young men in the university, who were distinguished either by their talents or their worth. Among those of promising genius he was intimate with Robert Spencer, afterwards the well-known Earl of Sunderland, and the venerable John Locke.

“ It happened, while here, that the Duke of Gloucester, the second brother of Charles the Second, died. He was taken off suddenly by the small-pox in the twenty-first year of his age. The king, who loved him tenderly, appeared to be more concerned for his loss than for any misfortune which had ever befallen him. Indeed all historians agree in giving this young prince an amiable character, so that there was great sorrow in the nation on account of his death. Many belonging to the university of Oxford, partaking of it, both students and others, gave to the world the poetic effusions of their condolence on this occasion; and among these William Penn was not behind hand, if we may judge from the following specimen, taken from the *Epidia Academicæ Oxoniensis in Obitum celsissimi Principis Henrici, Ducis Glocestriensis*. 4to. 1660.

“ Publica te, Dux magne, dabant jejunia
genti,

Sed facta est, nato principe, festa dies.

Te moriente, licet celebraret læta triumphos

Anglia, solemnes solvitur in lachrymas.

Solus ad arbitrium moderaris pectora;
solus

Tu dolor accedis, deliciæque tuis.”

“ The foregoing elegy I cannot translate, particularly into metre, so as either to comprehend the full sense of it, or to do justice to its merits; and, unless it appear in a poetic dress, the force of it would be lost. I shall, however, make an attempt for the benefit of those who are English readers only.

Though 'twas a *fast day* when thou cam'st,
thy birth

Turn'd it at once to one of *festive mirth*.

Though England, at *thy death*, still made
her show

Of *public joy*, she pass'd to *public woe*.

Thou dost, alone, the public breast control,
Alone, delight and sorrow to the soul.

“ Bu

“ But though William Penn was a youth of a lively genius, as this little specimen intimates, and though he indulged himself at times in manly sports and exercises, as has been before mentioned, yet he never forgot the religious impressions which he had received at Chigwell school. These, on the other hand, had been considerably strengthened by the preaching of Thomas Loe. This person, a layman, had belonged to the university of Oxford, but had then become a quaker. The doctrines which he promulgated seem to have given a new turn to the mind of William Penn, who was incapable of concealing what he thought it a duty to profess. Accordingly, on discovering that some of his fellow students entertained religious sentiments which were in unison with his own, he began, in conjunction with them, to withdraw himself from the established worship, and to hold meetings where they followed their devotional exercises in their own way. This conduct, which soon became known, gave offence to the heads of the college, who in consequence of it fined all of them for non-conformity. This happened in the year 1660.

“ But the imposition of this fine had not the desired effect. It neither deterred him nor his associates from their old practices, nor from proceeding even further where they thought themselves justified in so doing. An opportunity for this presented itself soon afterwards; for an order came down to Oxford from Charles the Second, that the surplice should be worn according to the custom of ancient times. It was an unusual sight then at that university. This sight operated differently upon different persons; but

so disagreeably upon William Penn, who conceived that the simplicity and spirituality of the Christian religion would be destroyed by the introduction of outward ceremonies and forms, that he could not bear it. Engaging therefore his friend Robert Spencer, before mentioned, and some other young gentlemen to join him, he fell upon those students who appeared in surplices, and he and they together tore them every where over their heads. This outrage was of so flagrant and public a nature, that the college immediately took it up; and the result was, that William and several of his associates were expelled.

“ William Penn, after his expulsion from college, returned home. His father is said to have received him coldly. Indeed he could not be otherwise than displeased with his son on account of the public disgrace which he had thus incurred: but that which vexed him most was the change now observable in his habits; for he began to abandon what was called the fashionable world, and to mix only with serious and religious people. It was this dereliction of it which proved the greatest disappointment; for the admiral was fearful that all the prospects in life which he had formed for his son, and which he could have promoted by his great connections, would be done away. Anxious therefore to recover him, he had recourse to argument. This failing, like one accustomed to arbitrary power, he proceeded to blows; and the latter failing also, he turned him out of doors.

“ The admiral, after a procedure so violent, began at length to relent. He was himself, though perhaps hasty in his temper, a man of an excellent disposition, so that his

own good feelings frequently opposed themselves to his anger on this occasion. His wife too, an amiable woman, lost no opportunity of intercession. Overcome therefore by his own affectionate nature on the one hand, and by her entreaties on the other, he forgave his son. But he was desirous of meeting the evil for the future, and he saw no other means of doing it than by sending his son to France. He indulged a hope that the change of scene might wean him from his old connections, and that the gaiety of French manners might correct the growing gravity of his mind. Accordingly in 1662 he sent him to that country, in company with certain persons of rank who were then going upon their travels.

"The place where William first resided was Paris. While here, but one anecdote concerning him is recorded. It happened that he was attacked one evening in the street by a person who drew his sword upon him in consequence of a supposed affront. A conflict immediately ensued. William in the course of it disarmed his antagonist, but proceeded no further, sparing his life when by the confession of all those who relate the fact he could have taken it; thus exhibiting, says Gerard Croese, a testimony not only of his courage, but of his forbearance.

"It is no where said how long he remained at Paris; but it is probable that his stay there was very short, and moreover that the gaiety and dissipation of that city was far from pleasing him; for we find him afterwards with his companions a resident for some months, in the years 1662 and 1663, at Saumur; whither he had gone to avail himself of the conversation and instruc-

tion of the learned Moses Amyrault, who was a Protestant minister of the Calvinistic persuasion, professor of divinity at Saumur, and at this time in the highest estimation of any divine in France. His works, such as his Paraphrase on the New Testament and Psalms, his Apology for his Religion, his Treatise on Free Will, his Exaltation of Faith and Abasement of Reason, with many others, had been then widely circulated and read. The greatest men in that kingdom, both Calvinists and Catholics, honoured him with their friendship; and he was so highly esteemed by the Cardinal Richlieu, that the latter imparted to him his design of uniting the two churches.

"The learned Monsieur du Bosc, on seeing the print of his friend Moses when it came out, wrote under it this distich:

"A Mose ad Mosem par Mosi non fuit
ullus;
More, ore, et calamo mirus uterque
fuit."

These lines the English biographer, who has noticed the life of Moses Amyrault, has translated thus:

From Moses down to Moses none,
Among the sons of men,
With equal lustre ever shone
In manners, tongue, and pen.

"Under a man so conspicuous William Penn renewed his studies. He read the Fathers: he turned over the pages of theology: he applied himself to the rudiments of the French language, so as to become a proficient in the knowledge of it. His residence here I beg the reader to remember, because it will throw light upon a circumstance which will require development in the course of the present work.

"It appears when he left Saumur that he directed his course towards Italy,

Italy, and that he had reached Turin in his way thither; for, while there, a letter reached him from his father desiring his return home. His father had then received notice that he was to command the fleet against the Dutch, and wished his son to take care of the family in his absence. William in consequence returned. This was in 1664. During the few opportunities he had with his father, he is said to have given satisfaction; for though he had not gone back (as indeed it would seem impossible under the care of Moses Amyrault) in his regard and concern for religion, he was yet more lively in his manners than before. He had contracted also a sort of polished or courtly demeanour, which he had insensibly taken from the customs of the people among whom he had lately lived.

“It was thought advisable, as he had now returned from the continent, that he should know something of the laws of his own country; and accordingly, on the suggestion of his father, he became a student of Lincoln’s Inn. He remained there for about a year, when the great plague making its appearance in London, he quitted it, with many others, on the reasonable precaution of self-preservation. This took place in the year 1665, in which year he became of age.

“It is not probable, where men have pursued a path in conformity with their belief of divine truths, that any ordinary measures taken to divert them from it will be successful. The fire kindled in their minds may indeed be smothered for a time, but it will eventually break forth. Such was the state of the mind of William Penn. at this period. He had come from the continent with

an air of gaiety and the show of polite manners, which the admiral had mistaken for a great change in his mind. But now, in 1666, all volatile appearances had died away. The grave and sedate habits of his countrymen, the religious controversies then afloat, these and other circumstances of a similar tendency had caused the spark which had appeared in him to revive in its wonted strength. He became again only a serious person. He mixed again only with grave and religious people. His father, when he returned from sea, could not but notice this change. It was the more visible on account of the length of his absence. He saw it with all his former feelings; with the same fear for the consequences, and the same determination to oppose it. Not easily to be vanquished, he determined a second time to endeavour to break up his son’s connections; and to effect this, he sent him to Ireland.

“One reason which induced him to make choice of Ireland for this purpose, was his acquaintance with the Duke of Ormond, (who was then lord lieutenant of that country,) as well as with several others who attended his court. The duke himself was a man of a graceful appearance, lively wit, and cheerful temper; and his court had the reputation of great gaiety and splendour. The admiral conceived, therefore, if his son were properly introduced among his friends there, that he might even yet receive a new bias, and acquire a new taste. But this scheme of the admiral did not answer. Nothing which William saw there could shake his religious notions, or his determination to a serious life. Every thing, on the other hand, which he saw, tended

tended to confirm them. He considered the court, with its pomp and vanity, its parade and ceremonies, as a direct nursery for vice; and as to its routine of pleasures, it became to him only a routine of disgust.

“Thus disappointed again in his expectations, but not yet overcome, the admiral had recourse to another expedient, an expedient, indeed, which he had always contemplated in case of the failure of the other. He had large estates in Ireland, one of which, comprehending Shannigary Castle, lay in the barony of Imokelly, and the others in the baronies of Ibaune and Barryroe, all of them in the county of Cork. He determined therefore to give his son the sole management of these, knowing at least, while he resided upon them, that he would be far from his English connections, and at any rate that he would have ample employment for his time. William received his new commission. He was happy in the execution of it. He performed it also, after a trial of many months, to the entire satisfaction and even joy of his father; and he was going on in the yet diligent performance of it, when, alas! this his very occupation (so often do the efforts made to prevent an apprehended evil become the means of introducing it) brought him eventually into the situation which his father of all others deprecated! Being accidentally on business at Cork, he heard that Thomas Loe (the layman of Oxford, mentioned in the preceding chapter to have been the person who first confirmed his early religious impressions), was to preach at a meeting of the quakers in that city. It was impossible that he could return to his farm without seeing the

man whom he considered as his greatest human benefactor, and still more without hearing his discourse. Accordingly he attended. The preacher at length rose. He began with the following text: ‘There is a faith which overcomes the world, and there is a faith which is overcome by the world.’ On this subject he enlarged, and this in so impressive a manner that William was quite overcome. The words indeed of the text were so adapted to his situation, that he could hardly help considering them as peculiarly addressed to himself; for, from the time of his leaving Chigwell school to the present, there had been a constant struggle between himself and the world, and this entirely on account of his faith. Such a discourse, if ably handled, must have come home to him in every sentence. He must have seen his own arduous conflict personified as it were, and portrayed before him. He must have seen the precipice on which he had stood, with the gulf terrible below. He must have seen some angel in the picture cheering him for the efforts he had already made, and some other holding up to his view at a distance a wreath of never-fading glory, which he might gain by perseverance for the time to come. But whatever were the topics of this discourse, it is certain that William was so impressed by it, that though he had as yet not discovered a partiality for any particular sect, he favoured the quakers as a religious body from that day.

“The result of this preference was, that he began to attend their religious meetings. But, alas! he soon learnt, from the ignorant prejudices of the times, that in following the path which his own conscience

science dictated to him, he had a bitter cup to drink: for being at one of these meetings on the 3d of September 1667, he was apprehended on the plea of a proclamation issued in 1660 against tumultuous assemblies, and carried before the mayor. The latter, looking at him and observing that he was not clothed as others of the society were, offered him his liberty if he would give bond for his good behaviour. But William not choosing to do this, he was committed with eighteen others to prison.

“He had not been long there when he wrote to Lord Orrery, then president of the council of Munster, to request his release. We find in this letter nothing either servile or degrading. It was written, on the other hand, in a manly and yet decorous manner. ‘*Religion,*’ says he, ‘which is at once my crime and mine innocence, makes me a prisoner to a mayor’s malice, but *mine own free man.*’ He then informed the earl of the reason of his imprisonment: he showed him, that the proclamation did not reach his case; and concluded by an appeal to his own good sense, and to his better knowledge of theology, and by reminding him of his own conduct, when he himself was a solicitor in behalf of liberty of conscience as one of the greatest blessings which could be bestowed upon the land. This request, as far as William was concerned, was quickly granted; for the earl immediately ordered his discharge.

“William Penn had now for the first time tasted persecution for having gratified his religious predilections, and had received an earnest of what he might expect if he continued publicly to indulge them in his own way. This experience,

however, had not the effect of making him desert his new Christian connections. On the other hand, it strengthened him in the resolution of a closer union with them. He had begun to suffer them. He had begun too to suffer for their cause. Mixing therefore more intimately with them than ever, from this period, he began to be considered by many, and even to be called by some, a quaker.

“The rumour that he had become a quaker soon reached his father. It was conveyed to him by a nobleman then resident in Ireland, who addressed him purposely on the subject. The admiral on the receipt of this letter sent for his son. William immediately obeyed, and returned home. At the first interview all appeared to be well. There was nothing discoverable, either in his dress or his manners, by which the information sent concerning him could be judged to be true. In process of time, however, the concern of mind under which he occasionally laboured, his dereliction of the customs of the world, and particularly of the ceremony of the hat, and his communion with those only of the same peculiar cast, left no doubt of the fact. The admiral, now more uneasy than ever, (for he had tried his last expedient,) could no longer contain himself, but came to a direct explanation with his son on the subject. The scene which passed between them is described as having been peculiarly affecting. ‘And here,’ says Joseph Besse, (the first collector of the works of William Penn, with a *Journal of his Life* prefixed,) ‘my pen is diffident of her abilities to describe that most pathetic and moving contest which was between his father and him: his father actuated by natural love,

love, principally aiming at this son's temporal honour; he, guided by a divine impulse, having chiefly in view his own eternal welfare: his father grieved to see the well accomplished son of his hopes; now ripe for worldly promotion, voluntarily turning his back upon it; he, no less afflicted to think a compliance with his earthly father's pleasures was inconsistent with his obedience to his heavenly one: his father pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience: his father earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him, to yield to his desire; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit to behold his father's concern and trouble: his father threatening to disinherit him; he, humbly submitting to his father's will therein: his father turning his back on him in anger; he, lifting up his heart to God for strength to support him in that time of trial.

“ This interview, though some of the best feelings of the human mind were called forth in the course of it on the part of William, had not the desired effect: for the die was then cast; he had actually become, a quaker. The admiral, after this, gave up all thought of altering the general views of his son. He hoped only to be able to prevail upon him to give up certain peculiarities which appeared to have little to do with conscience, and to be used merely as the distinguishing marks of a sect. He therefore told his son, that he would trouble him no more on the subject of his conversion, if he would only consent to sit with his hat off in his own presence, and in that of the King and the Duke of

York. William, on receiving the proposition, desired time to consider of it. This agitated his father. He had no conception that the subject of his solicitation required thought. He became immediately suspicious, and told his son, that he had only asked for time, that he might consult his friends, the quakers. William assured his father that he would do no such thing; and having pledged his word to this effect, he left him, and retired to his own chamber.

“ It will be asked by some, what necessity there could be, in a matter apparently trivial, to retire either for serious meditation or for divine help? The answer can be furnished only by representing what were the notions of the quakers on this subject at the time in question. I may observe then, that, when they were first gathered out of the world, they considered themselves as a select people, upon whom it devolved to bear their public testimony by abandoning all those fashions and customs belonging to it, which either corrupted or had a tendency to corrupt the mind. Among others they discarded what may be called the ceremonial use of the hat, such as the pulling it off on complimentary occasions. This they did in particular for the following reasons. First, they took it for granted that the use of the hat in the way described was either to show honour, respect, submission, or some similar feeling of the mind; but they contended, that, used as it then was, it was no more than a criterion of these than mourning garments were criterions of sorrow. The customs therefore, in their opinion, led to repeated acts of insincerity. A show was held out of the mind's intention where no such intention existed.

isted. Now Christianity was never satisfied but with the truth. It forbad all false appearances. It allowed no action to be resorted to, that was not correspondent with the feelings of the heart. Secondly, in the case where the custom was intended to have a meaning, it was generally the sign of flattery. But no man could give way to flattery without degrading himself, and at the same time unduly exalting the person whom he distinguished by it. Hence they gave to the custom the name of hat-worship, a name which it bears among them at the present day. Thirdly, it was the practice of their ministers, a practice enjoined by the apostle Paul, to uncover their heads, that is, to pull off their hats, both when they preached and prayed. But if they took off their hats as an outward act enjoined in the service of God, neither they nor their followers could with propriety take them off to men, because they would be thus giving to the creature the same outward honour which they gave to the Creator.

“ From this account it will be obvious, that the ceremonial use of the hat was considered by the early quakers as more connected with the conscience than the admiral had imagined it to be: and in this point of view it was considered by his son also; for he looked upon the request of his father as neither more nor less than a call upon him to pull down one of the human barriers which he had but just erected in defence of his own virtue. This

thought produced in him an awful feeling; for, if one of these barriers were destroyed, the citadel itself would be less safe. He conceived that if an inroad, however small, were once suffered to be made on principle, other inroads would become more easy. If the mind gave way but to one deviation from what was right, it would more easily give way to others; for, as in no instance it could do so without losing a portion of its virtue, so, this portion being lost, its powers of resistance would be weakened. Under this impression, conjoined with the circumstance of his father's application, he experienced a severe conflict. He loved his father, and respected him; yet he dared not do that which he conceived would obstruct his religious growth. He was sensible of the duty which he owed him as a parent; but he was equally sensible of a superior duty to God, to whom ultimately he was responsible. Yielding at length to these considerations, he found himself compelled to inform his father, that he could not accede to his request. This he did with expressions of the greatest tenderness and affection, as well as of filial submission. The admiral heard his answer; but could not bear it. Unable to gain the least concession from his son, and in a point where he judged it impossible that persons bred up as gentlemen could disagree, he gave way to his anger, and in the violence of the blast, which followed it, he once more turned him out of doors.

PENN'S FOUNDATION OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[From the same.]

AFTER this he was occupied in winding up the affairs of his father with the government. His father had advanced large sums of money from time to time for the good of the naval service, and his pay had been also in arrears. For these two claims, including the interest upon the money due, government were in debt to him no less a sum than sixteen thousand pounds. William Penn was desirous therefore of closing the account. He was however not anxious for the money. He wished, on the other hand, to take land in America in lieu of it, and therefore petitioned Charles the Second, that letters patent might be granted him for the same. The tract he solicited was to lie North of Maryland. It was to be bounded on the East by the Delaware River. It was to be limited on the West as Maryland was, and it was to extend Northward as far as it was plantable. It has been said that he was led to this step by his father, who before his death had received a good report of this tract from a relation, and who had received the promise of a grant of it by way of reimbursement from the crown. But this is the assertion merely of a solitary writer, and is in other respects improbable; for William Penn came to a knowledge of it, far more accurate than any which could have been furnished him by his father, in consequence of constant communications concerning it from

those settlers whom he himself had sent to West New Jersey, directly opposite to which it lay. Nor had he any desire to possess it from any views of worldly interest, such as his father might have entertained, but chiefly from the noble motive of doing good. Having acted as a trustee of Billynge for four years, he had seen what a valuable colony might be planted by a selection of religious families, who should emigrate and dwell together, and who should leave behind them the vicious customs and rotten parts both of the political and religious constitution of the Old World. In this point of view any payment of the debt in money would, as I have said before, have been nothing to him compared with the payment of it in American land: and that something like this was his motive for soliciting the grant in question, may be abundantly shown. Oldmixon, who was his contemporary, states, that, 'finding his friends, the quakers, were harassed over England by spiritual courts, he resolved to put himself at the head of as many as would go with him, and thus conduct them to a place where they would be no longer subjected to suffering on account of their religion.' Anderson, who succeeded Oldmixon, speaks the same language. In his *Historical and Chronological Deduction of the Origin of Commerce* he uses the following words: 'The same year gave

gave rise to the noble English colony of Pennsylvania in North America. Mr. William Penn, an eminent quaker, and a gentleman of great knowledge and true philosophy, had it granted to him at this time. He designed it for a retreat or asylum for the people of his own religious persuasion, then made uneasy at home through the bigotry of spiritual courts.' Such is the statement of these writers. The truth however is, that he had three distinct objects in view when he petitioned for this grant. In a letter to a friend on this subject he says, 'that he so desires to obtain and to keep the New Land, as that he may not be unworthy of God's love, but do that which may answer his kind providence, and serve his truth and people; that an example may be set up to nations, that there was room there (in America) though not here (in England) for such an holy experiment.'—Here then are two of these objects: for to serve God's truth and people meant with him the same thing as to afford the quakers the retreat from persecution mentioned; and by the words which followed these, it is clear he had a notion, that by transporting the latter he might be enabled to raise a virtuous empire in the New Land, which should diffuse its example far and wide, and to the remotest ages; an idea worthy of a great mind, and such only as a mind undaunted by difficulties could have hoped to realize. The third object may be seen in his petition for this grant; for in this he stated, that he had in view the glory of God by the civilization of the poor Indians, and the conversion of the Gentiles by just and lenient measures to Christ's kingdom. In short, his motives may be summoned up in the general descrip-

tion of them given by Robert Proud, one of his more modern historians, and who had access to hundreds of his letters, and who spared no pains to develop his mind in the most material transactions of his life. 'The views of William Penn,' says he, 'in the colonization of Pennsylvania, were most manifestly the best and most exalted that could occupy the human mind; namely, to render men as free and happy as the nature of their existence could possibly bear in their civil capacity, and, in their religious state, to restore them to those lost rights and privileges with which God and nature had originally blessed the human race. This in part he effected, and by those means, which Providence in the following manner put into his hands, he so far brought to pass as to excite the admiration of strangers, and to fix in posterity that love and honour for his memory, which the length of future time will scarcely ever be able to efface.'

"But to return to the petition. It was presented, as I have before stated, to the king. I have now to observe, that the king, having read it, sent it to the privy council; and that the privy council, having considered its contents, sent it to the lords committee of trade and plantations. Great opposition was made to it in both places, and for no other reason than because William Penn was a quaker. Several meetings took place, in which the objections of the Duke of York (by his agent Sir John Werden) as proprietor of a large tract of land in the neighbourhood of that which was the object of the petition, and those of Lord Baltimore as proprietor of Maryland, were fully heard and debated. The advice too of the Chief Justice North, and the Attorney-General

General Sir William Jones, was taken on the subject of the grant. The matter at length ended in favour of William Penn; and he was by charter, dated at Westminster the 4th of March 1681, and signed by writ of privy seal, made and constituted full and absolute proprietor of all that tract of land which he had solicited and marked out, and invested with the power of ruling and governing the same.

“ This charter consisted of twenty-three sections. In these the extent and boundaries of the new province were specified, and the free use of all ports, bays, rivers, and waters there, and of their produce, and of all islands, mountains, soils, and mines there, and of their produce, were wholly granted and given up to him. He was made absolute proprietary of the said territory, which was to be held in free and common soccage by fealty only, paying two beaver skins annually, and one fifth of all the gold and silver discovered, to the king, and the said territory was to be called Pennsylvania after his own name. He had the power of making laws with the advice, assent, and approbation of the free men of the territory assembled for the raising of money for public uses; of appointing judges and other officers; and of pardoning and reprieving, except in the cases of wilful murder and high treason. In these cases reprieve was to be granted only till the pleasure of the king was known, who also reserved to himself the right of hearing appeals. He had the power also in new and sudden circumstances, where the free men could not be suddenly and conveniently assembled, of making ordinances, which, however, were to be agreeable to reason, and not re-

pugnant, to the laws of England, or to be extended in any sort to bind, change, or take away the right or interest of persons for, or in, their lives, members, freeholds, goods, and chattels; and all property as well as felonies were to be regulated by the laws of England, until the said laws should be altered by himself, or assigns, and the free men of the said province. Duplicates of all laws made there were to be transmitted to the privy council within five years after they were passed; and if within six months after having been so transmitted such laws were not pronounced void by the said council, they were to be considered as having been approved of and to be valid. Permission was given to English subjects to transport themselves to, and to settle in, Pennsylvania; to load and freight in English ports, and transport all merchandize from thence to the said province, and to transport the fruits and produce of the said province to England on paying the accustomed duties. He had the power of dividing the province into towns, hundreds, and counties; of erecting and incorporating towns into boroughs, and boroughs into cities; of erecting manors, holding courts baron, and of having and holding view of frankpledge; of selling or alienating any part or parts of the said province, in which case the purchasers were to hold by his grant; of constituting fairs and markets; and of making ports, harbours, and quays, at which ports, harbours, and quays, and at which only, vessels were to be laden and unladen. All officers, however, appointed by the farmers or commissioners of the king's customs were to have free admission thereto. He had the power of assessing, reasonably,

sonably, and with the advice of the free men assembled, custom on goods to be laden and unladen, and of enjoying the same, saving however to the king such impositions as were and should be appointed by act of parliament. He was to appoint from time to time an agent to reside in or near London, to answer for any misdemeanour on his part against the laws of trade and navigation; and, in case of such misdemeanour, he was to make good the damage occasioned thereby within one year; in failure of which, the king was to seize the government of the said province, and to retain it till the said damage was made good. He was not to maintain correspondence with any king or power at war with England, nor to make war against any king or power in amity with the same. In case of incursion by neighbouring barbarous nations, or by pirates or robbers, he had power to levy, muster, and train to arms all men in the said province, and to act as their captain-general, and to make war upon and pursue the same. The king was never to impose any tax or custom upon the inhabitants of it, either upon their lands, tenements, goods, or chattels, or upon any merchandize to be laden or unladen within it, unless by the consent of himself, or the chief governor appointed by him, or by the assembly, or by act of parliament in England. This declaration was to be deemed by all the judges in all the courts of law to be a lawful discharge, payment, and acquittance; and no officer was to attempt any thing contrary to the premises, but to aid him, his heirs, servants, agents, and others in the full use and enjoyment of the charter. If any of the inhabitants to the num-

ber of twenty should signify their desire to the Bishop of London to have a preacher sent to them, such preacher should be allowed to reside and perform his functions without any denial or molestation whatever. If any doubt should arise concerning the meaning of any expression in the charter, the interpretation of it was to be construed in a manner the most favourable to him and his heirs.

“ It may be proper to give here an anecdote of the modesty of William Penn, as it relates to the above charter. On the day when it was signed he wrote to several of his friends to inform them of it, and among others to R. Turner, one of the persons mentioned to have been admitted as a partner in the purchase of East New Jersey. He says in this letter, that after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes in council, his country was on that day confirmed to him under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of Pennsylvania, a name which the king gave it in honour of his father. It was his own intention to have had it called New Wales; but the under secretary, who was a Welshman, opposed it. He then suggested Sylvania on account of its woods, but they would still add Penn to it. He offered the under secretary twenty guineas to give up his prejudices, and to consent to change the name; for he feared lest it should be looked upon as vanity in him, and not as a respect in the king, as it truly was, to his father, whom he often mentioned with great praise. Finding that all would not do, he went to the king himself to get the name of Penn strack out, or another substituted; but the king said it was passed, and that

hat he would take the naming of it upon himself. He concluded his letter by hoping that God would make the New Land the seed of a nation, and by promising to use his own best endeavours to that end, by having a tender care to the government, so that it should be well laid at first.

“ The charter having been signed, the king gave it his further authority by a declaration, dated April the 2d, to all persons designing to become planters and inhabitants of Pennsylvania. This declaration pointed out to them the boundaries of the new province, and enjoined them to yield all obedience to the proprietor, his heirs, and his or their deputies, according to the powers granted by the said charter.

“ William Penn, having now a colony of his own to settle, was obliged to give up his management of that of West New Jersey : but it was a matter of great satisfaction to him, that he had brought it from infancy to a state of manhood ; to a state in which it could take care of itself. He had sent to it about fourteen hundred people, of whom the adults were persons of high character. The town of Burlington had been built. Farms had risen up out of the wild waste. Roads had been formed. Religious meeting houses had been erected in the place of tents covered with sail cloth, under which the first settlers worshipped. A respectable magistracy had been established. The very Indians too in the neighbourhood had been turned into friends and benefactors. Such was the situation of West New Jersey when he took his leave of it, and therefore it was with the less regret he left it to attend to his own concerns.

“ The first thing he did, after

obtaining the charter, was to draw up ‘ Some Account of the Province of Pennsylvania in America, lately granted under the Great Seal of England to William Penn.’ To this account he annexed a copy of the royal charter, and also the terms on which he intended to part with the land. It appears from these terms, that any person wishing to become a planter might then buy a hundred acres of land for forty shillings, but a quit-rent of one shilling was to be reserved to the proprietor for every hundred acres for ever. Thus, if a person had bought one thousand acres, he would have had twenty pounds to pay for them, and ten shillings per annum quit-rent. The reason of the latter sort of payment was this, namely, that whereas William Penn held of the king by a small annual rent, others were obliged to hold of him in the same manner, having no security or good title to their purchases but by such a mode of tenure. It appears also, that renters were to pay one shilling an acre yearly not exceeding two hundred acres, and servants were to have fifty acres when the time of their servitude expired, whether men or women, that quantity of land being allowed their masters for such purpose. He subjoined also to this account of Pennsylvania his advice to those who were inclined to become adventurers, the latter part of which ran thus : ‘ I desire all my dear country-folks, who may be inclined to go into those parts, to consider seriously the premises, as well the inconveniency as future ease and plenty ; that so none may move rashly, or from a fickle but from a solid mind, having above all things an eye to the providence of God in the disposing of themselves ; and I would further

advise

advise all such at least to have the permission, if not the good liking of their near relations, for that is both natural and a duty incumbent upon all. And by this, both natural affections and a friendly and profitable correspondence will be preserved between them, in all which I beseech Almighty God to direct us; that his blessing may attend our honest endeavours, and then the consequence of all our undertakings will turn to the glory of his great name, and all true happiness to us and our posterity.

“He drew up next ‘certain conditions or concessions to be agreed upon by William Penn, proprietary and governor of the province of Pennsylvania, and those who may become adventurers and purchasers in the same province.’ These conditions related to the building, forming, and settling of towns, roads, and lands, and to the treatment of the natives, and other subjects. They consisted of twenty articles. Among other things it was stipulated in these, that no purchaser of ten thousand acres or more should have above a thousand acres lying together, unless in three years he planted a family upon every thousand of the same.—That every man should be bound to plant, or man so much as should be surveyed and set out to him within three years after such survey, or else a new comer should be settled thereon, who should pay him his survey-money, and he himself should go up higher for his share.—That in clearing the ground, care should be taken to leave one acre of trees for every five acres cleared, especially to preserve oaks and mulberries for silk and shipping.—In behalf of the Indians it was stipulated, that, as it had been usual with planters to over-

reach them in various ways, whatever was sold to them in consideration of their furs should be sold in the public market place, and there suffer the test, whether good or bad: if good, to pass; if not good, not to be sold for good; that the said native Indians might neither be abused nor provoked.—That no man should by any ways or means, in word or deed, affront or wrong any Indian, but he should incur the same penalty of the law as if he had committed it against his fellow planter; and if any Indian should abuse, in word or deed, any planter of the province, that the said planter should not be his own judge upon the said Indian, but that he should make his complaint to the governor of the province, or his deputy, or some inferior magistrate near him, who should to the utmost of his power take care with the king of the said Indian, that all reasonable satisfaction should be made to the said injured planter.—And that all differences between planters and Indians should be ended by twelve men, that is, ‘by six planters and six Indians, that so they might live friendly together,’ as much as in them lay, preventing all occasions of heart-burnings and mischief.—These stipulations in favour of the poor natives will for ever immortalize the name of William Penn; for, soaring above the prejudices and customs of his time, by which navigators and adventurers thought it right to consider the inhabitants of the lands they discovered as their lawful prey, or as mere animals of the brute creation, whom they might treat, use, and take advantage of at their pleasure, he regarded them as creatures endued with reason, as men of the like feelings and passions with himself, as brethren both by

by nature and grace, and as persons, therefore, to whom the great duties of humanity and justice were to be extended, and who, in proportion to their ignorance, were the more entitled to his fatherly protection and care.

“ ‘The account of Pensylvania,’ which was before mentioned, and the ‘conditions or concessions,’ part of which have been just detailed, having been made known to the public, many purchasers came forward both in London and Liverpool, and particularly in Bristol. Among those in the latter city J. Claypole, N. Moore, P. Forde, W. Sharloe, E. Pierce, J. Simcock, T. Bracy, E. Brooks and others formed a company, which they called ‘The Free Society of Traders in Pennsylvania.’ They purchased twenty thousand acres of land in trust for the said company, published articles of trade, and prepared for embarking in many branches of the same. Other persons purchased also, and among these a great number of quakers from Wales.

“ It was necessary, before any of the purchasers embarked, that they should know something of the political constitution under which they were to live in the New Land, as well as that it should be such as they approved. William Penn accordingly drew up a rough sketch, to be submitted to their opinion, of that great Frame of Government which he himself wished to become the future and permanent one of the province. It consisted of twenty-four articles. These were preceded by what he called his first or great fundamental, by which he gave them that liberty of conscience which the laws of their own country denied them, and in behalf of which he had both written and suf-

fered so frequently himself. ‘In reverence,’ says he, ‘to God, the father of light and spirits, the author as well as object of all divine knowledge, faith, and worship, I do, for me and mine, declare and establish for the first fundamental of the government of my province, that every person that doth and shall reside therein shall have and enjoy the free profession of his or her faith and exercise of worship toward God, in such way and manner as every such person shall in conscience believe is most acceptable to God. And so long as every such person useth not this christian liberty to licentiousness or the destruction of others, that is to say, to speak loosely and profanely or contemptuously of God, Christ, the holy scriptures, or religion, or commit any moral evil or injury against others in their conversation, he or she shall be protected in the enjoyment of the aforesaid christian liberty by the civil magistrate.’ With respect to the articles of the Frame or Constitution, it is unnecessary to give them here, as the substance of them will be communicated in another place. It may be sufficient to observe, that the merchants and adventurers were well pleased with them, and that they unanimously signed them. Nor was William Penn less satisfied with himself, as having done his duty in proposing them, if we may judge from a second letter to R. Turner, which he wrote just at the time when he had resolved upon them. ‘I have been,’ says he, ‘these thirteen years the servant of truth and friends, and for my testimony’s sake lost much; not only the greatness and preferment of this world, but sixteen thousand pounds of my estate, which, had I not been what I am, I had long ago obtain-

ed. But I murmur not; the Lord is good to me, and the interest his truth has given me with his people may more than repair it; for many are drawn forth to be concerned with me, and perhaps this way of satisfaction hath more the hand of God in it than a downright payment. This I can say, that I had an opening of joy as to these parts in the year 1651 at Oxford, twenty years since; and as my understanding and inclinations have been much directed to observe and reprove mischiefs in government, so it is now put into my power to settle one. For the matters of liberty and privilege (alluding to these articles), I purpose that which is extraordinary, and leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, that the will of one man may not hinder the good of a whole country.

“The Conditions and Frame of Government having been mutually signed, three ships full of passengers set sail for Pennsylvania; two from London, and one from Bristol. It appears that the John and Sarah from London, Henry Smith master, arrived first; and the Bristol Factor, Roger Drew master, the next. The last vessel arrived at the place where Chester now stands. Here the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore; and here, the river being frozen up that night, they remained all the winter. The other London ship, the Amity, Richard Dimon master, was blown off with her passengers to the West Indies, and did not arrive at the province till the spring of the next year.

“In one of these ships went Colonel William Markham. He was a relation of William Penn, and was to be his secretary when he himself should arrive. He was at-

tended by several commissioners, whose object was to confer with the Indians respecting their lands, and to endeavour to make with them a league of eternal peace. With this view they were enjoined in a solemn manner to treat them with all possible candour, justice, and humanity. They were the bearers also of a letter to them, which William Penn wrote with his own hand, and of which the following is a copy:

“‘There is a great God, and Power, which hath made the world and all things therein, to whom you, and I, and all people owe their being and well-being, and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we have done in the world.

“‘This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love, and to help, and to do good to one another. Now this great God hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world; and the king of the country where I live hath given me a great province therein: but I desire to enjoy it with your love and consent, that we may always live together as neighbours and friends; else what would the great God do to us, who hath made us (not to devour and destroy one another, but) to live soberly and kindly together in the world? Now, I would have you well observe, that I am very sensible of the unkindness and injustice which have been too much exercised toward you by the people of these parts of the world, who have sought themselves to make great advantages by you, rather than to be examples of goodness and patience unto you. This I hear hath been a matter of trouble to you,
and

and caused great grudging and animosities, sometimes to the shedding of blood; which hath made the great God angry. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I have great love and regard toward you, and desire to win and gain your love and friendship by a kind, just, and peaceable life; and the people I send are of the same mind, and shall in all things behave themselves accordingly; and if in any thing any shall offend you or your people, you shall have a full and speedy satisfaction for the same, by an equal number of just men on both sides, that by no means you may have just occasion of being offended against them.

“ I shall shortly come to see you myself, at which time we may more largely and freely confer and discourse of these matters. In the mean time I have sent my commissioners to treat with you about land and a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them and to the people, and receive the presents and tokens which I have sent you, as a testimony of my good will to you, and of my resolution to live justly, peaceably, and friendly with you

“ I am your loving friend,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

“ About this time William Penn was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He had before been acquainted with the celebrated Dr. John Wallis, who had been one of the chief instruments in founding it; but in the present year he wrote him a letter, in which he expressed to him the satisfaction he felt on hearing of the progress of the institution, as well as the high opinion he entertained of the advantages which would result to science from its labours, and in which (now

going out to Pennsylvania) he offered to contribute to its usefulness to the utmost of his power. It is probable from this letter, that Dr. Wallis was the person who nominated him to the above honour.

“ About this time his mother died, for whom he had the deepest filial affection. She had often interposed in his behalf, when his father was angry with him for his dereliction of church principles and of the honours and fashions of the world, and she took him under her wing and supported him when he was turned out of doors for the same reason. It is said that he was so affected by her death, that he was ill for some days. A letter has come down to us, which he wrote at this time in answer to a friend who had solicited his advice, from which we may collect that he had been certainly indisposed on the occasion; and as the language of grief is usually short, so the conciseness of this letter, together with the sentiment contained in it, seems to imply that his mind was then oppressed by the event, and his religious consideration of it. It runs thus:

“ Dear Friend,

“ Both thy letters came in a few days one of the other. My sickness upon my mother's death, who was last seventh day interred, permitted me not to answer thee so soon as desired; but on a serious weighing of thy inclinations, and perceiving to last thy uneasiness under my constrained silence, it is most clear to me to counsel thee to sink down into the seasoning, settling gift of God, and to wait to distinguish between thy own desires and the Lord's requirings.”

“ Having paid the last earthly offices of respect to his mother, he began

began by degrees to turn his mind to his American concerns. The first thing he did was to publish the *Frame of Government or Constitution of Pennsylvania*, mentioned in the last chapter. To this he added a noble preface, containing his own thoughts upon the origin, nature, object, and modes of government; a preface, indeed, so beautiful, and full of wise and just sentiments, that I should fail in my duty if I were to withhold it from the reader.

“ ‘ When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures it pleased him to choose man his deputy to rule it : and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honour and his happiness ; and, whilst he stood here, all went well ; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means ; the precept of divine love and truth in his bosom was the guide and keeper of his innocence. But lust, prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it ; and the law, that had before no power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not live conformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction of the just law without, in a judicial administration.

“ ‘ This the apostle teaches in divers of his epistles. ‘ The law,’ says he, ‘ was added because of transgression.’ In another place, ‘ knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man, but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and profane, for murderers,’ and

others. But this is not all, he opens and carries the matter of government a little further : ‘ Let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God : whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God : for rulers are not a terror to good works but to evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power ? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same . . . He is the minister of God to thee for good.——Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.’

“ ‘ This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends : first, to terrify evil doers : secondly, to cherish those that do well ; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world as good men shall be, so that government seems to me a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end : for, if it does not directly remove the cause, it crushes the effects of evil, and is, as such, though a lower, yet an emanation of the same divine Power that is both author and object of pure religion ; the difference lying here, that the one is more free and mental, the other more corporal and compulsive in its operation ; but that is only to evil-doers, government itself being otherwise as capable of kindness, goodness, and charity, as a more private society. They weakly err, who think there is no other use of government than correction, which is the coarsest part of it. Daily experience tells us, that the care and regulation of many other affairs, more soft and daily necessary, make up much

much, the greatest part of government, and which must have followed the peopling of the world, had Adam never fallen, and will continue among men on earth under the highest attainments they may arrive at by the coming of the blessed second Adam, the Lord from heaven. Thus much of government in general as to its rise and end.

“ ‘ For particular frames and models, it will become me to say little, and, comparatively, I will say nothing. My reasons are, first, that the age is too nice and difficult for it, there being nothing the wits of men are more busy and divided upon. ’Tis true they seem to agree in the end; to wit, happiness; but in the means they differ, as to divine, so to this human felicity; and the cause is much the same, not always want of light and knowledge, but want of using them rightly. Men side with their passions against their reason; and their sinister interests have so strong a bias upon their minds, that they lean to them against the good of the things they know.

“ ‘ Secondly, I do not find a model in the world, that time, place, and some singular emergencies have not necessarily altered; nor is it easy to frame a civil government that shall serve all places alike.

“ ‘ Thirdly, I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, and are the three common ideas of government when men discourse on that subject. But I choose to solve the controversy with this small distinction, and it belongs to all three: Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame,

where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion.

“ But, lastly, when all is said, there is hardly one frame of government in the world so ill designed by its first founders, that in good hands would not do well enough; and story tells us, that the best in ill ones can do nothing that is great and good; witness the Jewish and Roman states. Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men give them; and as governments are made and moved by men, so by them they are ruined too. Wherefore governments rather depend upon men, than men upon governments. Let men be good, and the government cannot be bad. If it be ill, they will cure it. But if men be bad, let the government be never so good, they will endeavour to warp and spoil it to their turn.

“ I know some say, Let us have good laws, and no matter for the men that execute them. But let them consider, that though good laws do well, good men do better; for good laws may want good men, and be abolished or invaded by ill men: but good men will never want good laws, nor suffer ill ones. ’Tis true good laws have some awe upon ill ministers, but that is where these have not power to escape or abolish them, and where the people are generally wise and good: but a loose and depraved people (which is to the question) love laws and an administration like themselves. That therefore, which makes a good constitution, must keep it; namely, men of wisdom and virtue, qualities that, because they descend not with worldly inheritances, must be carefully propagated by a virtuous education of youth,

youth, for which after-ages will owe more to the care and prudence of founders and the successive magistracy, than to their parents for their private patrimonies.

“ ‘ These considerations of the weight of government, and the nice and various opinions about it, made it uneasy to me to think of publishing the ensuing Frame and Conditional Laws, foreseeing both the censures they will meet with from men of differing humours and engagements, and the occasion they may give of discourse beyond my design.

“ ‘ But next to the power of necessity, which is a solicitor that will take no denial, this induced me to a compliance, that we have, with reverence to God and good conscience to men, to the best of our skill contrived and composed the Frame and Laws of this government to the great end of government, to support power in reverence with the people, and to secure the people from the abuse of power, that they may be free by their just obedience, and the magistrates honourable for their just administration; for liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery. To carry this evenness is partly owing to the constitution, and partly to the magistracy. Where either of these fail, government will be subject to convulsions; but where both are wanting, it must be totally subverted: then where both meet, the government is like to endure, which I humbly pray and hope to God will please to make the lot of this of Pennsylvania. Amen.’

“ The Frame, which followed this preface, consisted of twenty-four articles; and the laws, which were annexed to the latter, were forty.

“ By the frame the government was placed in the governor and freemen of the province, out of whom were to be formed two bodies; namely, a provincial council and a general assembly. These were to be chosen by the freemen; and though the governor or his deputy was to be perpetual president, he was to have but a treble vote. The provincial council was to consist of seventy two members. One third part, that is, twenty-four of them, were to serve for three years, one third for two, and the other third for one; so that there might be an annual succession of twenty-four new members, each third part thus continuing for three years and no longer. It was the office of this council to prepare and propose bills, to see that the laws were executed, to take care of the peace and safety of the province, to settle the situation of ports, cities, market towns, roads, and other public places, to inspect the public treasury, to erect courts of justice, institute schools, and reward the authors of useful discovery. Not less than two thirds of these were necessary to make a quorum; and the consent of not less than two thirds of such quorum in all matters of moment. The general assembly was to consist the first year of all the freemen, and the next of two hundred. These were to be increased afterward according to the increase of the population of the province. They were to have no deliberative power; but, when bills were brought to them from the governor and provincial council, to pass or reject them by a plain yes or no. They were to present sheriffs and justices of the peace to the governor, a double number for his choice of half. They were to be elected annually. All elections

elections of members, whether to the provincial council or general assembly, were to be by ballot. And this charter or frame of government was not to be altered, changed, or diminished in any part or clause of it, without the consent of the governor, or his heirs or assigns, and six parts out of seven of the freemen both in the provincial council and general assembly.

“ With respect to the laws, which I said before were forty in number, I shall only at present observe of them, that they related to whatever may be included under the term ‘ Good Government of the Province ;’ some of them to liberty of conscience ; others to civil officers and their qualifications ; others to offences ; others to legal proceedings, such as pleadings, processes, fines, imprisonments, and arrests ; others to the natural servants and poor of the province. With respect to all of them it may be observed, that, like the frame itself, they could not be altered but by the consent of the governor, or his heirs, and the consent of six parts out of seven of the two bodies before mentioned.

“ William Penn, having published the Frame as now concisely explained, thought it of great importance, in order to prevent all future claim or even pretence of claim by the Duke of York or his heirs upon the province, to obtain from his royal highness a deed of release for the same. This deed was accordingly made out. It witnessed, that his royal highness out of a special regard to the memory and faithful and eminent services performed by Vice-admiral Sir William Penn to his Majesty and to his said royal highness, and for the better encouragement of William Penn,

his son, to proceed in the cultivating and improving the tract of land then called Pennsylvania, and in reducing the savage and barbarous nations thereof to civility ; and for the good will which his said royal highness had and bore to the said William Penn, his son, did for himself and his heirs quit and release for ever to the said William Penn and his heirs all the said tract of land. This deed was signed by his royal highness on the 21st of August 1682, and was sealed and delivered in the presence of John Werden and George Man.

“ Besides the above, he obtained of his royal highness the Duke of York his right, title, and interest in another tract of land, of respectable extent, which lay contiguous to Pennsylvania. This was at that time inhabited by Dutch and Swedes. The Dutch had long before made war upon and conquered the Swedes ; and the English had afterwards conquered both, and had annexed the country they occupied to that which belonged to his royal highness, and placed it under his government of New York. This tract then, which was known afterwards by the name of The Territories, was presented to William Penn. It was made over to him, his heirs and assigns, by two deeds of feoffment, dated the 24th of August 1682, in which the boundaries were duly specified, and particularly those between the said territories and Maryland.

“ William Penn had now done almost every thing that he judged to be necessary previously to his embarkation. He had barred all claim from the Duke of York upon his province of Pennsylvania. He had added the territories to it, upon which there was a considerable population. He had published his
his

Frame of Government and Laws, which were suitable to both. He had engaged a ship for the voyage. He had put most of his stores, furniture, and other articles on board. There was yet, however, one thing which he was desirous of doing. His mind, as the time of his departure drew near, began to be seriously affected about his wife and children, and particularly about their spiritual welfare, during an absence the length of which, on account of the numerous wants of an infant-settlement daily to be attended to, he could not foresee. He resolved therefore to put down what occurred to him in the way of advice to them as to their conduct during his absence, and to leave with them in form of a letter. This letter has been preserved; and as it is very beautiful on account of the simplicity and patriarchal spirit in which it is written, and truly valuable on account of its contents, I shall give it as an acceptable present to such readers as may not yet have seen it:

“ ‘ My dear wife and children,

“ ‘ My love, which neither sea, nor land, nor death itself, can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever: and may the God of my life watch over you, and bless you, and do you good in this world and for ever!—Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

“ ‘ My dear wife! remember thou wast the love of my youth and much the joy of my life; the most beloved as well as most worthy of all my earthly comforts and

the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellencies, which yet were many. God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing, and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

“ ‘ First: Let the fear of the Lord and a zeal and love to his glory dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed. else God will be offended, and he will repent himself of the good he intends thee and thine.

“ ‘ Secondly: Be diligent in meetings for worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein: it is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, who has given us much time for ourselves: and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular: it is easy and sweet: thy retirement will afford thee to do it; as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be: and grieve not thyself with careless servants; they will disorder thee: rather pay them, and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions: this is best

to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul, and offend the Lord.

“ ‘ Thirdly : Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to ; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass : and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly, till my debts are paid ; and then enlarge as thou seest it convenient. Remember thy mother’s example, when thy father’s public-spiritedness had worsted his estate (which is my case). I know thou lovest plain things, and art averse to the pomps of the world ; a nobility natural to thee. I write not as doubtful, but to quicken thee, for my sake, to be more vigilant herein ; knowing that God will bless thy care, and thy poor children and thee for it. My mind is wrapt up in a saying of thy father’s, ‘ I desire not riches, but to owe nothing ; ’ and truly that is wealth, and more than enough to live is a snare attended with many sorrows. I need not bid thee be humble, for thou art so ; nor meek and patient, for it is much of thy natural disposition : but I pray thee be oft in retirement with the Lord, and guard against encroaching friendships. Keep them at arms end ; for it is giving away our power, aye and self to, into the possession of another ; and that which might seem engaging in the beginning may prove a yoke and burden too hard and heavy in the end. Wherefore keep dominion over thyself, and let thy children, good meetings, and friends, - be the pleasure of thy life.

“ ‘ Fourthly : And now, my dearest, let me recommend to thy care my dear children ; abundantly beloved of me, as the Lord’s blessings, and the sweet pledges of

our mutual and endeared affection. Above all things endeavour to breed them up in the love of virtue, and that holy plain way of it which we have lived in, that the world in no part of it may get into my family. I had rather they were homely than finely bred as to outward behaviour ; yet I love sweetness mixed with gravity, and cheerfulness tempered with sobriety. Religion in the heart leads into this true civility, teaching men and women to be mild and courteous in their behaviour, an accomplishment worthy indeed of praise.

“ ‘ Fifthly : Next breed them up in love one of another ; tell them it is the charge I left behind me ; and that it is the way to have the love and blessing of God upon them ; also what his portion is, who hates, or calls his brother fool. Sometimes separate them, but not long ; and allow them to send and give each other small things to endear one another with. Once more I say, tell them it was my counsel they should be tender and affectionate one to another. For their learning be liberal. Spare no cost ; for by such parsimony all is lost that is saved : but let it be useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind, but ingenuity mixed with industry is good for the body and mind too. I recommend the useful parts of mathematics, as building houses or ships, measuring, surveying, dialling ; navigation ; but agriculture is especially in my eye : let my children be husbandmen and housewives ; it is industrious, healthy, honest, and of good example : like Abraham and the holy ancients, who pleased God, and obtained a good report. This leads to consider the works of God and nature,

of

of things that are good, and diverts the mind from being taken up with the vain arts and inventions of a luxurious world. It is commendable in the princes of Germany, and the nobles of that empire, that they have all their children instructed in some useful occupation. Rather keep an ingenious person in the house to teach them, than send them to schools, too many evil impressions being commonly received there. Be sure to observe their genius, and do not cross it as to learning: let them not dwell too long on one thing; but let their change be agreeable, and all their diversions have some little bodily labour in them. When grown big, have most care for them; for then there are more snares both within and without. When marriageable, see that they have worthy persons in their eye, of good life, and good fame for piety and understanding. I need no wealth, but sufficiency; and be sure their love be dear, fervent, and mutual, that it may be happy for them. I choose not they should be married to earthly, covetous kindred; and of cities and towns of concourse beware; the world is apt to stick close to those who have lived and got wealth there: a country life and estate I like best for my children. I prefer a decent mansion, of an hundred pounds per annum, before ten thousand pounds in London, or such like place, in a way of trade. In fine, my dear, endeavour to breed them dutiful to the Lord, and his blessed light, truth, and grace in their hearts, who is their Creator, and his fear will grow up with them. Teach a child (says the wise man) the way thou wilt have him to walk, and when he is old he will not forget it. Next, obedience to

thee, their dear mother; and that not for wrath, but for conscience sake; liberal to the poor, pitiful to the miserable, humble and kind to all; and may my God make thee a blessing, and give thee comfort in our dear children; and in age gather thee to the joy and blessedness of the just (where no death shall separate us) for ever!

“ And now, my dear children, that are the gifts and mercies of the God of your tender father, hear my counsel, and lay it up in your hearts; love it more than treasure, and follow it, and you shall be blessed here, and happy hereafter.

“ In the first place, remember your Creator in the days of your youth. It was the glory of Israel in the second of Jeremiah: and how did God bless Josiah because he feared him in his youth! and so he did Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. O my dear children, remember, and fear and serve Him who made you, and gave you to me and your dear mother; that you may live to him and glorify him in your generations!

“ To do this, in your youthful days seek after the Lord, that you may find him; remembering his great love in creating you; that you are not beasts, plants, or stones, but that he has kept you, and given you his grace within, and substance without, and provided plentifully for you. This remember in your youth, that you may be kept from the evil of the world: for in age it will be harder to overcome the temptations of it.

“ Wherefore, my dear children, eschew the appearance of evil, and love and cleave to it at in your hearts which shows you evil from good, and tells you when you do amiss,

amiss, and reproves you for it. It is the light of Christ that he has given you for your salvation. If you do this, and follow my counsel, God will bless you in this world, and give you an inheritance in that which shall never have an end. For the light of Jesus is of a purifying nature; it seasons those who love it, and take heed to it; and never leaves such, till it has brought them to the city of God, that has foundations. O that ye may be seasoned with the gracious nature of it! hide it in your hearts, and flee, my dear children, from all youthful lusts; the vain sports, pastimes, and pleasures of the world; redeeming the time because the days are evil!—You are now beginning to live.—What would some give for your time? Oh! I could have lived better, were I, as you, in the flower of youth.—Therefore love and fear the Lord, keep close to meetings, and delight to wait on the Lord God of your father and mother, among his despised people, as we have done; and count it your honour to be members of that society, and heirs of that living fellowship which is enjoyed among them, for the experience of which your father's soul blesseth the Lord for ever.

“Next: be obedient to your dear mother, a woman whose virtue and good name is an honour to you; for she hath been exceeded by none in her time for her plainness, integrity, industry, humanity, virtue, and good understanding; qualities not usual among women of her worldly condition and quality. Therefore honour and obey her, my dear children, as your mother, and your father's love and delight; may love her too, for she loved your father with a deep and upright love, choosing him before all her many suitors:

and though she be of a delicate constitution and noble spirit, yet she descended to the utmost tenderness and care for you, performing the painfullest acts of service to you in your infancy, as a mother and a nurse too. I charge you, before the Lord, honour and obey, love and cherish your dear mother.

“Next: betake yourselves to some honest, industrious course of life, and that not of sordid covetousness, but for example and to avoid idleness. And if you change your condition and marry, choose, with the knowledge and consent of your mother if living, or of guardians, or those that have the charge of you. Mind neither beauty nor riches, but the fear of the Lord, and a sweet and amiable disposition, such as you can love above all this world, and that may make your habitations pleasant and desirable to you.

“And being married, be tender, patient, and meek. Live in the fear of the Lord, and he will bless you and your offspring. Be sure to live within compass; borrow not, neither be beholden to any. Ruin not yourselves by kindness to others; for that exceeds the due bounds of friendship, neither will a true friend expect it. Small matters I heed not.

“Let your industry and parsimony go no further than for a sufficiency for life, and to make a provision for your children, and that in moderation, if the Lord gives you any. I charge you help the poor and needy; let the Lord have a voluntary share of your income for the good of the poor, both in our Society and others; for we are all his creatures; remembering that ‘he that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord.’

“Know well your in-comings, and

and your out-goings may be better regulated. Love not money nor the world: use them only, and they will serve you; but if you love them you serve them, which will debase your spirits as well as offend the Lord.

“ ‘Pity the distressed, and hold out a hand to help them; it may be your case; and as you mete to others, God will mete to you again.

“ ‘Be humble and gentle in your conversation; of few words, I charge you; but always pertinent when you speak, hearing out before you attempt to answer, and then speaking as if you would persuade, not impose.

“ ‘Affront none, neither revenge the affronts that are done to you; but forgive, and you shall be forgiven of your heavenly Father.

“ ‘In making friends consider well first; and when you are fixed be true, not wavering by reports, nor deserting in affliction, for that becomes not the good and virtuous.

“ ‘Watch against anger, neither speak nor act in it; for, like drunkenness, it makes a man a beast, and throws people into desperate inconveniencies.

“ ‘Avoid flatterers, for they are thieves in disguise: their praise is costly, designing to get by those they bespeak; they are the worst of creatures; they lye to flatter, and flatter to cheat; and, which is worse, if you believe them, you cheat yourselves most dangerously. But the virtuous, though poor, love, cherish, and prefer. Remember David, who asking the Lord, ‘Who shall abide in thy tabernacle? who shall dwell upon thy holy hill?’ answers, ‘He that walketh uprightly, worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart; in

whose eyes the vile person is condemned, but honoureth them who fear the Lord.’

“ ‘Next, my children, be temperate in all things; in your diet, for that is physic by prevention; it keeps, nay, it makes people healthy, and their generation sound. This is exclusive of the spiritual advantage it brings. Be also plain in your apparel; keep out that lust which reigns too much over some; let your virtues be your ornaments, remembering life is more than food, and the body than the raiment. Let your furniture be simple and cheap. Avoid pride, avarice, and luxury. Read my ‘No Cross, no Crown.’ There is instruction. Make your conversation with the most eminent for wisdom and piety; and shun all wicked men as you hope for the blessing of God, and the comfort of your father’s living and dying prayers. Be sure you speak no evil of any, no, not of the meanest; much less of your superiors, as magistrates, guardians, tutors, teachers, and elders in Christ.

“ ‘Be no busybodies; meddle not with other folk’s matters, but when in conscience and duty prest; for it procures trouble, and is ill manners, and very unseemly to wise men.

“ ‘In your families remember Abraham, Moses, and Joshua, their integrity to the Lord; and do as you have them for your examples.

“ ‘Let the fear and service of the living God be encouraged in your houses, and that plainness, sobriety, and moderation in all things as becometh God’s chosen people; and as I advise you, my beloved children, do you counsel yours, if God should give you any. Yea, I counsel and command them as my posterity, that they love and serve the Lord God with an upright heart, that he may

Penn's Foundation of Pennsylvania.

may bless you and yours from generation to generation.

“ ‘ And as for you, who are likely to be concerned in the government of Pennsylvania, and my parts of East Jersey, especially the first, I do charge you before the Lord God, and his holy angels, that you be lowly, diligent, and tender, fearing God, loving the people, and hating covetousness. Let justice have its impartial course, and the law free passage. Though to your loss, protect no man against it; for you are not above the law, but the law above you. Live therefore the lives yourselves you would have the people live, and then you have right and boldness to punish the transgressor. Keep upon the square, for God sees you: therefore do your duty, and be sure you see with your own eyes, and hear with your own ears. Entertain no lurchers, cherish no informers for gain or revenge; use no tricks; fly to no devices to support or cover injustice; but let your hearts be upright before the Lord, trusting in him above the contrivances of men, and none shall be able to hurt or supplant.

“ ‘ Oh! the Lord is a strong God, and he can do whatever he pleases; and though men consider it not, it is the Lord that rules, and overrules in the kingdoms of men, and he builds up, and he pulls down. I, your father, am the man that can say, He that trusts in the Lord shall not be confounded. But God, in due time, will make his enemies be at peace with him.

“ ‘ If you thus behave yourselves, and so become a terror to evil doers and a praise to them that do well, God, my God, will be with you in wisdom and a sound mind, and make you blessed instruments in his hand for the settlements of some of those

desolate parts of the world, which my soul desires above all worldly honours and riches, both for you that go, and you that stay; you that govern and you that are governed; that in the end you may be gathered with me to the rest of God.

“ ‘ Finally, my children, love one another with a true endeared love, and your dear relations on both sides, and take care to preserve tender affection in your children to each other, often marrying within themselves, so as it be without the bounds forbidden in God's law, that so they may not, like the forgetting unnatural world, grow out of kindred and as cold as strangers; but, as becomes a truly natural and Christian stock, you, and yours after you may live in the pure and fervent love of God towards one another, as becometh brethren in the spiritual and natural relation.

“ ‘ So, my God, that hath blessed me with his abundant mercies, both of this and the other and better life, be with you all, guide you by his counsel, bless you, and bring you to his eternal glory! that you may shine, my dear children, in the firmament of God's power with the blessed spirits of the just, that celestial family, praising and admiring him, the God and Father of it, for ever! For there is no God like unto him; the God of Isaac and of Jacob, the God of the prophets, the apostles, and martyrs of Jesus, in whom I live for ever.

“ ‘ So farewell to my thrice dearly beloved wife and children!

“ ‘ Yours, as God pleaseth, in that which no waters can quench, no time forget, nor distance wear away, but remains for ever,

“ WILLIAM PENN.

“ *Worminghurst, 4th of
6th month, 1682.*”

“ William

“William Penn, after having written this letter, took an affectionate leave of his wife and children, and accompanied by several friends, arrived at Deal. Here he embarked on board the ship *Welcome*, of three hundred tons burthen, Robert Greenaway commander. The passengers, including himself, were not more than a hundred. They were mostly quakers. They were also, most of them, from Sussex, in which county his house at Worminghurst was seated. While lying in the Downs, he wrote a farewell epistle, the title of which ran thus, ‘An Epistle, containing a salutation to all faithful friends, a reproof to the unfaithful, and a Visitation to the inquiring in the Land of my Nativity.’”

“He wrote also a letter to his friend Stephen Crisp, an able and upright minister of the gospel in his own society, who had been a great sufferer for religion, and for whom he had an extraordinary regard. He had parted with him but a few days before. His letter, which is well worth copying, was as follows:

“ ‘DEAR STEPHEN CRISP,

“ ‘My dear and lasting love in the Lord’s everlasting truth reaches to thee, with whom is my fellowship in the gospel of Peace, that is more dear and precious to my soul than all the treasures and pleasures of this world; for, when a few years are passed, we shall all go the way whence we shall never return; and that we may unweariedly serve the Lord in our day and place, and, in the end, enjoy a portion with the blessed that are at rest, is the breathing of my soul!

“ ‘Stephen! we know one another, and I need not say much to thee; but this I will say, thy parting dwells with me, or rather thy love at my

parting. How innocent, how tender, how like the little child that has no guile! The Lord will bless that ground (Pennsylvania). I have also a letter from thee, which comforted me; for many are my trials, yet not more than my supplies from my heavenly father; whose glory I seek, and the renown of his blessed name. And truly, Stephen, there is work enough, and here is room to work in. Surely God will come in for a share in this planting-work, and that heaven shall leaven the lump in time. I do not believe the Lord’s providence had run this way towards me, but that he has an heavenly end and service in it: so with him I leave all, and myself, and thee, and his dear people, and blessed name on earth.

“ ‘God Almighty, immortal and eternal, be with us, that in the body and out of the body we may be his for ever!

“ ‘I am, in the ancient dear fellowship,

“ ‘Thy faithful friend and brother,

“ ‘WILLIAM PENN.”

“On or about the 1st of September the *Welcome* sailed; but she had not proceeded far to sea, when the small-pox broke out, and this in so virulent a manner, that thirty of the passengers fell a sacrifice to it. In this trying situation William Penn administered to the sick every comfort in his power, both by his personal attendance and by his spiritual advice. In about six weeks from the time of leaving the Downs he came in sight of the American coast, and afterwards found himself in the Delaware river.

In passing up this river, the Dutch and Swedes, now his subjects, who were said to occupy the territories lately ceded to him, and the English

English, as well those who had gone the preceding year under Colonel Markham as others who had settled there before, met and received him with equal demonstrations of joy. Those of Dutch and Swedish extraction living there at this time were estimated at between two and three thousand. At length he landed at Newcastle. Here the Dutch had a court-house. In this, the day after his arrival, he called together the people. Having taken legal possession of the country, according to due form, in their presence, he made a speech to the old magistrates, in which he explained to them the design of his coming, the nature and end of government, and of that more particularly which he came to establish. He then assured all present that they should have the full enjoyment of their rights both as to liberty of conscience and civil freedom. He recommended them to live in sobriety, and in peace and amity with each other. After this he renewed the magistrates' commissions.

"He now took a journey to New York, to pay his respects to the duke by visiting his government and colony. This gave him an opportunity of seeing Long Island and the Jerseys. He then returned to Newcastle.

"His next movement was to Upland, in order to call the first general assembly. This was a memorable event, and to be distinguished by some marked circumstance. He determined therefore to change the name of the place. Turning round to his friend Pearson, one of his own society, who had accompanied him in the ship *Welcome*, he said, 'Providence has brought us here safe. Thou hast been the companion of my perils. What wilt thou I should

call this place?' Pearson said, 'Chester, in remembrance of the city from whence he came.' William Penn replied, that it should be called Chester; and that, when he divided the land into counties, he would call one of them by the same name also. At length the assembly met. It consisted of an equal number for the province and for the territories of all such freemen as chose to attend, according to the sixteenth article of the frame of government. It chose for its speaker Nicholas Moore, president of the 'Free Society of Traders of Pennsylvania,' before spoken of, and then proceeded to business, which occupied three days.

"At this assembly an act of union was passed, annexing the territories to the province, and likewise an act of settlement in reference to the frame of government; which frame of government, as it related to the constitution, was, with certain alterations, declared to be accepted and confirmed.

"The Dutch, Swedes, and foreigners of all descriptions within the boundaries of the province and territories were then naturalized.

"All the laws agreed upon in England, as belonging to the frame of government, were with some alterations, and with the addition of nineteen others, thus making together fifty-nine, passed in due form.

"Among these laws, I shall notice the following. All persons who confessed the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and who held themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in society, were in no ways to be molested for their religious persuasion and practice, nor to be compelled at any time to frequent any religious place or ministry whatever. All treasur-

ers, however, judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and all whatsoever in the service of the government, and all members elected to serve in provincial council and general assembly, and all electors, were to be such as professed faith in Jesus Christ, and as had not been convicted of ill fame, or unsober and dishonest conversation, and who were one-and-twenty years of age. All children of the age of twelve were to be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none might be idle in the province; but that the poor might work to live, and the rich, if they became poor, might not want. Servants were not to be kept longer than the time of servitude agreed upon, and were to be put in fit equipage at the expiration of it. All pleadings, processes, and records in courts of law were to be as short as possible. All fees of law were to be moderate, and to be hung up on tables in the courts. All persons wrongfully imprisoned or prosecuted were to have double damages against the informer or prosecutor. All fines were to be moderate. With respect to the criminal part of these laws, one new principle was introduced into it. William Penn was of opinion, that though the deterring of others from offences must continue to be the great, and indeed only, end of punishment, yet, in a community professing itself christian, the reformation of the offender was to be inseparably connected with it. Hence he made but two capital offences; viz. murder, and treason against the state: and hence also all prisons were to be considered as workshops, where the offenders might be industriously, soberly, and morally employed.

“ The assembly having sat three days, as I observed before, broke up; but, before they adjourned, they re-

turned their most grateful thanks to the governor. The Swedes also deputed for themselves Lacy Cock to return him their thanks, and to acquaint him that they would love, serve, and obey him with all they had, declaring it was the best day they had ever seen.

“ After the adjournment he prepared for a visit to Maryland. On his first arrival at Newcastle he had dispatched two messengers to the Lord Baltimore to ‘ask his health, to offer kind neighbourhood, and to agree upon a time of meeting, the better to establish it.’ By this time the messengers had returned, from whom it appeared that the Lord Baltimore would be glad to see him. On receiving this information he set out for West River, and at the appointed time reached the place of meeting, where he was very kindly received, not only by his host, but by the principal inhabitants of the province. There the two governors endeavoured to fix the boundaries between their respective provinces; but the winter season being expected, and there being no appearance of speedily determining the matter, after two days spent upon it, they appointed to meet again in the spring. William Penn accordingly departed. Lord Baltimore had the politeness to accompany him several miles, till he came to the house of one William Richardson, where he took his leave of him. And here it may be observed, that the nobleman just mentioned, whose name was Charles, was the son and heir of Cecilius Calvert, baron of Baltimore, who had obtained the original grant of Maryland, and who, being a catholic, had peopled it with those of his own persuasion. Cecilius, however, though he himself, and they who emigrated with him were of this.

this description, had the liberality to allow liberty of conscience to all who came to settle in his province; so that though William Penn is justly entitled to the praise of posterity for having erected a colony composed of different denominations of christians, where the laws respecting liberty both civil and religious, were equally extended to all, and where no particular sect was permitted to arrogate to itself peculiar advantages, yet he had not the honour, as we see, (however the project with him might have been original,) of being the first to realize it.

“Having refreshed himself at William Richardson’s, he proceeded to a religious meeting of the quakers, two miles further on, which was to be held at the house of Thomas Hooker. From thence he went to Choptank, on the eastern shore of Chesapeak Bay, ‘where a meeting of colonels, magistrates, and persons of divers qualities and ranks,’ had been purposely appointed. The visit being over, he returned to Upland, which from henceforth I shall call Chester.

“The time now arrived when he was to confirm his great treaty with the Indians. His religious principles, which led him to the practice of the most scrupulous morality, did not permit him to look upon the king’s patent, or legal possession according to the laws of England, as sufficient to establish his right to the country, without purchasing it by fair and open bargain of the natives, to whom only it properly belonged. He had therefore instructed commissioners, who had arrived in America before him, to buy it of the latter, and to make with them at the same time a treaty of eternal friendship. This the commissioners had done; and this was the time when,

by mutual agreement between him and the Indian chiefs, it was to be publicly ratified. He proceeded therefore, accompanied by his friends, consisting of men, women, and young persons of both sexes, to Coaquannoc, the Indian name for the place where Philadelphia now stands. On his arrival there he found the Sachems and their tribes assembling. They were seen in the woods as far as the eye could carry, and looked frightful both on account of their number and their arms. The quakers are reported to have been but a handful in comparison, and these without any weapon,—so that dismay and terror had come upon them, had they not confided in the righteousness of their cause.

“It is much to be regretted, when we have accounts of minor treaties between William Penn and the Indians, that in no historian I can find an account of this, though so many mention it, and though all concur in considering it as the most glorious of any in the annals of the world. There are, however, relations in Indian speeches, and traditions in quaker families descended from those who were present on the occasion, from which we may learn something concerning it. It appears that, though the parties were to assemble at Coaquannoc, the treaty was made a little higher up, at Shackamaxon. Upon this Kensington now stands, the houses of which may be considered as the suburbs of Philadelphia. There was at Shackamaxon an elm tree of a prodigious size. To this the leaders on both sides repaired, approaching each other under its widely-spreading branches. William Penn appeared in his usual clothes. He had no crown, sceptre, mace, sword, halberd, or any insignia of
C 2 eminence.

eminence. He was distinguished only by wearing a sky-blue sash round his waist, which was made of silk net work, and which was of no larger apparent dimensions than an officer's military sash, and much like it except in colour. On his right hand was Colonel Markham, his relation and secretary, and on his left his friend Pearson before mentioned; after whom followed a train of quakers. Before him were carried various articles of merchandize, which when they came near the Sachems, were spread upon the ground. He held a roll of parchment, containing the confirmation of the treaty of purchase and amity in his hand. One of the Sachems, who was the chief of them, then put upon his own head a kind of chaplet, in which appeared a small horn. This, as among the primitive Eastern nations, and according to scripture language, was an emblem of kingly power; and whenever the chief, who had a right to wear it, put it on, it was understood that the place was made sacred, and the persons of all present inviolable. Upon putting on this horn the Indians threw down their bows and arrows, and seated themselves round their chiefs in the form of a half-moon upon the ground. The chief Sachem then announced to William Penn, by means of an interpreter, that the nations were ready to hear him.

“Having been thus called upon, he began. The great spirit, he said, who made him and them, who ruled the heaven and the earth, and who knew the innermost thoughts of man, knew that he and his friends had a hearty desire to live in peace and friendship with them, and to serve them to the utmost of their power. It was not their custom to

use hostile weapons against their fellow-creatures, for which reason they had come unarmed. Their object was not to do injury, and thus provoke the great spirit, but to do good. They were then met on the broad pathway of good faith and good will, so that no advantage was to be taken on either side, but all was to be openness, brotherhood, and love. After these and other words, he unrolled the parchment, and by means of the same interpreter, conveyed to them, article by article, the conditions of the purchase, and the words of the compact then made for their eternal union. Among other things, they were not to be molested in their lawful pursuits even in the territory they had alienated, for it was to be common to them and the English. They were to have the same liberty to do all things therein relating to the improvement of their grounds, and providing sustenance for their families, which the English had. If any disputes should arise between the two, they should be settled by twelve persons, half of whom should be English, and half Indians. He then paid them for the land, and made them many presents besides from the merchandize which had been spread before them. Having done this, he laid the roll of parchment on the ground, observing again, that the ground should be common to both people. He then added, that he would not do as the Marylanders did, that is, call them children, or brothers only; for often parents were apt to whip their children too severely, and brothers sometimes would differ: neither would he compare the friendship between him and them to a chain, for the rain might sometimes rust it, or a tree might fall and break it; but he should

should consider them as the same flesh and blood with the christians, and the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. He then took up the parchment, and presented it to the Sachem who wore the horn in the chaplet, and desired him and the other Sachems to preserve it carefully for three generations, that their children might know what had passed between them, just as if he had remained himself with them to repeat it.

“That William Penn must have done and said a great deal more on this interesting occasion than has now been represented, there can be no doubt. What I have advanced may be depended upon; but I am not warranted in going further. It is also to be regretted, that the speeches of the Indians on this memorable day have not come down to us. It is only known, that they solemnly pledged themselves, according to their country manner, to live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the sun and moon should endure.—Thus ended this famous treaty, of which more has been said in the way of praise than of any other ever transmitted to posterity. ‘This,’ says Voltaire, ‘was the only treaty between those people and the christians that was not ratified by an oath, and that was never broken.’—‘William Penn thought it right,’ says the Abbé Raynal, ‘to obtain an additional right by a fair and open purchase from the aborigines; and thus he signalized his arrival by an act of equity which made his person and principles equally beloved.—Here it is the mind rests with pleasure upon modern history, and feels some kind of compensation for the disgust, melancholy, and horror, which the whole of it, but particularly that of

the European settlements in America, inspires.’—Noble, in his continuation of Granger, says, ‘he occupied his domains by actual bargain and sale with the Indians. This fact does him infinite honour, as no blood was shed, and the christian and the barbarian met as brothers. Penn has thus taught us to respect the lives and properties of the most unenlightened nations.’—‘Being now returned,’ says Robert Proud, in his history of Pennsylvania, ‘from Maryland to Coaquannoc, he purchased lands of the Indians, whom he treated with great justice and sincere kindness.—It was at this time when he first entered personally into that friendship with them, which ever afterwards continued between them, and which for the space of more than seventy years was never interrupted, or so long as the quakers retained power in the government.—His conduct in general to these people was so engaging, his justice in particular so conspicuous, and the counsel and advice which he gave them were so evidently for their advantage, that he became thereby very much endeared to them; and the sense thereof made such deep impressions on their understandings, that his name and memory will scarcely ever be effaced while they continue a people.

“After the treaty he went up the Delaware a few miles, to see the mansion which Colonel Markham had been preparing for him. It was erected, but not finished. The manor, on which it stood, was beautifully situated, being on the banks of the Delaware over against the present Burlington, and only a few miles below the falls of Trenton. It was a treble island, the Delaware running three times round it. The mansion was built of brick, and was large

large and commodious. There was a spacious hall in it, intended as a hall of audience for the sovereigns of the soil. Reserving this for his own residence, he gave it the name of *Pennsbury*.

“From *Pennsbury* he returned to *Chester*. Having now fairly purchased the land of the natives, he ordered a regular survey of it. This was performed by *Thomas Holme*, who had come out as surveyor general of the province. During the survey he pitched upon *Coaquannoc* as the most noble and commodious place for his new city. It was situated between the rivers *Skuykill* and *Delaware*, and therefore bounded by them on two sides, and on a third by their confluence. The junction of two such rivers, and both of them navigable, the great width and depth of the latter so admirably calculated for commerce, the existence of a stratum of brick earth on the spot, immense quarries of building stone in the neighbourhood,—these and other circumstances determined him in the choice of it. It happened, however, that it was then in the possession of the *Swedes*; but the latter, on application being made to them, cheerfully exchanged it for land in another quarter.

“Having now determined upon the site, and afterwards upon the plan of the city, he instructed *Thomas Holme* to make a map of it, in which the streets were to be laid out as they were to be afterwards built. There were to be two large streets, the one fronting the *Delaware* on the east, and the other the *Skuykill* on the west, of a mile in length. A third, to be called *high street*, of one hundred feet broad, was to run directly through the middle of the city so as to communicate with the streets now

mentioned at right angles; that is, it was to run through the middle from river to river, or from east to west. A fourth of the same breadth, to be called *broad street*, was to run through the middle also, but to intersect *high street* at right angles, or to run from north to south. Eight streets, fifty feet wide, were to be built parallel to *high street*, that is, from river to river; and twenty, of the like width, parallel to *broad street*, that is, to cross the former from side to side. The streets running from east to west were to be named according to their numerical order, such as first, second, and third street, and those from north to south according to the woods of the country, such as vine, spruce, pine, sassafras, cedar, and others. There was to be, however, a square of ten acres, in the middle of the city, each corner of which was to be reserved for public offices. There was to be also in each quarter of it a square of eight acres, to be used by the citizens in like manner as *Moorfields* in *London*. The city, having been thus planned, he gave it a name, which he had long reserved for it, namely, *Philadelphia*, in token of that principle of brotherly love, upon which he had come to these parts; which he had shown to *Dutch*, *Swedes*, *Indians*, and others alike; and which he wished might for ever characterize his new dominions.

“Scarcely was this plan determined upon, when, late as the season was, some of the settlers began to build, and this with such rapidity, being assisted by the *Swedes*, that several houses were erected in this year. He himself was employed in the mean while with *Thomas Holme* in finishing the survey of his grants and purchases; the result of which was, that he divided the province
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and territories, each into three counties. The province contained those of Philadelphia, Bucks, and Chester; the first so named from the city, which was then building; the second from Buckinghamshire in England, which was the land of his ancestors; and the third from the

promise before mentioned which he had made to his friend Pearson. The territories contained those of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex; the latter of which he so named out of respect to his wife's family, Sussex in England having been the county of their nativity for generations.

CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE PAPAL SEE AND LUTHER.

[From Mr. BOWER's Life of Luther.]

"THE year 1520 was no less remarkable than the preceding for a display of Luther's activity. Scarcely was it begun when he published in German a pamphlet on the sacrament. About the same time he ventured to address a letter, in defence of the new doctrine, to the young emperor Charles V. That prince was under great obligations to Frederick, and Luther, who, like others, was as yet a stranger to his cold, calculating character, entertained hopes that the impulse of gratitude might render him tolerant, if not favourable, to the reformed cause. He makes in this letter a declaration to the following effect.

"The violent publications which have taken place are to be ascribed to the intemperance of my enemies. My object has been to circulate nothing but evangelical truth in opposition to traditionary superstitions. I have called, but in vain, on my adversaries to point out in what respect my opinions are erroneous. I now find it necessary, after the example of Athanasius, to invoke the protection of the imperial majesty, but I desire it no longer than until my arguments have received a fair hearing, after which I

shall either conquer or be conquered.'

"A few days after, Luther gave to the world, in the shape of a protestation, or open declaration of his tenets, a repetition of what he had written to the emperor. This was speedily followed by a letter dated February 4, and addressed to Albert, archbishop of Mentz. It was expressed in terms equally respectful and submissive as the letter to the emperor; but, being directed to an ecclesiastic, it contained a fuller statement of the theological discussion. Imputing the hostility displayed against him, in a great measure, to persons who had never read his writings, Luther entreated the archbishop to take the trouble of perusing them. The prelate's reply was expressed in a style of greater attention than might have been expected from a personage so completely devoted to the court of Rome. It was addressed, '*Honorabili et religioso nobis in Christo dilecto, Martino Luthero, Theologiae Professore.*' The sequel, short as it was, bore the mark of coming from a practised politician. The archbishop avoided any discussion of Luther's works, by declaring that he had not had leisure to peruse them; and

and accordingly would not attempt to censure them, but leave that to his superiors who had already undertaken the task. He inculcated strongly the propriety of moderation, and, whilst he saw no harm in learned men indulging in speculations on controverted points, he conceived that such discussions might be injurious to the multitude.

“ Luther’s object in these letters was to show that his sentiments were less violent than report had stated them. On the day of writing to the archbishop of Mentz, he addressed the bishop of Mersburg on the same subject, but in a style of greater freedom. The reply likewise contained a much more direct reproof than had been administered to him by the archbishop of Mentz. He paid Luther, however, the compliment of styling him, ‘venerable brother,’ and promised to give his observations at more length when they should happen to meet. The caution shown by both prelates sufficiently indicates that Luther’s cause had acquired too much popularity to make open contradiction advisable.

“ We now return to Miltitz, who had, in the beginning of the preceding year, made a favourable outset in the negociation with Luther. Since then he had the mortification of seeing his measures arrested in their progress by the impatience of others, and Luther rendered much less tractable by the popularity of his publications. Miltitz, however, was still desirous of doing all he could to prevent matters from going farther wrong. But it was an arduous task to give a satisfactory direction to so many individuals opposite in temper and actuated by contrary motives. The

letters of Miltitz are still extant in the library of Saxe-Gotha, and, if they create no favourable impression of his candour, they show that the temperate conduct which he desired to pursue, was much more likely to prove successful than that which was adopted by others.

“ After various conferences of less importance, Miltitz determined to make a vigorous effort to prevail on Luther to express by letter his esteem for the pope, and beseech his Holiness to interfere according to his wonted goodness. With this view he prevailed on the Augustinians to send a deputation to Luther with a request to that effect. Luther promised to comply and to prefix the desired letter to his next publication. This produced the famous address to the pope published along with his treatise on ‘Christian Liberty.’ It is so remarkable as to have a claim on the particular attention of all who analyze the progressive changes in the Reformer’s conduct. Its chief object appears to have been an exemption of the pope personally, from the charges made by Luther against the church of Rome. Such, no doubt, was the desire of Miltitz and the Augustinians, and such, it is probable, was Luther’s intention in beginning to write the letter. But he seems to have become so warmed with his subject, as to devote himself much more keenly to the accusation of the church than to the vindication of its head. His letter is in substance as follows.

“ ‘ It is impossible for me to be unmindful of your Holiness, since my sentiments concerning the papal office are held forth every where as the chief cause of continuing the contest. By means of the impious flatterers of your Holiness, who, without

without cause, are full of wrath against me, I have been compelled to appeal from the See of Rome to a general Council. But my affection for your Holiness has never been alienated, though I begin to despise and to triumph over those who have sought to terrify me by the majesty of your authority. One thing, however, I cannot despise, and that is the cause of my writing this letter; I mean the blame thrown on me for reflecting on your Holiness personally.'

"To this charge he gives an explicit contradiction, and panegyricizes Leo strongly, comparing him to Daniel in Babylon, and to Ezekiel among scorpions. 'I have,' he adds, 'inveighed sharply against unchristian doctrines, and reproved my adversaries severely, not for rudeness but for impiety. So far from being ashamed of this, my purpose is to despise the judgment of men and to persevere in this vehemence of zeal after the example of Christ, who called his opponents a generation of vipers, blind hypocrites, and children of the devil. The multitude of flatterers has rendered the ears of our age so delicate, that as soon as we find that our sentiments are not approved, we immediately exclaim that we are slandered; and, when we find ourselves unable to resist truth, we accuse our adversaries of detraction, impatience, and impudence. But let me ask, of what use would salt be if it were not pungent? or the point of a sword if it did not wound? Cursed is the man who doth the work of the Lord deceitfully.'

"After assuring the pontiff that he never harboured any malice against him, and that he would yield in any thing except the word of truth, which he would neither

desert nor deny, he adds, in emphatic language,

" 'I have resisted and shall continue to resist what is called the court of Rome as long as the spirit of faith shall live in me. Neither your Holiness nor any one will deny that it is more corrupt than Babylon or Sodom, and sunk, as far as I understand, in the most deplorable, desperate, and avowed impiety. I lament that under the sanction of your name and under pretext of the good of the church, the people of Christ should be made a laughing stock. Not that I attempt impossibilities, or expect that the endeavours of an individual can accomplish any thing in opposition to so many flatterers in that Babylon replete with confusion. But I consider myself as a debtor to my fellow men, for whose welfare it behoves me to be solicitous, so that those pests of Rome may destroy a smaller number and in a more humane manner. During many years nothing has been poured on the world but monsters both in body and mind, along with the worst examples of all worst actions. It is clear as day that the church of Rome, in former ages the most holy of churches, has now become a den of robbers, a scene of prostitution, the kingdom of sin, death, and hell, so that greater wickedness is not to be conceived even under Antichrist himself. Your Holiness sitteth like a lamb in the midst of wolves. What opposition is it possible that you, with your very learned and excellent cardinals, can make to such monsters?'

"After this extraordinary description, Luther proceeded to relate his successive transactions with Cajetan, Eckius, and Miltitz. He entreated Leo to exert his authority in

in checking those flatterers who were the enemies of peace, and declared that the attempt to make him recant could not fail to increase the present confusion, for he would never consent that any one should lay down a law for the interpretation of the word of God. 'On the two conditions of not requiring me to recant, and of permitting me to interpret scripture according to my own judgment, I am willing to do or to suffer any thing; I wish to provoke no one; neither do I wish to receive provocation; but if provocation be given to me, since Christ is my master, I will not be silent.'

"A letter expressed in this unexampled style could not fail to give the highest offence at Rome. That offence was little alleviated by Luther's distinction between the pope personally and those who surrounded him. For many ages no other language had been addressed to Rome but that of the most profound respect. Examples had occurred of individual ecclesiastics becoming refractory, but they were soon crushed by the powerful arm of the church. While the greatest princes were in the habit of observing the most respectful tone in their communications with the holy See, such licence on the part of an individual was not likely to be pardoned. Here, instead of a recantation, was a repetition and re-assertion of all that had already been declared most offensive. No wonder, therefore, that even the more moderate members of the Romish communion should look on this letter as a mockery of the pontiff. To an unprejudiced reader, it is chiefly remarkable as presenting a curious example of Luther's disregard of the customary rules of civility, and an evidence of the all-

powerful influence of truth on his mind. This and this alone appears to have actuated him, and to have prompted him to go to lengths which every consideration of interest, and even of safety, would have forbidden.

"It is not a little extraordinary that Miltitz should have consented to transmit such a letter to Rome. On the accompanying treatise on 'Christian Liberty,' Luther remarks to the Pope: 'This small tract published under your name, as an omen of approaching harmony, I send you by way of specimen of the kind of study in which I would by preference employ my time, were I left in quiet by those profane flatterers of yours.' The essay is divided into two parts, the first containing an illustration of the proposition, that the 'Christian is the most free lord of all, subject to none;' and the second, 'that he is the most ready to oblige all and subject to all.' Nothing in the work has a relation to civil liberty; it is strictly a description of the privileges annexed, in Luther's opinion, to the station of a Christian, and of the practical effects which these privileges naturally and necessarily produce. It may be fit to mention that there is a remarkable coincidence between this little tract and the writings of the English puritanical divines.

"It is now time to relate the hostile measures which Luther's undaunted perseverance drew on him on the part of the church of Rome. It was matter of surprize that they should have been so long delayed, but Leo, though without just pretensions to the virtues ascribed to him, was not of a hasty temper, and was, as has been already mentioned, afraid of offending Frederick.

rick. At last, however, the solicitations for the adoption of a decisive step came from so many quarters, and Luther himself discovered such bold pertinacity in issuing one hostile publication after another, that Leo felt it necessary to alter his course. The Dominicans, and particularly Eckius, were active in accelerating this determination. The language of Eckius was wonderfully changed from the time when he invited Carolostad and Luther to that disputation which he expected would be to him a scene of triumph. In writing to the former on that occasion, he had called Luther their 'mutual friend;' but from the date of their vehement contest, he became his inveterate enemy. On Luther's part the animosity was equally strong, for in writing to a friend about Eckius, he exclaimed, '*Totus infidus est, et aperte rupit amicitiae jura.*'

"Leo's first act was to appoint a congregation or assembly of cardinals, prelates, theologians, and canonists, to whom he remitted the whole management of Luther's affair. All were agreed on the necessity of directing the thunder of the Vatican against the new heresy; but the peculiar feelings of the different classes composing the assembly, led to violent disputes in regard to the mode of proceeding. The theologians proposed to lose no time in denouncing Luther's doctrines, the impiety of which, they said, was glaring, and acknowledged to the world: the canonists, on the other hand, maintained that notoriety of crime could deprive any one of the inherent right of being heard in his defence. After long debates it was agreed to divide the cause into three parts; the doctrine, the books, and the person. The

doctrine, it was determined, should be condemned, the books burned at a time to be fixed, and Luther summoned to appear after a suitable interval.

"The composition of the bull gave rise to almost as much debate as the preliminary discussions. The numbers of the conclave rivalled each other in expressing abhorrence of the new doctrine and attachment to the holy See. Cajetan, though in bad health, made himself be carried into the consistory, and a bitter contention arose between Peter Accolti, cardinal of Ancona, and Laurent Pucci, cardinal datary, about the honour of composing the manifesto against Luther. Each had prepared a draught, and was eager for the preference. Nothing less than the pontiff's authority could settle this competition, and the draught of Accolti, after undergoing several emendations, was preferred.

"The bull at last came out on June 15, and set forth the papal pretensions in the loftiest tone. After affirming that the Imperial crown had been transferred by the papal See from the Greeks to the Germans, it claims a power not only of inflicting ecclesiastical punishments, but of depriving refractory persons of their property and civil privileges. The extravagant bulls of Pius II. and Julius II. which declared it heresy to appeal from the pope to a council, are cited and made a ground for Luther's condemnation. He is compared to Porphyry, the notorious enemy of Christianity, and is spoken of as the reviver of the Greek and Bohemian schisms. Forty-one heresies are selected from his works and condemned as 'pernicious, scandalous, and pestilential.' Luther,
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and all who may favour his opinions, are made the object of the most violent denunciations. They are incapacitated from performing any legal act, and declared guilty of high treason, infamous and unworthy of Christian burial. Luther is reproached for obstinately disregarding the admonitions and kindness of the pope; and that all remembrance of him may be obliterated from the society of the faithful, no one is to presume to read, preach, or publish his works. Such as are written are to be condemned to the flames, and such as he may hereafter write are to be received with the greatest suspicion. He is ordered to appear at Rome within sixty days to take his trial, and in case he should not obey the summons, the civil and ecclesiastical powers are commanded to seize him and his adherents and send them to Rome.

“Here, at length, was the edict so long delayed from dread of the elector Frederick. The next point was to communicate it to that prince in the least offensive manner. With this view, the papal court determined to avail itself of the following circumstance, although apparently ill calculated to forward conciliation. One of the elector’s agents, named Valentin Teutleben, being employed to transact some business for him at Rome, experienced a degree of reluctance on the part of the pope, which, as he wrote to his master, was to be ascribed to the circumstance of his defending Luther. Frederick lost no time in replying to his agent, and denied, ‘that he had ever undertaken the defence of Luther’s opinions, Luther being prepared to defend them himself before equitable judges, and ready, if refuted

from scripture, to recant: ‘Luther,’ he added, ‘had offered to leave Saxony, and would have done so before that time, had not Miltitz interceded that he might not be sent away, lest he should go where he could write and act with greater freedom.’ To attempt the forcible suppression of Luther’s opinions, or to cut him off by the exertion of ecclesiastical power, would be imprudent and dangerous. Measures of that description were not fit in the improved state of public knowledge, nor was the strong hold which the Lutheran doctrine had taken in Germany, to be set aside by any thing else than sound argument.”

“This letter was communicated to the pope’s minister, and gave occasion to an immediate address to Frederick. With the ordinary art of the court of Rome, their dispatch proceeded on the assumption that Frederick was, in his heart, an enemy to Luther. It was written in Leo’s name, and was in substance as follows :

“ ‘I experience great satisfaction on learning that you have no connection with Luther, who is altogether impious. I have on former occasions uniformly entertained a high opinion of your virtue, and your conduct at present fully confirms it. Luther has been introduced into the world, not by Christ but by Satan, that he might revive the heresies of Wickliffe, Huss, and the Bohemians; and that, by false interpretations of scripture, he might give occasion of sinning to the simple. There is danger lest he should set continence at defiance, do away confession and penitence, favour the infidels by impure speeches, overturn the discipline of the church, and confound all things,

sacred

sacred and profane. To such a pitch of pride and madness has Luther proceeded, that he despises the authority of councils and of the holy See, preferring audaciously his own opinion to that of all others. In avoiding intercourse with such a pest, your highness has acted a part worthy of your ancestors: and I give thanks to God for endowing you with such a disposition. Hitherto I have borne with Luther's forwardness and rashness, in the hope that he would return to his right mind. But now, seeing that he profiteth nothing by admonition and gentleness, I have been compelled to apply a violent remedy, lest he should corrupt many by the contagion of his example. Having therefore called a council, and deeply weighed the question, it has been decreed by direction of the Holy Spirit, which on these occasions is never absent from the holy See, to issue a bull in condemnation of Luther's heresy. Of that instrument a copy is herewith transmitted to you.'

"The alarm which these hostile measures might have excited in Luther was opportunely counteracted by a very satisfactory testimony of attachment in a different quarter. Shortly before the publication of the bull, two German noblemen, Sylvester von Schaumburg, and Francis Seckingen, came forward and wrote to him with offers of protection against all personal hazard. The letter of the former, in particular, deserves to be recorded:

" 'I understand,' he said, 'from several learned men, that your doctrine is founded on the scriptures; and that although you have offered to submit it to the decision of a general council and to the judgment

of pious and well informed men, you have reason to apprehend personal danger. You propose therefore to seek a refuge among the Bohemians. That plan I would earnestly entreat you to abandon, lest the nature of the connection should have the consequence of rendering your cause suspected and odious. I offer you my own protection and that of one hundred noblemen in Franconia, with whom you can live in safety until your doctrine has undergone a deliberate investigation.'

"So clear a testimony of approbation could not fail to be highly acceptable to Luther, and we accordingly find him writing to his friend Spalatin (July 10,) that 'his expulsion from Wittemberg would only make the state of things worse, for not only in Bohemia, but in the very heart of Germany, there were persons both able and willing to defend him. Nor was it doubtful that, under their protection, he could animadvert on the papacy with more severity than when he held the responsible office of a public teacher under the elector of Saxony. He had long been doubtful how far Frederick would find it expedient to continue his protection, a consideration which, joined to a regard for the interests of the university of Wittemberg, had hitherto prevented him from going so far as he otherwise would. But now, were Frederick even obliged to withdraw his protection, the support of others would enable him to proceed in his career.' 'The die,' he adds, 'is cast, and I despise equally the fury and favour of Rome.—Never will I be reconciled or connected with them. Let them condemn and burn my books.—I, in my turn, so long as I can procure fire, will condemn and

and burn publicly the whole pontifical code." It appears that on the 23d of August he wrote to Rome, and ventured to use expressions of correspondent energy.

"Luther's friends, however, were less tranquil than himself. They prevailed on him to write to Spalatin, and to request him to use his interest with the elector to apply for an imperial edict to prevent any one from condemning him unless it was previously shown that his tenets were inconsistent with scripture. In this letter Luther, always more interested about his doctrine than his personal safety, complained, in an earnest and affecting manner, of the endless libels published against him, and expressed an ardent wish that preachers might be found to promulgate his real sentiments among the people.

"Amidst all the alternations of fear and hope, Luther's active mind never gave way to sullen despondency or indolence. Application to study, as it had formed his chief pleasure in his early days, now constituted his best resource in a season of alarm. His next production was a book of a miscellaneous character, which he addressed to the emperor Charles V. and to the nobility of the empire. It was directed, among other topics, to a reproof of the vices of the clergy, and to a recommendation of the study of scripture, of divinity, and other subjects lately introduced into universities. He reprobated premature monastic vows, and animadverted on confession and on the disgraceful custom of begging, whether practised by monks or laymen. No one, he said, should be admitted into a monastery before the age of thirty. But the most serious part

of the work consisted in an attack on the usurpations of the papacy, and in an insinuation that Rome was the seat of Antichrist.

"Luther's next publication was his celebrated essay '*De Captivitate Babylonicâ Ecclesiæ*.' He here examined into the nature and use of the sacraments, which, as is well known, are, according to the Romanists, seven in number. From this enumeration Luther dissented, and denied the name of sacrament to confirmation, holy orders, marriage, or extreme unction. But he continued to include penance in the list as well as baptism and the Lord's supper. In this, as in others of his writings, we have many vestiges of the impression made on his reasoning habits by the rules of the schoolmen. Instead of proceeding after the inductive method, to examine what the scriptures had delivered respecting sacraments, he went on the plan of accomodating the passages in scripture to a system previously adopted. This treatise was first published in Latin, but the general interest which it excited, made it soon be translated into German.

"That progressive advance in knowledge which every studious man experiences in himself, is very clearly exhibited in the writings of Luther. No man was less scrupulous in publishing his latest opinions, however they might vary from former impressions. The repeated attacks of his opponents obliged him, he said, to grow wiser in self defence. In the preamble to the '*Babylonish Captivity*,' he requests booksellers and others possessed of copies of what he had published two years before on Indulgencies, to burn these copies, and to substitute
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for all that he had writen, '*Indulgentiæ sunt adulatorum Romanorum nequitia.*' His publication on the nature of the papacy he wished to condemn to the same fate, desiring his readers to adopt in lieu of his reasonings the concise definition, '*Papatus est robusta venatio Romani Episcopi;*' for he was now certain that the papacy was the kingdom of Babylon.

"An unfortunate misunderstanding took place at this time between the students and the inhabitants of Wittemberg. Matters having proceeded to the length of a tumultuous assemblage, Luther was dissatisfied with the students and reproved them in very severe terms. The keenness of his censure gave them great offence; and even his friends at court, Spalatin and Amsdorff, (a canon of the collegiate church at Wittemberg) were apprehensive that he had gone too far and might injure the university. The dread of hurting that seminary, by the freedom of his writings, is enumerated by Luther among the many disquietudes of the first three years of his reforming career. Some time after this, Spalatin visited the university with a view, probably, of ascertaining both its condition and the intended proceedings of Luther after being apprized of the pope's bull. Spalatin's report of his visit has been preserved and is curious.

"A proportion of the students," he says, "are absent, but this is chiefly on account of a contagious disorder, and the university is still very numerously attended. I saw four hundred young men studying divinity under Luther; and no fewer than six hundred learning the languages under Melancthon. Luther continues in good spirits, and is writing against the papal bull,

but declares that from respect to the elector he will express himself with moderation. I saw more than thirty letters addressed to Luther from princes, nobles, and doctors, in Suabia, Switzerland, and Pomerania, replete with expressions of piety and offers of consolation. So popular a preacher is he, that both the town church of Wittemberg and that of the monastery are too small to receive the crowd of his hearers."

"We come now to the important business of publishing the bull in Germany. This part of the proceedings also was undertaken by Eckius, who hoped to make it a kind of finish to his laborious exertions. In corresponding with his friends, he had boasted much of his services at Rome, and of his repeated conferences with the pope, one of which lasted no less than five hours. He took to himself the merit of being the first to expose Luther's heresy in a proper light to the heads of the church, who till then had been very imperfectly acquainted with it. So assiduous had he been in accelerating the proceedings about the bull, that by the 3d of May matters had been got ready for dispatch at the next assembly of cardinals. Yet on his return to Germany, he endeavoured to represent his journey as undertaken with reluctance. But Luther, who, by some means not known, had got possession of one of his letters from Rome, published it with notes, and showed that Eckius's grand object, in these extraordinary exertions, was no other than his own preferment in the church.

"Though the condemning bull was issued from the papal chamber on the 15th of June, it was not published in Germany till a considerable time afterwards. It appears to

to have reached Wittemberg in the beginning of October, for on the 13th of that month Luther wrote to Spalatin as follows :

“ ‘ The pope’s bull is come at last,—Eckius brought it. We are writing many things to the pope concerning it. For my own part I hold it in contempt, and attack it as impious and false, like Eckius, in every respect. Christ himself is evidently condemned by it, and no reason is assigned in it for summoning me to a recantation instead of a trial. They are full of fury, blindness, and madness. They neither comprehend nor reflect on consequences. Meantime I shall treat the pope’s name with delicacy, and conduct myself as if I considered it a false and forged bull, although I believe it to be genuine. How anxiously do I wish that the emperor had the courage to prove himself a man, and, in defence of Christ, attack those emissaries of Satan. For my part I do not regard my personal safety—let the will of the Lord be done. Nor do I know what course should be taken by the elector ; perhaps it may appear to him more for my interest that he should dissemble for a season. The bull is held in as great contempt at Leipsic as Eckius himself.—Let us therefore be cautious lest he acquire consequence by our opposition, for, if left to himself, he must fall. I send you a copy of the bull that you may see what monsters they are at Rome. If these men are destined to rule us, neither the faith nor the church have the least security. I rejoice that it has fallen to my lot to suffer hardship for the best of causes ; but I am not worthy of such a trial. I am now much more at liberty than before, being fully

persuaded that the pope is Antichrist, and that I have discovered the seat of Satan. May God preserve his children from being deceived by the pope’s impious pretensions. Erasmus informs me that the emperor’s court is crowded with creatures who are tyrants and beggars, so that nothing satisfactory is to be expected from Charles. This need not surprise us. ‘ Put not thy trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, in whom there is no stay.’

“ ‘ Eckius, having left Rome with copies of the bull, reached Leipsic, big with expectation of the reverence that would be paid to himself and to the pope’s mandate. He found, however, that matters did not admit of the rapid progress which he wished. The reformation had now taken a firm and a general hold. George, Duke of Saxony, bigoted as he was, found it necessary, from the dissatisfaction of the people, to delay the publication. At first, time was taken on the plea that the consent of the bishop of Mersberg must be previously obtained, and on application being made to that prelate, the publication was put off to the month of April in the following year. A letter written by Miltitz on the 2d of October, throws some light on these matters.

“ ‘ I found Eckius at Leipsic, very clamorous and full of threats. I invited him to an entertainment and employed every means in my power to discover what he proposed to do. After he had drunk freely, he began to relate, in pompous terms, the commission he had received from Rome, and by what means he was to bring Luther to obedience. He informed me that he had caused the bull to be published

lished in Misnia on 21st September a Mersburgh on the 25th, and at Brandenburg on the 29th. Eckius was in the habit of showing the bull with great pomp: He lodged with the public commissary: Duke George ordered the senate to present him with a gilt cup, and a considerable sum of money. But notwithstanding the bull itself, and the pledge of public safety given to him, some young men of family affixed on the 29th September, in no less than ten places, bills containing threats against him. Terrified by these, he took refuge in the monastery of St. Paul and refused to be seen. He complained to Cæsar Pflugius, and obtained a mandate from the rector of the university, enjoining the young men to be quiet, but all to no purpose. They have composed ballads upon him, which they sing through the streets; and send daily to the monastery intimations of their hostility. More than one hundred and fifty of the Wittemberg students are here, who are very much incensed against him.' Miltitz afterwards added that Eckius had made a nocturnal escape to Friburg.

" Similar commotions took place in other parts of Germany, where attempts were made to publish the bull. The Elector of Saxony declared it wholly unadvisable to attempt its promulgation in his dominions. The Bishop of Bamberg availed himself of some informality as a pretext for declining to publish it in his diocese. At the university of Erfurt the students tore a copy of the bull and threw it into the river. Nay, the rector publicly encouraged them to pull down any copy of the bull which they might see posted up, and to oppose Luther's enemies by all the means in their power.

1813.

The Elector of Brandenburg and Albert of Mecklenburg passed through Wittemberg, in December, on their way to the imperial coronation, and held a very gracious conversation with Luther. The Bishop of Brandenburg who accompanied them, actuated by very different feelings, was desirous of publishing the bull at Wittemberg, which was in his diocese, but durst not attempt it. The clergy alone, cemented as they were in interest with the Roman See, appeared friendly to the bull, but even among them there were many who reprobated its violent tone, and who, without venturing to speak in favour of Luther, cordially wished him success.

" In several parts of the country, where the ascendancy of the catholics was too decided to admit of opposition, there were not wanting proofs of a favourable disposition towards the new doctrine. At Mentz the populace received the bull with indignation, and the persons employed to put the books in the fire, did it at the hazard of their lives. Even at Louvain, considerable opposition was experienced, and, though the influence of the heads of the university was such as to enable them to proceed with the burning of Luther's books, a party among the students and inhabitants insisted on committing, at the same time, to the flames a number of books of an opposite description. In Italy also, at Venice and Bologna, though no direct opposition was offered, the partizans of Luther had become numerous. In the palatinate the new doctrine was by this time planted, though not publicly acknowledged till three years after.

" The first regular step taken
D by

by Luther against the bull was a protest recorded before a notary and witnesses, and an appeal from the pope to a general council. An appeal of the same nature had been entered by him a twelve-month before, but the respectful manner in which he then spoke of Leo was now exchanged for the most embittered expressions. *Leo X. in impia sua tyrannide induratus perseverat—Iniquus, temerarius, tyrannicus iudex—Hæreticus et Apostata—Antichristus, blasphemus, superbus contemptor sanctæ Ecclesiæ Dei.*

“The universities of Cologne and Louvain having openly burned Luther's books, and a similar example having been given at Rome, the Reformer now determined to retaliate. He caused public notice to be given at Wittenberg, that he purposed burning the antichristian decretals on Monday, 10th Dec. So novel a scene excited great interest, and the concourse accordingly was immense. The people assembled at nine o'clock in the morning, and proceeded, in regular divisions, to the spot in the neighbourhood where the ceremony was to be performed. Having there partaken of a slight repast, an eminent member of the university erected a kind of funeral pile and set it on fire: after which Luther took Gratian's Abridgement of the Canon Law; the letters commonly called decretals of the pontiffs; the Clementines and Extravagants, and, last of all, the bull of Leo X. All these he threw into the fire, and exclaimed with a loud voice, ‘Because ye have troubled the holy of the Lord, therefore let eternal fire trouble you.’ Having remained to witness their consumption, he returned into the city, accompanied by the same multitude, without the

occurrence of the slightest disorder.

“So extraordinary a step, however cordially received by his countrymen, seemed to call for a formal justification in the eyes of others. With that view Luther published a set of reasons, which, instead of proving a palliation of the act, had the effect, like his former vindications, of aggravating his offence. He warned the public not to be misled by high sounding titles, nor by declamations about pontifical dignity, but to proceed to a rigid examination of what was actually taught in those books. This, he said, was the true way to make them aware of their poisonous and abominable doctrine. He then enumerated thirty specific articles, as examples of the errors and usurpations of the papacy. The canon law, he said, went beyond all bounds. Among other things it contained the extraordinary doctrine that ‘the pope is God upon earth, superior to all belonging to heaven or earth, whether spiritual or temporal. All things belong to the pope, and to him no one dares say, What doest thou?’ Towards the conclusion of the treatise, Luther places in a very strong light the overbearing conduct of the popes towards all who ventured to dissent from them. ‘Never have the popes vanquished, either by Scripture or argument, any one who has spoken or written against them. Their alternative has always been to excommunicate, burn, or put them to death, through the medium of kings, princes, and others devoted to the papacy.’

“Luther's hostility to the canon law deserves particular attention. He was by this time aware, that without the abolition of this ponderous

derous and ill digested code, the projected Reformation in religion would confer only a limited benefit on mankind. It is deeply to be lamented that he should have been less successful in the one than in the other. I cannot more clearly explain the causes of his failure than by transcribing the words of his countryman, the learned and accurate Boehmer, a well known professor of law :

“ On the introduction into Germany of enlightened views in religion, the canon law would probably have been annihilated had it not been for the interposition of the lawyers. Luther, even before shaking off the papal yoke, had detected the imperfection, fraud, and impiety of this law. In his treatise addressed to the emperor and the nobility, he expressed a wish that the ancient laws of Germany should be restored, a measure which, had it been effected, would have placed our affairs, both public and private, on a much surer foundation. It would have led to greater uniformity in our ecclesiastical law, to the cessation of tedious law-suits, and to the re-introduction of that German candour and honesty, which are so conspicuous in the institutes of our ancestors. But Luther's boldness in burning the canon law gave deadly offence to the lawyers. Henning Goeden, and Jerome Schurff were at that time pleaders of great reputation at Wittemberg, and believed, or professed to believe, that the abolition of the canon law would endanger the safety of the state. The fact was, that their own interest and convenience were at stake, the canon law forming the rule of the whole mode of procedure in law-suits. Hence arose the interference of these men, who,

in an evil hour, proved the cause of preventing the abolition of the canon law, and the so much desired reform of ecclesiastical and civil law. The fact is, that from their ignorance of the law of nature and moral philosophy, the lawyers were ill qualified to supply the want of the regulations established by a long course of precedents. Unaccustomed to exercise their reasoning and inventive powers, the blank occasioned by the absence of the canon law presented to their imaginations an irremediable chasm. Moreover, the study of the canon law had long been an object of great ambition, and superiority in the knowledge of it formed one of the leading features of professional distinction.

“ We have already adverted to the favourable disposition of Erasmus towards Luther and his writings. On the condemnation of Luther's doctrine by the subservient universities of Louvain and Cologne, Erasmus was prompted to address to Spalatin a set of axioms on the Lutheran cause. He had scarcely put them out of his hands, when, with his usual timidity, he begged that they might be returned to him lest they might do him an injury with the pope's nuncio. These axioms however have been preserved, and the sentiments of so eminent a scholar deserve to be noticed. In the passage referring to the act of the two universities, he says, ‘ The motive of the proceeding is bad ; it is a love of tyrannic rule, and a wish to discourage literary effort. Out of so many universities, two only have condemned Luther ; and they have done nothing more than publish a sentence, for they have not confuted him, nor do they agree among themselves.’

themselves.' The court of Rome, however, thought proper to lay great stress on the sanction of these public bodies. Honourable mention of it was made in the bull, and the universities were called '*agri dominici piissimæ, religiosissimæ cultrices.*'

"In the course of this year, the elector Frederick being at Cologne, an interview took place between him and Erasmus. It was on this occasion that Erasmus made the ludicrous remark, that Luther had offended in two capital points—'He had touched the pope's supremacy and the bellies of the monks.'

"Luther, according to his usual practice, replied with great spirit to the condemning sentence of the universities of Cologne and Louvain. A new antagonist soon after appeared in a Franciscan monk at Leipsic, named Augustine. To him also Luther gave a speedy reply; and in fact, he was indebted to the writings of opponents for a considerable share of the publicity of his cause. Even Cajetan now came forward and displayed his whole scholastic skill in asserting the divine origin, and the infallibility of the pope. On the other hand there appeared on the side of Luther, and in support of the cause of free inquiry, an essay from the pen of Ulrich Hutton, a young man of fortune and literary talents. He published Leo's bull, and annexed to it short scholia, exposing in very bold language the weakness of the papal arguments, and the presumptuous encroachments of that court.

"This auxiliary publication was soon followed by one from Luther, who was too confident of his cause to remain inactive. The title of this address to the public bore the

stamp of his usual boldness—it was an 'Answer to the execrable bull of Antichrist.' In this, and in another treatise which speedily came forth, he passed in review the whole of the forty-one propositions enumerated by Leo. No longer satisfied with offering these propositions as subjects for disputation, he affirmed them to be incontrovertibly true. So highly was this work esteemed at the court of Saxony, that Spalatin translated it from the Latin into German.

"The pope now thought the time had come to make a direct and pointed application to the elector Frederick, on the subject of Luther. With that view he sent, in the end of October, two nuncios, Jerome Aleander and Marinus Caracciolus, to Frederick, who was then at Cologne. Both were distinguished dignitaries of the church and members of the Conclave. They enlarged on the danger to which Germany was exposed by Luther's execrable writings, and, after requesting that his books should be burned and himself either imprisoned or sent to Rome, Aleander proceeded to state that the emperor, and all the other princes who had been applied to, had consented to the pope's demand. The investigation of Luther's cause had, he added, been committed by the pontiff to him and Eckius. Urgent as this application was, the nuncios proved unable to extract an explicit answer from the wary Frederick. He replied in general terms, that it was a matter of great moment, and required mature deliberation. On the 4th Nov. he returned an answer by his ministers, but took care to adhere to the same general language as before. He declared 'that the request was very unexpected on his part,

part, and that, while at a distance from home, he had heard that Eckius, contrary to the tenor of the pontifical decree, had wished to injure not only Luther, but other learned men in his dominions, an assumption of power, on the part of an unauthorized individual, which could not but be extremely offensive to him. Having been absent, he could not say with certainty what had been done by Luther and others

after receiving the pope's bull; but it might happen that in consequence of the provocation given to him, there was a general disposition to approve of his proceedings.' Finally, he requested 'that learned and good men should converse in a friendly manner on the whole business, and that Luther should be accounted entitled to protection, and have an opportunity to plead his cause.'"

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF LUTHER.

[From the same.]

"WE are now arrived at Luther's fifty-fourth year, the period of his life at which his attacks of ill health first became serious. Excess in sedentary confinement had concurred with mental agitation to expose to severe inroads a constitution which had never been strong. The chief support of his health had consisted in his steady temperance; an advantage to which he, no doubt, owed the preservation of it during the years subsequent to the indisposition which we are now about to mention.

"In the beginning of 1537, Luther was afflicted with a strangury, and the symptoms were so severe that both he and his friends began to despair of his life. In a letter to his wife of 18th February, he thus expressed himself: 'In short, I was at the point of death, and I commended you and our little ones to God, our good master. I had given up all hopes of seeing you again, and felt great sympathy for you. I laid my account with the grave;

but so many prayers and tears were poured out to God for my recovery, that it pleased him to afford me relief, and I am now considerably revived.'

"During this alarming illness, much anxiety was manifested for his recovery as well by his friends as by the public characters who favoured the Reformation. His recovery appears to have been complete, and he was enabled to resume his labours in the cause of religion. In these he steadily persevered during the remaining nine years of his life. He prepared for the press two editions of his great work, the translations of the Bible, and published them successively in 1541 and 1545. He collected also his various compositions, and printed them in a connected shape, with an introduction which has supplied many useful materials to his biographers. He continued to discharge, with his accustomed zeal, his official duty as a preacher and a professor. He published, likewise, commentaries on various parts of Scripture, and showed

showed no inclination to relinquish his former habit of sending forth a popular treatise whenever circumstances in the state of religion appeared to call for it. But, amid these various occupations, it was remarked that his enterprizing spirit appeared to undergo abatement, and that in his latter years, he was found to hazard no new doctrines. This alteration should, however, be ascribed as much to the matured state of the Reformation as to the progress of Luther's years. The season was now come in which it was fitter to defend established opinions than to advance others that were new. Judicious and appropriate as this plan of conduct was, it has unavoidably the effect of shortening the narrative of Luther's latter years. An account of his publications at this time of life would be, in a great measure, a recapitulation of the subjects mentioned in the former part of our book.

"An event of great importance to the progress of the Reformation, in Luther's neighbourhood, took place in 1539. This was the death of his obstinate opponent, George, Duke of Saxony. So bigotted was this prince to the last, that he introduced into his will a clause, bequeathing his territory to the emperor and king of the Romans, if his brother Henry, who was his natural successor, should apostatize from the Catholic religion. Henry, however, knew too well the secret wish of his subjects to be alarmed at this death-bed menace. He lost no time in inviting Luther along with other reformers to Leipsic, and in accomplishing, with their assistance, that revolution in the mode of worship which had long been desired by the people.

"The years 1540 and 1541 were

remarkable for conferences held between the leading advocates of the Protestants and Catholics with a view to an agreement on the principal topics in dispute. These took place, first at Worms, and afterwards, under circumstances of greater solemnity, at Ratisbon. This measure originated with the Protestants, and had the cordial wishes of the German Catholics, who desired, above all things, the restoration of tranquillity in their native country. A greater approximation to concord was made on this than on any former occasion; Melancthon and Bucer on the part of the Protestants, and Grapper, a canon of Cologne, on that of the Catholics, conducting their disquisitorial labours in a very friendly tone. Eckius also assisted at these conferences, and appears to have dropped much of the vehemence of his earlier years. After all, the trouble of these distinguished scholars turned to very little account, as the points on which they agreed had little application to practice. They concurred in speculative tenets, but differed widely in regard to that most important topic, the pope's authority. Had they even gone the length of harmonizing on this point, matters would have been little farther advanced, as the pope and the Italian Catholics disclaimed the concessions made by the Romish doctors at these conferences, and disapproved of the measure altogether. Luther, who had no idea of compromise, remonstrated resolutely against the yielding tone adopted by his friends; and the young elector of Saxony cordially joined him in disapproving all such concessions. They looked forward confidently to the eventual triumph of their cause, and the progress made,

made, from year to year, by the Reformation appeared to justify their hopes.

“ It was in 1545, in Luther’s sixty-second year, that his constitution began to exhibit strong symptoms of decline. He had for some time back been subject to attacks of a malady not unusual among sedentary men—the stone; and in this year, the attacks of the complaint became both more frequent and severe. At midsummer his friend Pontanus mentioned in a letter that Luther had then laboured during eight days under that excruciating disease. In addition, his attacks of head-ache, which had long been troublesome, now assumed an aggravated appearance. The injury caused to the system by these attacks was manifest in the impaired sight of one of his eyes. Such a complication of illness led his friends, as well as himself, to conclude that the period of his dissolution was not very remote. On the part of his enemies an indecent wish to anticipate the event did not allow them to wait the progress of nature. Impatient to record the end of the man who had been foremost in the career of Reformation, they published premature accounts of his death and funeral. They had even the malignity to assert that the course of nature was inverted, and that the elements themselves had testified their abhorrence of the heretic. Luther, however, lived long enough to publish a contradiction, and to expose to shame the propagators of these falsehoods.

“ But bodily infirmity was not the only misfortune of Luther. That constitutional ardour which enabled him to brave the threats of ecclesiastical and temporal rulers was connected with a temper, pro-

ductive, in several respects, of much uneasy sensation to its possessor. The effect produced by the opinions of Zwinglius throughout a considerable part of the reformed body appears to have caused him much disquietude. His own arguments on the long disputed subject of the sacrament were by no means of that clear and forcible nature that enabled him either to persuade others or to establish completely his own conviction. The want of earnestness, too, in this point, of the friend of his heart, Melancthon, was a source of great vexation to him. That eminent man, as different from Luther in point of temper as can well be imagined, was contented to be regarded as a disciple of the Reformer. They had laboured together during many years, and had gone through life with a harmony and cordiality which has seldom been surpassed. Whether Melancthon privately favoured the Zwinglian notion of the sacrament, and was withheld from an open declaration by respect for his friend, is not known; but that he did not enter with any ardour into Luther’s tenets on that subject, is abundantly apparent. By a man of Luther’s zeal the slightest deficiency of acquiescence in religious doctrine was magnified into confirmed opposition. The elector of Saxony, apprehensive of the progress of disunion among the Protestants, thought it necessary to commission his chancellor Pontanus, to recommend forbearance to Luther on the subject of the sacrament.

“ It happened also very unfortunately, that the evening of Luther’s day was clouded by an altercation with the lawyers on the subject of clandestine marriages. So strong was the effect of this accumulation

mulation of chagrin, that Luther lost his attachment to his favourite city, Wittemberg, and left it, in the month of July, (1545,) apparently determined never to return. His wife remaining there, he charged her to inform his friends Pomeranus and Melancthon that he had retired, because he could no longer endure the contradiction and displeasure to which he was subjected. This intelligence, when it came to be publicly known at Wittemberg, was productive of deep and general regret; Luther having long been endeared to the inhabitants, both by the sincerity of his heart and by the extraordinary services which he had rendered to their city. His fame in early life, as a professor, and his wonderful reputation after becoming a reformer, had attracted crowds of students to the university, and had been the source of great advantage to the citizens. Melancthon's affection for him continued unabated, and so deeply was he distressed by his departure, that without inquiring whether his grievances were well founded, he was eager to follow and pass in his society the remainder of life. The consequence of this concurrent feeling was an application, on the part of the university, to the elector (on 1st August) intreating him most earnestly to use his influence and authority to prevail on Luther, whom they called their dear and reverend father, to return. They promised that whatever had given him offence should be corrected. The elector wrote forthwith to Luther, in the kindest and most affectionate manner, and even took the trouble to send his physician, Razenberg, to whom he begged that he would unbosom himself in the most confidential manner. Luther

yielded to those cordial solicitations, and consented to resume once more his residence at Wittemberg. Here, though declining health necessarily contracted the degree of his exertion, he continued to write against the doctors of Louvain and other adherents of the papacy with an energy that revived the recollection of his better years.

“ Though Luther continued in his original poverty, and had little ambition to interfere in affairs of business, his integrity and high character for judgment induced many persons to apply to him for advice. A dispute had for some time existed between the counts of Mansfeld respecting the brass and silver mines at Eisleben, his native place. He had been prevailed on to undertake the difficult task of attempting to compose these differences, and had actually made a journey thither, but without success. The parties now appearing more disposed to reconciliation, he was again induced, notwithstanding his infirmity, to undertake a repetition of the journey. In doing this he complied with the wish both of the counts of Mansfeld and of the elector of Saxony, who had interested himself in the business. That Luther was in a very feeble state will appear from the following extract of a letter to a friend, written on 17th January, 1546, only six days before he set out. ‘ I write to you though old, decrepid, inactive, languid, and now possessed of only one eye. When drawing to the brink of the grave, I had hopes of obtaining a reasonable share of rest, but I continue to be overpowered with writing, preaching, and business, in the same manner as if I had not discharged my part in these duties in the early period
of

of life.' Razenberg had some time before prescribed the opening of an issue in his left leg. This was found to afford him considerable relief, and to enable him to walk to church and to the university to lecture. On going to Eisleben, however, he neglected to take proper dressings with him, and, from the pressure of business, unfortunately paid it little or no attention, a neglect which was evidently a cause of accelerating his death.

"Nothing could be more indicative of Luther's ardour than the undertaking of a journey in the month of January, under such a pressure of bodily infirmities. The river Issel having overflowed its banks, he was five days on the road. His companions were his three sons, John, Martin, and Paul, and his steady friend, Justus Jonas. The counts of Mansfeld rode out, attended by a hundred horsemen, and followed by a crowd of adherents to the reformed doctrine, to meet the illustrious stranger. Soon after entering Eisleben, Luther suffered an access of extreme debility, a circumstance not unusual with him on engaging in a matter of deep interest. But this attack was more serious than on former occasions. He recovered, however, and seemed to enjoy the hospitality which his friends were anxious to show him. His time was past in attention to his customary hours of daily prayer, in the transaction of the business which had called him to Eisleben, and in cheerful and good humoured conversation. He partook twice of the Lord's supper, and preached three or four times before the progressive advance of his malady led to the exhaustion of his frame. After passing nearly three weeks at Eisleben, his illness was productive

of a fatal termination. He expired, surrounded by friends, and under a full sense of the nature of his situation. A letter written by Jonas to the elector of Saxony, a few hours after the occurrence of this melancholy event, gives a clear and faithful account of the circumstances attending it:

"It is with a sorrowful heart that I communicate the following information to your highness. Although our venerable father in Christ, Doctor Martin Luther, felt himself unwell before leaving Wittenberg, as also during his journey to this place, and complained of weakness on his arrival; he was nevertheless present at dinner and supper every day in which we were engaged in the business of the counts. His appetite was pretty good, and he used humorously to observe that in his native country they well knew what he ought to eat and drink. His rest at night also was such as could not be complained of. His two youngest sons, Martin and Paul, were accustomed, along with me and one or two men servants, to sleep in his bed-room, accompanied sometimes by M. Michael Coelius, a clergyman of Eisleben. As he had for some time back been accustomed to have his bed warmed, we made it a rule to do this regularly before he retired to rest. Every night on taking leave of us, he was accustomed to say 'pray to God that the cause of his church may prosper, for the Council of Trent is vehemently enraged against it.' The physician who attended caused the medicines to which he had been accustomed to be brought from Wittenberg; and his wife, of her own accord, sent some others. The affairs of the counts of Mansfeld continued to require

quire his attention every other day, or sometimes at an interval of two days. He was accustomed to transact business for one or two hours, along with Welfgang, prince of Anhalt, and John Henry, Count Schwarzburg. But yesterday, Wednesday the 17th of February, prince Anhalt, Count Schwarzburg, and the rest of us, prevailed on him to remain in his study till mid-day, and to do no business. He walked through the room in his undress, looked at times out of the window, and prayed earnestly. He was all along pleasant and cheerful, but took occasion to say to Cœlius and me; 'I was born and baptized at Eisleben, what if I should remain and die here.' In the early part of the evening he began to complain of an oppression at his breast, and had it rubbed with a linen cloth. This afforded him some ease. A little after he said, 'It is not pleasant to me to be alone,' and repaired to supper in the parlour. He ate with appetite, was cheerful and even jocular. He expounded several remarkable passages in scripture, and said, once or twice in the course of conversation, 'If I succeed in effecting concord between the proprietors of my native country, I shall return home and rest in my grave.'

"After supper he again complained of the oppression at his breast, and asked for a warm linen cloth. He would not allow us to send for medical assistance, and slept on a couch during two hours and a half. Cœlius, Drachsted, the master of the house, whom he called in along with his wife, the town clerk, the two sons and myself, sat by him watching till half-past eleven. He then desired that his bed might be warmed, which was done

with great care. - I, his two sons, his servant Ambrose whom he had brought from Wittemberg, and other servants, lay down in the same room; Cœlius was in the adjoining room. At one in the morning he awoke Ambrose and me, and desired that one of the adjoining rooms might be warmed, which was done. He then said to me, 'O Jonas, how ill I am; I feel an oppressive weight at my breast, and shall certainly die at Eisleben.' I answered, 'God, our heavenly Father, will assist you by Christ whom you have preached.' Meantime, Ambrose made haste and led him, after he got up, into the adjoining room. He got thither without any other assistance, and in passing the threshold said aloud, 'Into thy hands I commit my spirit.' He then began to walk about, but in a short time asked for warm linen cloths. Meantime we had sent into the town for two physicians who came immediately. Count Albert likewise being called, he came along with the countess, the latter bringing some cordials and other medicines. Luther now prayed, saying, 'O my heavenly Father, eternal and merciful God, thou hast revealed to me thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have preached him, I have confessed him, I love him, and I worship him as my dearest Saviour and Redeemer, him whom the wicked persecute, accuse, and blaspheme.' He then repeated three times the words of the psalm, 'Into thy hands I commit my spirit—God of truth, thou hast redeemed me. Whilst the physicians and we applied medicines, he began to lose his voice and to become faint; nor did he answer us, though we called aloud to him and moved him. On the countess again giving him a little cordial, and the physician re-

questing

questing that he would attempt to give an answer, he said, in a feeble tone of voice to Cælius and me, 'yes' or no,' according as the question seemed to require. When we said to him, 'Dearest father, do you verily confess Jesus Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer,' he replied, 'Yes,' so as to be distinctly heard. Afterward his forehead and face began to get cold, and although we moved him and called him by name, he gave no answer, but, with his hands clasped, continued to breathe slowly until he expired between two and three o'clock. John Henry, Count Schwartzburg, arrived early and was present at his death.—I though much affected by the loss of him who has been our teacher during twenty-five years, we have thought it proper to give your highness the earliest intimation of his death, that you may be pleased to give us directions concerning the funeral. We shall remain here until we receive them. We pray also that you may write to the count how to proceed. He would like to retain the body in Luther's native country, but he will obey the orders of your highness. We also beg your highness to write to his wife, to Melancthon, Pomeranus, and Cruciger, because you know better how to do it than we. May God, our omnipotent Father, comfort you and us in our affliction.

'Eisleben, Thursday, 18th Feb. 1546.'

"This affecting letter reached the elector of Saxony on the day on which it was written. He immediately intimated to the counts of Mansfeld how much he was affected by Luther's death, and requested them to permit the body to be brought away, that it might be bu-

ried in the church of All Saints at Wittemberg. Jonas has given a minute account of the removal of the body and of the interment.

"The day after his death, 19th February, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the body was brought with great solemnity into the church of St. Andrew, the largest at Eisleben. It was attended by the Prince of Anhalt, the prince's brothers, and many other noblemen, along with a number of ladies of rank, and an immense concourse of the lower orders. Jonas preached the funeral sermon from the fourth chapter of 1 Thessalonians, verse 14th, 'If we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus, will God bring with him.' When he had concluded, the congregation separated, having left the body in the church under the care of ten citizens, who were to guard it during the night. On hearing that the body was to be carried to Wittemberg, Michael Cælius gave a discourse next morning, taking his text from Isaiah lvii. verse 1st. 'The righteous perisheth, and no man layeth it to heart—none considereth that the righteous is taken away from the evil to come. He shall enter into peace.' After mid-day, all the persons whom we have mentioned, accompanied the body from the church through the city and beyond the gate. The countrymen, assembled by the ringing of bells, came, with their wives and children, with tears in their eyes, to meet the melancholy procession. The body was brought to Halle about five in the afternoon, and was met at the gate by the senators and clergy. The streets of the city were so crowded by the multitude, that the procession moved on with difficulty. The hour was too late for the delivery of a discourse, but
a psalm

a psalm (the 130th) was given out, and sung in solemn harmony by the numerous assemblage. Early next morning the senate, clergy, and scholars attended the departure of the body. On Monday, 22d, the funeral reached Wittemberg, and was received at the gate by the senate, the members of the university, and a numerous body of citizens. From the gate the procession moved, in solemn order, to the church, the Prefect of Wittemberg, with the Counts of Mansfeld and their horsemen, leading the way. The body followed in a carriage, and Luther's wife and family, accompanied by his brother James from Mansfeld, were immediately behind. Next came the rector of the university and several sons of counts, princes, and barons, who were students at Wittemberg. Pontanus, Melancthon, Jonas, Pomeranus, Cruciger, and other elderly ecclesiastics, now appeared, and were succeeded by the professors, the senators, the students, and the citizens. An immense crowd of the lower orders followed in the rear. The body was deposited in the church on the right of the pulpit. After the singing of hymns, Pomeranus ascended the pulpit, and delivered an excellent discourse. When he had concluded, Melancthon pronounced a funeral oration, which, while it bore affecting marks of his personal sorrow, was intended to afford consolation to others, and to alleviate the grief of the church. These melancholy offices being performed, the body was committed to the grave by several members of the university. A stone was placed over the grave, with a plain inscription, expressive merely of the name and age. A picture of Luther and an epitaph were afterwards affixed

to the wall by order of the university.'

"We are now about to bring our account of this distinguished man to a close. We have followed him throughout a career, which, if not lengthened in point of time beyond the ordinary course of nature, was rendered for ever memorable by his indefatigable activity of mind. At whatever age we contemplate Luther, we find the traits of no common disposition. While yet a boy, we have seen him devoting himself with ardour to study, and outstripping his youthful competitors in classic attainments. Advancing towards manhood, he loses indeed a valuable portion of time in acquiring a familiarity with the barbarous jargon of the schools; but his progress in this unprofitable department is such as to afford a satisfactory indication of his success in a better cause. When arrived at the time of life for making choice of a profession, he exhibits striking marks of a decided character. Young as he was, he had determined to devote himself to the service of God, and no intreaty of friends, no temptation of emolument could shake his resolution. Having taken the conclusive step and become an inhabitant of a monastery, he avoids the idle and uninstrucive habits of his brethren, and, without the aid of any advising friend, devotes himself to theological research. In this he resolutely perseveres, notwithstanding the ridicule of those around him, whose knowledge of their duty was confined to the repetition, by rote, of a few prayers, and who had allowed a copy of the Bible to lie for years neglected in a corner.

"By one of those remarkable dispens-

dispensations of Providence, which rendered Luther the instrument of so much public good, he was early placed in a situation to distribute to others the fruits of his study. Though called to officiate as a teacher of philosophy, and for some time, perhaps, inadequately qualified to fill the theological chair, the bent of inclination remained as before, and he embraced the first favourable opportunity of making his duty consist in that which had long been his delight. By this change he was placed in the situation best fitted to enable him to instruct others, and to prosecute his researches into the true nature of Christianity. We find him accordingly holding for several years an assiduous, but tranquil course. The time which thus elapsed was sufficient to shake in him the foundation of the false impressions of youth, without being of a length to carry him beyond the years of enterprising exertion. Under these circumstances, it is so ordered that the abuses of papal corruption shall be brought under the eye of himself and his countrymen in their most offensive shape. Luther is revolted at the sight, and ventures to commence an opposition which, under a different sovereign, or in any other country in Europe, could hardly have failed to have been unsuccessful and disastrous. This opposition bears no mark of selfish motives—it implies, on the contrary, a relinquishment and forfeiture of professional advancement. In all Luther's proceedings, various as they are, in his preachings, his treatises, and disputations, we discern no step taken for the gratification of personal advantage;—all is disinterested and zealous;—all is prompted

by an anxiety to understand and promulgate the word of God.

“ Though learned beyond his contemporaries, Luther had much to acquire after coming forward as an author. His theological knowledge was derived, in great part, from the writings of the fathers, and, familiar as he was with Scripture, he had to study its most difficult passages without the assistance of intelligent commentators. It was more suitable, however, to his constitutional ardour to attack corruption at once with the weapons which lay at hand, than to allow time to pass in preparing arms of a less defective character. Hence those changes and inconsistencies in particular topics, which, however suspicious in the eyes of the weak or the malignant, afford to the considerate observer a complete evidence of his sincerity. Conscious of pure intention, Luther felt no shame in acknowledging the errors arising from haste, or engendered by early prejudice. He journeyed along the track of inquiry without assistance; he was obliged to feel his way; and it was only step by step that he acquired a knowledge of the true path. He was long in the hope that the head of the church would disapprove of the indecent sale of Indulgences, and would extend support to the man who came forward to denounce it. When less confident of this support, he was inclined to ascribe to bad advisers that protection of vice of which he accounted the pontiff incapable. Nor could he prevail on himself to think otherwise, till after the most conclusive proofs that no integrity of motive was accounted a justification of the capital crime of developing the corruption of the church.

When

When this was clearly ascertained, Luther's choice was no longer doubtful—the establishment, which refused to listen to reform, became in his view an object for direct and unmitigated hostility. Many years of his life were yet to pass, and his views in points of doctrine were destined to undergo several changes; but no solicitation or argument had effect in altering his behaviour towards the church of Rome.

“After his rupture with the pope, and the adoption of the new doctrine by a numerous body of converts, Luther became one of the most conspicuous men in Europe. Princes embraced opportunities of conversing with him, and senates were not backward in applying to him for advice. These distinctions, and the influence attached to them, were enjoyed by Luther above twenty years, yet in no single instance did he seek to turn them to his personal advantage. Indifference to money is not unfrequent among men of his secluded habits, but how few individuals would have possessed Luther's power without making it subservient to the acquisition of rank or honours? All these were disdained by him, and his mind remained wholly occupied with the diffusion of religious truth. Even literary fame had no attractions for Luther. The improvement of the condition of his fellow creatures was the object which with him superseded every other consideration. No temptation of ambition could remove him, in his days of celebrity, from his favourite university of Wittemberg. While his doctrines spread far and wide, and wealthy cities would have been proud to receive him, Luther clung to the spot where he discharged the

duty of a teacher, and to the associates whom he had known in his season of humility.

“In considering Luther as an author, we are struck with the extent and variety of his labours. They consist of controversial tracts, of commentaries on Scripture, of sermons, of letters, and of narratives of the chief events of his life. The leading feature of his controversial writings is an unvaried confidence in the goodness of his arguments. It never seems to occur to him to entertain a doubt of the accuracy of the proposition which he undertakes to defend. It unavoidably followed that he bestowed too little time on analyzing the reasoning of others, and on reconsidering his own. His natural temper led him to conceive strongly, and his triumphs over the Romanist powerfully seconded this constitutional tendency. The same warmth led him to avail himself of the aid of whatever weapons were calculated to reach his adversary. Sarcasm in all its shapes, raillery, ridicule, direct personality, and even punning, abound in his controversial tracts to a degree which is hardly justified by the example of other writers of the age. Impatience and irritability were his great faults, and they are abundantly conspicuous in his writings. No sooner had he formed an idea of the motives, or of the doctrine of an individual at variance with himself, than he made it the object of unsparing condemnation. Hence the endless complaints from adversaries of his precipitation and rudeness. Without desiring to excuse such exceptionable characteristics, it is due to his memory to observe that they originated in no malignant intention. They were not

not displayed towards inoffensive persons, nor were they meant as the foundation of lasting animosity. They were often the ebullition of the moment, and appear to have been carried, in the heat of composition, to a greater length than was intended at the outset. The freedom of his language in treating of the conduct of the great, arose partly from constitutional ardour, and partly from an habitual impression of the all-powerful claims of truth. The lofty attitude so often assumed by Luther is not therefore to be attributed to pride or vanity. In treating of the Scriptures, he considered himself as acting in the presence of God, whose majesty and glory were so infinitely exalted above all created beings, as to reduce to one and the same level the artificial distinctions of worldly institutions. Under this conviction the prince or the king who ventured to oppose what Luther considered the word of God, seemed to him no more exempted from severe epithets than the humblest of his adversaries. However we may censure the length to which his freedom was carried, the boldness of his conduct was, on the whole, productive of much good. An independent and manly tone in regard not only to religion, but to civil liberty, literature, the arts and sciences, was created and disseminated by his example.

“ His compositions of all kinds, including sermons and epistolary disquisitions, are calculated by his distinguished biographer, Seckendorff, at the extraordinary number of eleven hundred and thirty-seven. When we consider, in addition, the extent of his public duty, and the variety of his correspondence, we cannot fail to admire the prodigious

efforts of his industry. Where the mass of writing was so large, we must expect little polish of style. Luther's imagination was vigorous, but the cultivation of taste engaged no part of his attention. His inelegance of style has been chiefly remarked in his Latin publications. His taste in early life had been corrupted by the barbarous diction of the scholastic divines, and in his riper years he was too impatient to communicate the substance of his thoughts, to bestow much attention on the dress in which they appeared. It suited his ardour to commit to paper the impression of the moment, and to give free course to that excitement which grows strongly on men of his temper in the progress of composition. The consequence is that his sentences are generally of great length; the succeeding members appearing an expansion, and not unfrequently a repetition, of what had gone before. No pains were taken to promote clearness, and very little to correct ambiguity. As he was wholly indifferent to the praise of elegance, he gave himself no trouble about the choice of words. When classical vocables did not readily occur to him, he had no scruple in making a new word by giving a Latin termination to an expression borrowed from the Greek, or some other language. His arrangement is equally defective; and the result of all this is, that his works are full of obscure passages. Some of them are so much involved, that it is next to impossible to make out the meaning. In his German compositions the case is different. His translation of the Bible has been always admired, and his hymns have given way to versifications of later date in consequence

quence only of the progressive change in the language.

“ His theological system he professed to found altogether on the authority of Scripture. Such, it must be allowed, was in a great measure the case, although his predilection for the writings of Augustine influenced his creed to a degree of which he was perhaps unconscious. Of his commentaries and sermons, many were printed from the notes of hearers, and, though generally shown to him beforehand, he was so indifferent to fame, so immersed in business, and so intent on the object of the moment, that he allowed them to go forth without much correction. The plan of his discourses, if plan it can be called, was not calculated to procure him reputation on the score of composition. The leading points of controversy between him and the Catholics are introduced on all occasions, and some of his favourite doctrines, such as justification by faith without works, could never, he seems to have thought, be out of season. On the other hand, few writers discover greater knowledge of the world, or a happier talent in analyzing and illustrating the shades of character. In this respect Luther is greatly superior to those who form their notions of mankind in the stillness of their closet. It is equally remarkable that no man could display more forcibly the tranquil consolations of religion. Though unable to subdue his impetuosity of temper, he was anxious to moderate it, and seems to have been perfectly acquainted with the means which it is incumbent on us to use for that purpose.

“ Let us now turn aside from Luther's public character, and con-

template him in the scenes of private life. Warm as he was in temper, and unaccustomed to yield to authoritative demands, he yet possessed much of the milk of human kindness. Few men entered with more ardour into the innocent pleasures of society. His frankness of disposition was apparent at the first interview, and his communicative turn, joined to the richness of his stores, rendered his conversation remarkably interesting. In treating of humorous subjects, he discovered as much vivacity and playfulness as if he had been a man unaccustomed to serious research. The visitor of Luther's domestic circle was assured of witnessing a pleasing union of religious service with conjugal and paternal affection. His fondness for music continued during life, and spread a charm over the discharge of his serious duties. He was always a zealous advocate for the use of music in public worship. In an evening before parting from his family and his friends, he was in the habit of regularly singing a hymn. This he usually did in a high key, and with all the advantage of a delightful voice. In his hours of occasional dejection, music proved his most pleasant and effectual restorative. It was much to be regretted that his constitution, though apparently robust, by no means afforded him the steady enjoyment of health. Whether from taking too little exercise, or from the repeated occurrence of mental agitation, he was subject to frequent and severe head-aches. In respect to diet, he was remarkably abstemious, a habit probably acquired in the monastery, and continued in consequence of the sedentary nature of his occupations.

“ The

“The diffusion of religious knowledge being always foremost in Luther’s mind, he was fond, when along with his friends, of turning the conversation in that direction. Nor was there any objection to it on the part of his associates. The fluency of his arguments, and the spirit of his illustrations, were calculated to divest serious topics of whatever might be forbidding, and to give them all the attraction of subjects of amusement. The study of Scripture elucidated by Luther, appeared no longer in the light of a task, and the ponderous writings of the Fathers seemed in his hands divested of their customary incumbrance.

“If among the numerous virtues of Luther, we seek for that which more particularly characterized him, we shall fix, without hesitation, on his contempt for the terrors of power. It was to this undaunted spirit that he was chiefly indebted for his usefulness and celebrity. To maintain the cause of truth, as a servant of God, was a task in which no danger could appal him. His courage arose from no hasty resolution, and still less from any hidden ambition—it was a firm, deliberate determination, founded on thorough conviction, and unconscious of abatement under the most embarrassing circumstances. Regardless of the threats of foes, or the expostulations of friends, he persevered in his course, and looked forward, with patience

and confidence, ‘to reap in joy what he had sown in tears.’

“Again, if we pass from the examination of his mind to a view of the different capacities in which he came before the public, we shall see him to greatest advantage in the character of a preacher. He mounted the pulpit full of his subject, and eager to diffuse a portion of his stores among his audience. The hearer’s attention was aroused by the boldness and novelty of the ideas; it was kept up by the ardour with which he saw the preacher inspired. In the discourse there was nothing of the stiffness of laboured composition; in the speaker no affectation in voice or gesture. Luther’s sole object was to bring the truth fully and forcibly before his congregation. His delivery was aided by a clear elocution, and his diction had all the copiousness of a fervent imagination.

“Luther left the little property which he possessed to his dear Catherine de Bora. She removed after his death to Torgau, and survived him nearly seven years. His family, consisting of a daughter in addition to the three sons already mentioned, were relieved from hereditary poverty by the liberality of the Elector of Saxony, and the counts of Mansfeld. The grandson of Paul, the youngest of Luther’s sons, lived in the time of Seckendorff, and occupied a respectable situation.”

MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE OF MR. GEORGE FREDERICK COOKE, OF COVENT
GARDEN THEATRE.

[From Mr. *Dunlap's* Life of him.]

“ I RETURN with reluctance to Mr. Cooke at Mechanic Hall, where the progress of those diseases, which had long before fastened their fangs upon him, was now rapid, and threatened a speedy termination of his eventful life.

“ Happily for him, the hour of acute pain and mortal illness had not found him struggling with poverty, or harassed by creditors; he enjoyed all that affluence can bestow to alleviate disease; and had every attention paid to him, which kind and skilful physicians, sympathizing friends, and above all, a faithful and exemplary nurse in the person of Mrs. Cooke, could devise or bestow.

“ The strength of his iron constitution was gone; no skill could arrest the approach of death, and on the 26th September, 1812, George Frederick Cooke breathed his last, aged 57 years and 5 months.

Among the persons he remembered with particular affection on his death-bed, were Mr. Harris, Mr. Charles Kemble, and Mr. Brandon. A ring which had been given to him by Mr. Charles Kemble, he desired might be sent to him, and the assurance of his affectionate remembrance to the three. His book of the ‘*The Man of the World*,’ with the part of Sir Pertinax M’Sycophant marked, has been sent, since his death, to Mr. John Philip Kemble; with what intent I know not.

“ I owe to the kind politeness of Dr. Hosack the following letter on

the subject of Mr. Cooke’s diseases, last illness and death.

“ ‘ *New York, March 16, 1813.*

“ ‘ DEAR SIR,

“ ‘ Upon referring to my memoranda of the illness and death of Mr. Cooke, I find I have very little to communicate that will prove interesting to your readers, except to those who feel an interest in whatever relates to that distinguished character. His case does not, like that of his predecessor Garrick, repay the physician for its perusal, by the communication of an important medical truth; nor, like that of Macklin, does it directly illustrate the effects of regularity and temperance, in attaining to great length of days; but it adds another lamented example, to the long catalogue of those who have prematurely fallen the victims of intemperance; for by this species of suicide, as it ought to be denominated, Mr. Cooke destroyed one of the best constitutions both of mind and body, that man could have possessed. You observe I withhold nothing; but disclose the whole truth. I trust, as his biographer, this you also will do; for, to be a true portrait, the picture should have its shades and background.

“ ‘ It will be proper to observe, that on his passage from Europe to this country, Mr. Cooke was indisposed by an inflammatory fever, with which he was attacked two weeks after he left England. It ended in a deranged state of the bowels,

bowels, attended with costiveness, hemorrhoids, and occasional discharges of blood.

“ ‘ During his convalescence from that illness, he was deprived of his accustomed spirituous drinks; for by the length of the voyage, the liquors of the ship had been all expended, when he was compelled to confine himself to water. This privation, though discomfiting to Mr. Cooke, produced a very salutary change in his constitution, for he arrived in the most perfect state of health.

“ ‘ Mr. Cooke landed in New-York on the 16th of November, and took lodgings at the Tontine Coffee-house, from whence, in a few days, he removed to the family of Mr. Price, the manager of the theatre.

“ ‘ His fame having preceded him, his society was immediately sought for by the lovers of the drama, and those who were acquainted with his professional excellence. Notwithstanding the temptations to indulgence, to which he now necessarily became exposed, he observed, with very few exceptions, great abstinence and regularity until the month of December. In the mean time, he completed his theatrical engagements in this city, without the least imputation of excess. I am informed, but whether correctly or not, your constant intercourse with Mr. Cooke will enable you to state, that during the whole period of his engagement, he was so rigidly abstemious, that on the days of playing he regularly left the table at five o'clock, and prepared for his evening exercises; with the exception of his benefit night, when, indeed, as Sempronius wished,

“ ——— the storm blew high,

“ And spent itself on Cato's head.

“ ‘ Having terminated his engage-

ment in New-York, Mr. Cooke proceeded to Boston. On his journey to and from that city, he endured much fatigue and distress from the roughness of the roads, the rapidity with which he travelled, and the coldness of the season, which was more severe during that winter, than we usually experience in the United States.

“ ‘ Of the weather, Mr. Cooke especially complained, and to it ascribed many of his sufferings which ensued. But in addition to these sources of his disease, it is also to be remarked, that he had returned to the same habits of excess that, for many years before, he had indulged in Europe. The consequence was, a severe and alarming indisposition.

“ ‘ I was first requested to see Mr. Cooke on the 13th of March, 1811; but his friend Dr. Hugh M'Lean, an eminent physician of this city, informed me, that previously to my attendance, he had prescribed for him 'during several less severe attacks, of what he considered approaching apoplexy, but which were readily removed by blood-letting, and other depleting remedies.

“ ‘ When I was first called to Mr. Cooke, I found him in a state of stupor, unable to converse, or to communicate to me any account either of feelings, or the causes of his distress.

“ ‘ He also laboured under great oppression of the chest, which was manifested by a hurried and anxious respiration. These symptoms were attended with a full and frequent pulse, a heated skin, a furred tongue, and other evidences of excitement and general plethora. I also learned from his attendants that, for some days before, he had been indulging in his wine, his favourite beverage, much more freely than usual.

“ ‘ Considering his complaints to be the result of an unusual fulness of his habit, and the too liberal use of stimulant drinks, I immediately directed twenty ounces of blood to be taken from his arm. By this evacuation, followed by an active cathartic, he was in a few hours sensibly relieved. In the evening of the same day, he had so far recovered from the oppression both of his brain and lungs, that he conversed with me very freely of his situation, and the causes that had induced it. He then informed me, that prior to his confinement to bed, he had also complained of pain in his right side, referring it more immediately to the region of the liver; he, however, at that time, wanted some of the characteristic symptoms of an acute inflammation of that organ.

“ ‘ I observed that his spirits were greatly depressed whenever he conversed upon the subject of his complaints; for he had now become conscious of the nature of his disease, and appeared to be fully apprized of the consequences, if he could not command fortitude enough to abstain from the causes that had produced it. In one of those moments of despondency he asked me, with an earnestness and solicitude of manner which I can never forget, if I thought his disease had proceeded to such a degree as likely to prove fatal to him; and if I then considered him in *immediate* danger; adding, that in such case he was desirous of making some communication to one or two persons in England, and particularly referred to his old friend, an eminent surgeon of London, James Wilson, Esq. of Windmill-street, of whom he always expressed himself in terms of the greatest affection and respect.

“ ‘ Upon assuring him that he was, for the present, relieved, and that Richard would soon be himself again, his countenance lighted up, and for the moment he was re-animated.

“ ‘ He then became fearful that I had misconstrued the source of his anxiety about his own situation, and with some animation observed, ‘ Doctor, I hope you do not conceive that I ask you these questions because I am afraid of dying—be assured I am not.’ Notwithstanding this assurance, however, I was convinced that Mr. Cooke was not so firmly steeled upon this subject as he would wish us to believe; on the contrary, he had his share of that ‘cowardice’ which generally attaches itself to human nature at the approach of dissolution, for

‘ Conscience does make cowards of us all.’

“ ‘ Perceiving, as I believed, the necessity of rallying his spirits, and of counteracting his despondency, whatever may have been the real source of it, I instantly replied, ‘ that it would indeed be strange, if a man who, like Mr. Cooke, had been so much in the habit of dying, should be afraid of it.’

“ ‘ This reply, though trifling in itself, and which by some, perhaps, may be considered as misplaced levity, had the effect I intended as a *medicina mentis*; for it more effectually conveyed my affected unconcern for his situation, and imparted more confidence to his mind than the most grave or solemn declaration that I could have expressed.

“ ‘ In a few days, by attention to his manner of living, Mr. Cooke recovered, and proceeded to Philadelphia.

“ ‘ During his stay in that city he was so much caressed by his numerous friends and admirers, that we

are not surprized to find him again forgetting himself. He accordingly, while in Philadelphia, was obliged to undergo some occasional medical discipline.

“ ‘ After fulfilling his engagement in that city, he returned to New-York in the month of May. I now found that he had not profited, except in pocket and in fame, by this visit to Philadelphia, for he had brought back with him an increased attachment to his old habits, with less power of resisting them.

“ ‘ On the 20th of that month I was again called, to witness a similar attack, though in a slighter degree than that in which I had at first attended him; it however was readily removed by mild evacuations.

“ ‘ Finding now that his repeated excesses, and the means necessary to counteract them, had left him somewhat debilitated, I directed for him a bitter infusion, and other tonic medicines; these, with attention to his diet, greatly improved his appetite and general health.

“ ‘ Having terminated his theatrical engagements, for that season, he passed a great part of the ensuing summer at the springs of Ballston, and in travelling through the northern and western parts of this state.

“ ‘ About the beginning of the September following, his health being much improved by the excursions of the summer, and his release from professional duty, he returned to the city. The winter campaign which followed, and occasional departures from that temperate system of living which had been enjoined upon him, for he had not sufficient firmness to resist his old enemy, renewed his complaints.

“ ‘ In the following spring he removed from his lodgings at the

coffee-house, where he had passed the winter, to another part of the town. For some weeks he now lived in the most perfect retirement.

“ ‘ His friend, Dr. M‘Lean, again called upon him, at his new place of residence, and observing Mr. Cooke to manifest some fulness of the abdomen, and swelling of the lower extremities, he immediately endeavoured to alarm him, by expressing, in as strong terms as possible, the consequences which would inevitably ensue, unless he could change his mode of life. For a few weeks this admonition had the most salutary effect. Mr. Cooke immediately abandoned the use of spirituous drinks, except in the form of very weak punch, and which he used in great moderation. He also rose early, and took daily exercise, at the same time that he again occupied his mind in miscellaneous reading, to which, when in health, he was greatly attached. These habits were continued for some weeks, and were followed by the most beneficial changes in his constitution.

“ ‘ The swelling of his abdomen and extremities were both totally removed. His general health became improved, and his mind recovered its natural strength and cheerfulness. At this time, as was the case upon his first arrival in this country, Mr. Cooke had the most ample evidence of the salutary effects of temperance and exercise, in the removal of his complaints.

“ ‘ Thus restored, he proceeded in the month of July to Providence, Rhode Island, to fulfil an engagement in that town, and where he closed his theatrical career. But upon his arrival in Providence, he unfortunately fell into the society of some kindred spirits, and was again

again seduced into his former habits. As predicted by Dr. M'Lean, his dropsical complaints immediately returned, and soon increased to so alarming a degree, that it was feared he could not live to return to New-York. He, however, was brought back to this city in September, and took lodgings at the Mechanic hall, where he remained until his death. Dr. M'Lean visited him on his return, and prescribed for him such diuretics, and other evacuants, as his condition indicated; but his complaints had assumed so formidable an appearance, that the doctor despaired of his recovery, and expressed his opinion to the friends and connections of Mr. Cooke. At that time his abdomen had become very much enlarged, attended with great hardness in the region of the liver, and a sensible fluctuation, occasioned by water in the cavity of the belly. His bowels, at the same time, were in a constant state of constipation, except when excited by the most drastic purgatives. His lower extremities were almost anasarcaous, and a general yellowness was diffused over the surface of the body, all evidently pointing out the deranged condition of the liver, as well as the debilitated state of his whole system.

“ ‘ During the period of Dr. M'Lean's attendance, Mr. Cooke was confined to his bed, excepting upon one day, when, by an extraordinary exertion, he left his room for the purpose of dining with his friend Mr. Holman, who had just arrived from England. On the 17th of September I was again called upon to see Mr. Cooke, in consultation with Dr. M'Lean. I immediately visited him, accompanied by Dr. John W. Francis, a young physician with whom I had lately form-

ed a connexion in practice, and who afterwards, by his constant attendance upon Mr. Cooke, very much contributed to soothe and allay the distresses which he endured in this his last illness. Mr. Cooke's strength was now so far expended, that we found it impossible to prescribe any thing that was likely to prove useful for the removal of his disease; we therefore, from this period, directed our attention chiefly to the relief of particular symptoms; as they occasionally appeared during the progress of his complaint. On the evening of the 25th, he was seized with sickness at the stomach, which was soon succeeded by violent vomiting, and the discharge of a large quantity of black, grumous blood; by this evacuation his strength was suddenly exhausted; but the vomiting was at length allayed by a mixture of laudanum and mint-water, directed for him by Dr. Francis, who remained with him throughout the night, hourly expecting his decease. Mr. Cooke, however, survived until six in the morning, when in full possession of his mental faculties, and the perfect consciousness of his approaching change, he calmly expired.

“ ‘ A few hours after his death, having obtained permission from Mrs. Cooke, accompanied by Dr. Francis, I examined the body, for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the abdominal viscera, and especially that of the liver. Upon opening the belly, we found it to contain about four quarts of water; but the liver, to our great surprise, did not exceed the usual dimensions of that viscus; it was, however, astonishingly hard, and of a much lighter colour than is natural to that organ; its texture, too, was uncommonly dense, making considerable resist-

ance to the knife; in its internal structure it was so hard and unyielding, that very few traces of its vessels could be found, and the circulation through it had evidently long since ceased to be regularly performed: it exhibited precisely that peculiar tuberculous appearance, which was first pointed out by Dr. Baillie of London, in his *Morbid Anatomy*. It also deserves to be remarked, that in the case of Mr. Cooke, as in those described by the distinguished anatomist referred to, the tubercles were not confined to the surface, but extended throughout the greater part of the substance of the liver, as I ascertained by making several sections of it in different directions. The other viscera of the abdomen exhibited no departure from their natural condition, either in their structure or appearance.

“Such, sir, are the most important circumstances which have fallen under my observation relating to the illness and death of Mr. Cooke; whose loss, in his professional character, we all deplore; for in that justly celebrated tragedian were united a quickness of perception—a correctness of judgment—a knowledge of human nature—a flexibility of feature—a strength and variety of voice—a dignity of form—and a majesty of deportment, which singly are seldom met with in the same degree, and still more rarely are combined in any individual.

“With my best wishes for the accomplishment, and success of the work which you have so landably undertaken,

“I am, with great regard and respect,

“Yours,

“DAVID HOSACK.

“*William Dunlap, Esq.*”

“Doctor John W. Francis, Doctor Hosack’s associate in practice,

who attended Mr. Cooke in his last illness with Messrs. M’Lean and Hosack, and who witnessed his dying moments, has furnished me with the following anecdote connected with the veteran’s last exhibition of his favourite character of Richard the Third in the city of New-York. It was on the 20th of March, 1812. The next day Dr. Francis called upon him, and expressed the pleasure he had received from witnessing the last evening’s exhibition.

“‘Why,’ says Cooke, ‘I was not well, and I had forgotten in the day that I was to play at night. I was sitting here very quietly when I was told that I was wanted at the theatre. ‘For what?’ says I. ‘To play Richard, sir.’ “I had no devotion to the deed, but I went. I made out to get through the first act. In the second, sir, I was somewhat better. In the third act, I began to feel. In the fourth act, I was alive; and in the fifth, I think I may say Richard truly was himself.”

“Dr. Francis says, that a very short time before his dissolution, he told him that he was born in Westminster. He likewise mentioned his having entered as a midshipman on board a king’s ship, when he was fifteen years of age.

“The declaration of Mr. Cooke, on his death bed, must put to rest the question respecting his birth-place; and is a confirmation of his repeated assertion when in this country. I am sorry to pluck so brilliant a flower from the wreath which Mr. Phillips has woven, to deck his ‘*Emerald Isle*,’ but that beloved and injured land is so rich in the flowers of genius, and so free from the mean passion of envy, that she will cheerfully resign her pretensions to Cooke, when convinced that they were founded in error.

“The

“The reader will be pleased to find here the lines of Mr. Phillips, above alluded to. After an enumeration of sages, poets, orators, and players, who have reflected lustre on the green Isle, the poet proceeds:

* * * * *

““The rival muses own’d the alternate reign,
With mutual feeling, each their feuds for-
sook,

Combined their efforts, and created Cooke.

Lord of the spul! magician of the heart!

Pure child of Nature! foster child of Art!

How all the passions in succession rise,

Heave in thy soul, and lighten in thine eyes!

Beguiled by thee, old Time, with aspect
blythe,

Leans on his sceptre, and forgets his scythe;

Space yields its distance—ancient glories live,

Ages relapse, remotest scenes revive—

For thee, creation half inverts her reign,

And captive reason wears a willing chain.””

“On the twenty-seventh of September, his remains were deposited, with all the respect due to departed genius, in the burying ground of St. Paul’s church, attended by a great concourse of respectable citizens.

“Thus ended the life of George Frederick Cooke; a man endowed by nature with an athletic frame, and vigorous constitution; a mind quick to conceive, and combine; and a heart open to receive every good impression; and strong in its impulse to every good action.

“With such a mind, a good early education would have done wonders; and notwithstanding every adverse circumstance and habit, his discrimination was unusually acute, and his taste pure. Specimens have been given of his critical acumen, and of his style; and I have mentioned a poem projected and begun, called the Stage. Besides these literary labours, projected or accomplished, he appears to have had an intention at some period unmarled, to have

written for the stage, and, I presume, a tragedy. I find a small manuscript book, entitled, ‘Materials for the Duke of Mercia.—No. 1.’ It consists of extracts on the subject of early English history.

“The powers of his mind are to be estimated by his excellence in his profession. As an actor, with all his imperfections, from omission or commission, he stood towering above his male contemporaries, alone, and unrivalled.

“I wish not to recapitulate what I have said on the subject of Mr. Cooke’s acting, but rather to seize this opportunity of supplying, in some measure, my omissions.

“His powers of discrimination, and his unrivalled manner of adhering to nature in his recitation, has been dwelt upon; but his mode of anticipating, extending, and improving, the conception of his author, his not been remarked, or elucidated. I would give as an instance, his acting in Iago, at that point, where Othello being wrought up to frenzy, kneels to seal his purpose of revenge by a vow; Iago says:

““Do not rise yet—[IAGO kneels.]
Witness ye ever-burning lights above,—
Ye elements that close us round about,
Witness,—that here Iago doth give up,
The execution of his wit, hand, heart,
To wrong’d Othello’s service!—Let him
command,
And to obey shall be in me remorse,
What bloody work soever.””

“They rise, and Othello says:

““I greet thy love,
Not with vain thanks, but with acceptance
bounteous,
And will upon the instant put thee to it:
Within these three days, let me hear thee say:
That Cassio’s not alive.””

“Mr. Cooke used then to start, and the spectator might plainly read in

in his expressive face,—‘What, murder my friend and companion?’—he then covered his face with his hands, and gradually lifting his head, when he withdrew his hands, his face and eyes were turned upward—he then started again, as if remembering the oath he had just taken, and after a second mental struggle, said, as if submitting to necessity, and the obligation imposed on him by his oath—

“ ‘My friend is dead.’ ”

“How invaluable would it be to actors, if they could have handed down to them clear and minute descriptions of the manner in which the great masters of the art delineated their most effective characters; such a description of the acting of Cooke I cannot give, but it may be of use to some, and gratify, however imperfectly, the curiosity of others, to notice some very few points which I remember. Such as the quick transition from the fawning boo of Sir Pertinax M‘Sycophant, where, with the right hand upon the breast, and the left expanded with the expression of obsequious humility, even the awkward position of the legs seemed to convey an intended idea of inferiority and servility, to the suddenly assumed, arrogant, and upright position, with which he addressed his dependants, or supposed inferiors; when, with every muscle in rigid action, his head erect, his left hand thrown behind him, and his right advanced in front, the forefinger alone extended, as dictating with imperious precision his will, the whole man presented the most perfect contrast to what had preceded, and finely displayed the intimate connexion be-

tween purse-swollen pride, and the most abject meanness.

I take up Mr. Cooke’s marked book of Richard the Third, to assist my memory. The edition is Roach’s, 1802, and the first four lines of Gloster’s first speech is in this edition omitted; but on the opposite (otherwise blank) leaf, Mr. Cooke has inserted them. I have before remarked the effect which the high pitched tone of his voice produced on his first playing Richard in America when he began this speech: I will now only notice his action. During the first three lines,

“ ‘Now is the winter of our discontent
Made glorious summer by the sun of York;
And all the clouds that lower’d upon our
house—’ ”

he was without motion, his hands hanging at ease; at the beginning of the fourth,

“ ‘In the deep bosom,’ ”

he lifted the right hand a little, with a gently sweeping motion, and then turning the palm downwards, he continued,

“ ‘Of the ocean——’ ”

and made a short pause; then sinking his hand (the palm parallel with the earth) and his voice at the same time, finished the sentence by the word,

“ ‘——buried.’ ”

“The impatient twitching at his sword during King Henry’s speech, previous to Gloster’s crying,

“ ‘I’ll hear no more——’ ”

is the next circumstance that I remember with particular vividness: this,

this, if imitated, might be as great a deformity in another actor as it was a beauty in the acting of Mr. Cooke; all depends upon the perfect unison of the mind and body, and the mind and body being identified with the character. It is needless to say that many passages in which I can remember, I cannot describe him. How should I convey an idea of his saying,

“ ‘ — the Tower ?
 “ ‘ Ay—the Tower—the Tower ! ” ”

or of his departure from the unfortunate Buckingham, with,

“ ‘ I’m busy—thou troublest me—I’m not
 i’ th’ vein.’ ”

“ Richard’s scene in the last of the fourth act with Stanley, beginning;

“ ‘ Well, my lord, what is the news with
 you ?
 Stanley. Richmond is on the seas, my lord.’ ”

“ Who can forget, that ever heard Mr. Cooke, the burst at,

“ ‘ There let him sink—and be the seas on
 him,
 White liver’d renegade—what does he there ?
 Stanley. I know not, mighty sovereign, but
 by guess—
 Gloster. Well, as you guess.’ ”

“ This last line, given in a manner so perfectly contrasted with ‘ there let him sink ’—yet with a transition as natural as it was rapid, and the whole soul thrown into the sneering expression of the face and tone of voice, said in the four words such unutterable things as defy language.

“ Mr. De Wilde has succeeded, perhaps as far as the pencil can succeed, in perpetuating Mr. Cooke’s manner of giving this passage.

“ The following lines of Richard’s last speech of the fourth act, as given

by Mr. Cooke, are omitted in this edition :

“ ‘ And as the wretch whose fever-weakened
 joints,
 Like strengthless hinges, buckle under life,
 Impatient of his fit, breaks like a fire
 From his fond keeper’s arms, and starts away ;
 Even so these war-worn limbs, tho’ now grown
 weak
 From war’s disuse, being now enrag’d with
 war,
 Feel a new fury, and are thrice themselves ! ’ ”

“ These lines, not uncommonly fine in themselves, are of infinite consequence to the succeeding ‘ Come forth, my honest sword,’ &c. and it is by omissions of this kind, made by ignorant editors, or lazy players, that the finest dramas are ruined. The preparatory lines being omitted, the passage, however fine, may come too abruptly on the auditor, and its effect lost, or perhaps a contrary effect produced.

“ I cannot describe with sufficient accuracy the playing of the last act—the scene in the tent, and the death of Richard, all who saw must remember, and to those who did not see, I have no hope of conveying an adequate idea.

“ In Macbeth ;

“ ‘ Wherefore was that cry ?
 Sey. The queen, my lord, is dead.’ ”

“ With a suppressed agitation he gave,

“ ‘ She should have died — ’ ”

and then, after a pause, with a tone lowered almost to a whisper,

“ ‘ — hereafter.’ ”

“ So, again :

“ ‘ — it is a tale
 Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
 Signifying — ’ ”

he

he sunk his voice, and with a tone of suppressed feeling, and heart-breaking disappointment, repeated the word:

“ “——nothing.” ”

“ Mr. Cooke’s orthoëpy was generally correct, yet he had fallen in with a vile custom of turning the pronoun *thy*, into the article *the*. This is said to be Mr. Kemble’s custom likewise, and he has occasionally been lashed for it, as well as for his other singularities or affectations. Some of our newspaper critics pointed out this impropriety to Mr. Cooke, but he had no notion that he, who had come from the metropolis of England, should be schooled in his native tongue by yankee scribblers, and he stuck to the *the*, though Shakspeare suffered for it—but Shakspeare had little to forgive Cooke!

“ Mr. Cooke, at one period of his life, undoubtedly studied his profession with great attention, and took more than ordinary pains, to render himself perfect, not only in the words and general manner, but in every minute movement of body, and inflection of voice, in those parts, from the just representation of which celebrity was to be gained. I have before me his part, written with his own hand, of Sir Archy M’Sarcasm, in which he has carefully scored the emphatic words, with one, and sometimes two or three lines, according to their respective value and importance.

“ The part of Octavian, which he frequently performed before his coming to London, I also find in his own hand-writing, with notes on the opposite pages, pointing out the proper gestures, and marking the tone with which each passage is to be pronounced. I will present the reader with an extract from it. It is to be observed, that the lines are wrote into one another, probably with a view, by removing one characteristic of verse, to avoid as much as possible, the danger of falling into the common sing-song of persons reciting poetry.

OCTAVIAN.

*A. 2d. Enter from the Cave.**

“ “ I cannot sleep! the leaves are newly pulled! and as my burning body presses them, their freshness mocks my misery; † that frets me! and then I could out-watch the Lynx! ‡—’tis dawn!—thou hot and rolling sun, I rise before thee! for I have twice thy scorching flames within me, and am more restless!—Now to seek my willow; that droops his mournful head across the brook; he is my calendar—I’ll score his trunk with one more long, long day of solitude! I shall lose count else in my wretchedness; and that were pity—§ Oh, Octavian! where are the times thy ardent nature painted? when fortune smil’d upon thy lusty youth, and all was sunshine? when the look’d-for years, were gaily deck’d with fancy’s ima-

* “ A platform runs from 2d entrance L. H. to the middle of the stage.—At the termination, (the platform slopes to the stage,) a stump of a tree, with a board stretching to the R. —He rushes down, though faintly, to it; falls upon it, the right arm extended over the branch, the full front to the audience—after a proper recovery, begins, ‘ I cannot sleep,’ &c.

† “ Comes from platform.

‡ “ Quickly, to L. H.—afterwards as fancy directs, always remembering to keep the character in view.

§ “ A pause—recollection strikes forcibly, and the tender passions are aroused.

gery, while the high blood run frolic through thy veins, and boyhood made thee sanguine?* let 'em vanish!—†Prosperity's a cheat! Despair is honest, and will stick by me steadily;—I'll hug it!—will glut on't.—‡ Why, the greybeard tore her from me, even in my soul's fond dotage!—Oh! 'tis pastime now to see men tug at each other's hearts!—I fear not—for my strings are crack'd already!—§ I will go prowl—|| but look, I meet no fathers—¶ now willow—**Oh, Floranthe!

Exit. 1st. E. R. H.

“Before I take leave of my subject and my reader, let me record three unconnected, but characteristic anecdotes.

“During one of his provincial engagements, Mr. Cooke had offended the public, by disappointing or disgusting them, and on a following night the audience was thin, and the gentlemen in the boxes near the stage, by concert, turned their backs on the scene when Cooke came on. He was dressed for Falstaff, and immediately noticing this unusual appearance, and comprehending the intent, instead of beginning the part, he said in a voice sufficiently audible for those who were reproving him, ‘Call you this backing your friends?—a plague of such backing, I say.’

“When he was the object of the universal curiosity, soon after his coming out in London, a certain nobleman, filled with that insolence which rank and riches, when not

accompanied by worth, generate in little minds, seeing Mr. Cooke, who had stopped to gaze at the pictures in the window of a print shop, sent his servant to desire him to turn round that his lordship might view him. Astonishment first, and then indignation, filled the mind of Cooke. ‘Tell his lordship,’ says he, ‘that if he will step this way, I'll show him what he never saw when he looked in his mirror—the face of a man.’

“On occasion of some offence which he conceived against the people of Liverpool, he uttered this eloquent burst of invective. ‘It is a place accursed of heaven, and abhorrent to nature—their wealth is the price of human misery; and there is not a brick in their houses that is not cemented with human blood.’

“To conclude. All those high and rare natural endowments, which we have seen united in Mr. Cooke, were obscured and marred by unfortunate circumstances in the early portion of his life, and by long continued habits of indulging those debasing propensities, which those unfortunate circumstances had generated. Though his talents as an actor were obscured and lowered by these causes, he still retained enough of the form impressed by the ‘bountiful goddess nature,’ to stamp him in men's minds the legitimate successor of Garrick: but these causes had made of him, as a man, a mass of contradictions, not merely oppo-

* “The anger of grief.

† “The rage of despair, *under*, and at the conclusion of the present note, falls in front of the stage—a despairing satisfaction, with a proper pause.

‡ “Recollection of his loss, and increased despair, grief and rage mingled.

§ “Sullen determination.

|| “A despairing threatening accent.

¶ “The satisfaction of grief.

** “The remembrance of all his former happiness.”

site, but in the extremes of opposition. With manners the most urbane, polished, and refined, and a mind delighting in the society of wit and reason, a large portion of his life was passed in the haunts of vice, or in the solitude imposed by poverty, or sickness, the consequences of voluntary madness; and that benevolence which opened his heart and hand, to relieve the distresses of his fellow-creatures, was converted into the extremes of anxious parsimony, or indiscriminate profusion: the

latter, as more congenial to the natural impulse, prevailing over the former, to the utter exclusion of common sense or justice.

“Such was George Frederick Cooke; one among the very many instances on record, of the insufficiency of talents, and genius, without the aid of prudence, to procure happiness to their possessor, or to benefit mankind; otherwise than by the lesson which their deplorable failure imparts for the instruction of others.”

MEMOIRS OF GUSTAVUS IV. OF SWEDEN, AND OF THE SWEDISH
REVOLUTION.

[From Dr. Thomson's Travels in Sweden.]

“**B**EFORE I went to Sweden I was strongly impressed with a high opinion of the late King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus IV. as it had been drawn with so much zeal and apparent truth in the British newspapers. I disapproved of the Swedish revolution, and was eager to learn the opinion entertained of it by well informed people in Sweden. I had many opportunities of conversing on the subject with people of all ranks, both Swedes and foreigners, who had the means of accurate information on the subject, and no motive whatever to disguise their real sentiments. I found every person concur in the same opinion, while the picture drawn of the conduct of Gustavus Adolphus was so different from what I had conceived from the statements in the English newspapers, that I was unwilling to admit it, and I yielded only to the evidence of well authenticated facts. Before I enter upon an account of the revolution itself, it will be proper to give a short account of the late

king, and of his conduct during the whole of his reign, which at last brought the country into such a situation, that nothing but the revolution could have saved Sweden from being divided between the Russians and the Danes.

“Gustavus IV. possessed certain qualities which gave him a resemblance to Charles XII. the prince whose conduct he considered as a model for his imitation. Like Charles, he had an obstinacy of character so great, that it was impossible to induce him to alter any resolution, however absurd or ridiculous, which he had once formed, even though it were demonstrated to him by the clearest evidence that persisting in it could lead only to disaster and ruin. Another quality in which he resembled Charles XII. was in his capacity of enduring cold, which was uncommonly great. He used to travel in the winter with only a slight covering, when his courtiers were trembling with cold under the load of two or three great

great coats and surtouts. But in all the eminent qualities which distinguished Charles XII. there was a sad falling off in Gustavus IV. Instead of that impetuous bravery, bordering on foolhardiness, which characterized Charles XII. and to which at last he fell a sacrifice, Gustavus IV. was an absolute coward, and, though exceedingly fond of military glory, too timid to venture to appear at the head of his troops. Instead of that comprehensiveness of plan, and that celerity and steadiness of execution, which distinguished Charles XII. and to which he owed in a great measure his success, Gustavus IV. never attempted to form any plan whatever; and by frittering down his army into small detachments, and leaving them totally unsupported by each other, and to contend with forces more than double their own numbers, he always rendered success impossible. Instead of defending his own frontiers, he left them defenceless to the invading enemy, while the whole of his attention was turned to romantic schemes, altogether beyond the power of his resources to realize. He had early become the submissive votary of religion, or more accurately speaking, of superstition, and during his travels in Germany he got hold of a commentary on the Revelation, by a man of the name of Jung, which, though originally written in German, had been translated into Swedish. This book became the subject of his assiduous study; the opinions which it contained were implicitly adopted, and regulated all his conduct. The second beast described in the 13th chapter of the Revelation, whose power was to be but of short duration, was considered by him as Buonaparte; because some commentator had shown

that the letters in the name of Napoleon Buonaparte make out the number 666, which is the mark of the beast.

"In consequence of this discovery, he ordered the name of the French emperor in all the Swedish newspapers to be always printed N. Buonaparte, and as the real reason of this whimsical charge was concealed by his ministers, it excited considerable curiosity in the country, and nobody was able to explain it in a satisfactory manner. He easily persuaded himself that he was the person destined by heaven to overturn the dominion of the beast, and that the verse in the 6th chapter of the Revelation, which is as follows, applied to himself:

"And I saw and behold a white horse; and he that sat on him had a bow, and a crown was given unto him: and he went forth conquering and to conquer."

"Gustavus IV. possessed some skill as a practical painter. At Gripsholm he drew a picture of himself seated upon a white horse, and trampling the beast under his feet. So firmly was he convinced of the truth of all these predictions, that he thought nothing more was necessary than to refuse to treat with Buonaparte. No preparations on his part would be requisite to enable him to fulfil the intention of heaven. When besieged in Stralsund by a French army, he expected the visible interposition of an angel in his behalf. But when this angel, who was to be four German miles in height, did not appear, and the French batteries were nearly completed, he thought it requisite to attend to his own safety, and retreat to the Island of Rugen.

"One of the greatest faults of Gustavus IV. was a total disregard to

to the sufferings and feelings of his subjects. All oppressions, and all toils and hardships he conceived them as bound to endure without murmuring, and seemed to consider them as created for no other purpose than to fulfil his sovereign will and pleasure. His own notion of military tactics, like that of some other princes, was that it consisted in nothing else than regulating the military uniforms: this was with him a point of such importance, that when the supplementary troops were raised, he spent the greatest part of a year in devising the shape of their coats, while, in the mean time, the poor recruits were left so entirely without every means of comfort that many actually died of cold and hunger.

“Let us now take a short view of the way in which he conducted the war against France, and afterwards against Russia and Denmark. This will lay open his conduct as far as the welfare of his country was concerned, and shew clearly the necessity of a revolution, in order to preserve any remnant of their country.

“After the murder of the Duke d’Enghein, and the coronation of Buonaparte as Emperor of France, the King of Sweden returned the insignia of the order of the black Eagle with which he had been decorated by the King of Prussia, because that monarch had acknowledged the title of Napoleon, and had even bestowed upon him the order of the black eagle. This step produced a coolness between these two kings, afterwards productive of the most disastrous effects during the subsequent war in Germany. Meanwhile he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, had prohibited the introduction of French news-

papers, and had threatened to declare war against that powerful kingdom. Notwithstanding this disposition, he very nearly quarrelled at the same time with the Emperor of Russia, because the person sent with the badge of the order of the Seraphim which had been worn by the emperor Paul, was not of a rank sufficiently elevated; and because Gustavus insisted upon painting with the Swedish arms that half of the bridge of Aborrfors which was on the Russian side. But this last quarrel was fortunately got over, and Gustavus entered keenly into the first coalition against France after the breaking out of the present war between France and Great Britain. The King of Sweden at the head of 25,000 Swedes, and 15,000 Russians, was to attack Holland. But after a sum of money had been given him by the British ministry, Gustavus very nearly broke off from the coalition, because they would not declare that the object of the war was the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France; but his eagerness for war induced him, at last, to waive this scruple, and to proceed without any specific declaration.

“A subsidiary treaty was concluded with Great Britain, and the King of Sweden with about 25,000 troops, Swedes and foreigners, encamped in Pomerania, and issued a pompous proclamation. The King of Prussia being still irresolute, Gustavus sent a preremptory letter to him by Count Lövenhjelm, desiring to know his intentions, and informing him, that a Russian and Swedish army was going to take possession of Hanover. It is said that the Emperor of Russia, who was then at Berlin, had just induced the King of Prussia to enter into his views. The
British

British and Russian ambassadors, afraid that this letter, if delivered, might irritate the King of Prussia, and alienate him from their cause, prevailed upon Count Lövenhjelm not to deliver it, and the King of Prussia was led to conceive that he had been sent not to him, but to the Emperor of Russia. Count Lövenhjelm wrote to the King of Sweden, and urged him to recal the letter, but Gustavus wrote back a preremptory order to deliver the letter, and observed, that he was not a man to put up with a refusal to receive his letters.

“The King of Sweden was so much provoked that he threw up the command of the Russian troops, and refused to allow any Swedish troops to leave Pomerania. At last the Russian minister, Alopæus, in some measure pacified him by receiving the letter, and promising to send it to the King of Prussia. In consequence of this misunderstanding, the projected invasion of Holland was prevented, and an army of troops, paid by Great Britain to act against France, was recalled without attempting any thing.

“At last a declaration was obtained from Prussia, that no attack was intended upon Pomerania; but still the King of Sweden continued to negotiate, insisting upon a declaration, from that power, that the Swedish troops would not be molested in Hanover, or on their march to Holland. The Swedish troops were then allowed to approach Luneburg; the king regulated their line of march himself, and frequently ordered them to stop for the night in villages that did not exist. No provisions were provided, and they who were ordered to form magazines

were left ignorant where they were to be placed; the guards and king's regiment were left without shelter at the end of November, and in the most dreadful weather.

“Meanwhile, after the surrender of Mack, the capture of Vienna; and the battle of Austerlitz, the Swedish troops were ordered to march into Hanover. They took possession of Harburg, and attempted the most iniquitous exactions, which it was found impossible to enforce. The Emperor of Austria had been forced to accede to a treaty dictated by Buonaparte, and the Emperor of Russia had retired in disgust to Petersburg. The situation of the Swedes became critical. Louis Buonaparte menaced them in front, while Augereau and Baraguay d'Hilliers threatened their rear. Thus situated, Gustavus offered to resume the command of the Russian troops, but was informed that it had already been bestowed on the King of Prussia, who had expressed his determination to occupy Hanover, and protect the north of Germany from the war.

“The British troops, who had never lost sight of their transports, returned home; and the British ministry intimated to Gustavus that any attempt on his part to protect Hanover was superfluous; but his enmity to Prussia induced him to remain on the left bank of the Elbe. He insisted that the King of Great Britain should officially desire him to retreat; but was informed that such a step would be authorizing the King of Prussia to occupy Hanover. The Prussians continued to advance: Gustavus prudently retired himself, but left Count Lövenhjelm with 1800 men, and peremptory orders to fire upon the Prussians if they

they attempted to cross the Elbe. A long negotiation took place with the British ministry which it is needless to detail: mean while the Swedish troops were all withdrawn except about 300; the Prussian alliance with France became publicly known; the troops of the King of Prussia advanced, refused to fire upon the Swedes, opened a passage for them to retire, and when the Swedish soldiers fired, and prepared to fight, the Prussian officers declared that there was no wish whatever of entering into hostilities with Sweden. Gustavus immediately blockaded the Prussian ports, and ordered the towns upon the coast to be bombarded, unless they agreed to pay for their security. This extraordinary step was persisted in notwithstanding the remonstrances of Great Britain and Russia, and notwithstanding the risk of the loss of Pomerania; till at last the King of Prussia, who was now preparing for the impending conflict with France, agreed to evacuate Lauenbourg. The Swedish troops took possession of that dukedom, and soon after Count Lövenhjelm occupied Ratzeburg.

“The King of Prussia was now too far advanced in his unfortunate and fatal quarrel with France, to pay any attention to the petty efforts of the King of Sweden. During the short but decisive war between Napoleon, and Prussia and Russia, nothing short of infatuation can account for the conduct of Gustavus. He was urged repeatedly by the French to make peace, and offered his own terms. How far the French were sincere in these offers it is impossible to say. For my part, I firmly believe that if the King of Sweden had entered zealously into

the new system which Buonaparte established immediately after the conquest of Prussia, and had excluded all British vessels from his harbours, in that case Buonaparte would have allowed him to retain his territories, and he would have avoided the Russian and Danish war. The consequence would have been that the Baltic would have been more completely shut against British commerce, and Russia would have been obliged to alter her politics at a more early period than she has done. She might have even made common cause with Austria in the late short and disastrous war which that power carried on against France. It was probably fortunate for Europe that this did not happen. So miserably poor was the conduct of Austria, such a want of abilities, firmness, and patriotism was displayed by the Emperor of Austria and his family, that no assistance either from Russia or Britain would have been of the least avail. The late invasion of Russia, and the loss of three or four hundred thousand men was a greater blow to Buonaparte than could have been inflicted by any two of the continental powers united against France.

“During the whole of the Prussian war the Swedes remained quiet, in Pomerania, in consequence of an armistice with the French army in that district. But as soon as the peace of Tilsit was concluded, the King of Sweden declared the armistice at an end, and refused either to renew it, or enter into any negotiation with the Emperor of France. The Swedish troops, amounting to a few thousand men, were speedily driven into Stralsund, and that town, which had been entirely neglected, was not capable of making much defence against

against a besieging enemy. But the king, relying upon assistance from heaven, refused either to give it up, or to make any preparations to defend it. But when the French advanced, and began to throw up batteries, he prudently withdrew to Rugen, and soon after the town was abandoned to the enemy.

“About 8,000 British troops were lying in Rugen, under the command of Lord Cathcart. The British ministry formed the project of seizing the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, and sent a sufficient fleet and army for that purpose into the Baltic. The command of the army was given to Lord Cathcart, and he was ordered in consequence to withdraw his troops from Rugen, and land them in the island of Zealand. This order being communicated to the King of Sweden, he not only refused to allow them to go; but though he had only 800 Swedes at most, threatened to throw the whole British army into prison. At last he was pacified, the British troops were carried to Zealand, and the result of the expedition is sufficiently known. The King of Sweden withdrew to Sconia; and the island of Rugen, not being capable of defence, was speedily evacuated by the Swedish troops.

“It was firmly believed by all the Swedish gentlemen with whom I conversed on the subject, that at the meeting at Erforth, between Bonaparte and the Emperor of Russia, it had been agreed upon that Sweden should be divided between Russia and Denmark, and that the river Motala and ridge of mountains that runs north from it, should be the boundary between these two kingdoms. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that at the treaty of Tilsit it had been agreed upon to

force Sweden to accede to what Bonaparte chose to call the continental system. Russia speedily announced this resolution to the King of Sweden, and urged him to unite with Russia and Denmark, in an armed neutrality, similar to that of 1780 and 1800. This Gustavus had peremptorily refused. He must have been aware therefore, from the beginning, of an impending war with Russia and Denmark; yet no preparations were made to resist the threatened invasion. Unless we consider a treaty with Great Britain, and a subsidy from that power of 1,200,000*l.* annually as a preparation.

“The war lasted little more than a year, and notwithstanding the prodigious disparity of force, if we consider the situation of Sweden, the zeal of her population, and the great number of troops she had on foot, not fewer than 100,000 men, there can be little doubt that, with common prudence, and with the assistance which they would have received from Great Britain, they might have been able victoriously to oppose the enemy, and maintain the integrity of the Swedish dominions. But the conduct of the King bid defiance to all prudence and common sense, and made it impossible either for his generals or ministers to be of the least service to their country.

“The Russians invaded Finland on the 11th of January 1808, with an army of about 30,000 men. The Swedish troops in that country amounted to 9540 men, 6261 of whom were posted in the north, and 3279 in the south. Besides this, Sveaborg, a very strong fortress, built upon several islands, on the south coast of Finland, had a garrison of 6000 men. The small band
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of Swedish troops near the southern frontier, under the command of Lieutenant-General Von Klercker, retired before the enemy, after making a gallant and spirited resistance. The object was to make good their retreat into East Bothnia, in order to join the Finnish militia, and the army of the north. General Count Cronstedt, who retreated by another road, succeeded in his object, in spite of the inclemency of the season, and the opposition of the enemy, and joined the main army with little loss. Field Marshal Count Klinckspor took the command of the division led by Von Klercher, at Tavastehus. It was repeatedly attacked by the Russians, particularly at Pyhäjocki and Sikajocki. In the last of these, General Adlercreutz distinguished himself at the head of the Finns; broke through the centre of the Russians, took several hundred prisoners, and compelled the rest to retreat. No immediate attempt however was made by the King of Sweden, either to reinforce his small army in Finland, or to concentrate his troops for the defence of his kingdom.

“ But as soon as he heard of the invasion of Finland by the Russians without any previous declaration of war, he immediately ordered Mr. Alopæus, the Russian minister, to be confined to his house, his papers to be seized, and information to be given to him, that he had no longer any diplomatic character. The governor of Gottenburg was ordered to seize the papers of the Russian Consul, and to confine him to his house. A courier sent from Russia to the Russian ambassador at Stockholm was arrested, and his dispatches published. Next day, a declaration of war on the part of Denmark was received. The Danish

ambassador was ordered to leave the kingdom, and the hour of his departure fixed, and these orders were conveyed to him by means of a military officer.

“ Meanwhile the whole of South Finland was occupied by the Russians; the important fortress of Sveaborg was shamefully given up by the treachery of Vice-Admiral Cronstedt; and the islands of Oland, which were not defended by any military force, were occupied without opposition by a detachment of Russians. As the season advanced, when the ice round these islands began to break up, and all communication with the neighbouring continent was interrupted, the inhabitants rose upon the small Russian force left to protect their conquest, and made them prisoners of war. Thus these islands were recovered without difficulty, and the same thing happened to some Russian soldiers who had landed in the island of Gothland, and taken possession of it.

“ But Gustavus was now intent upon the conquest of Norway, and of the Danish islands in the Baltic, and therefore gave himself little concern about what took place in Finland. The Swedish army on the western frontier, amounting to about 12,500 men, were ordered to enter Norway in two bodies, and they were spread over so great an extent of country, as to form a very weak and inefficient line. They gained some advantages at first, but being left totally unsupported, and even without a supply of provisions, they were soon obliged to retreat into their own country, and take up a defensive position. Gustavus had already altered the whole of his plans, and had determined, with the assistance of a body of British troops,

to invade and conquer the island of Zealand.

“ He had from the commencement of the war solicited an increase of the subsidy from Britain, and a body of troops to enable him to oppose his enemies with more efficacy. The Swedish ambassador at London, aware of the desperate state of his country; had prevailed upon the British ministry to send 10,000 men to Gottenburg, under the command of Sir John Moore, pledging himself that they would be immediately landed and treated with the greatest attention at Gottenburg, till a plan for their future services should be concerted between the King of Sweden and Sir John Moore. The troops were accordingly sent under the following conditions stipulated by the English ministry: that the troops should be under the immediate command of their own general, that they should not be obliged to march to any great distance from their transports and vessels of war, and that it should be in the power of the British ministry to recall them whenever their services should be requisite in any other quarter. When the British troops arrived at Gottenburg, the King of Sweden prohibited them from landing; and when he was applied to for the purpose by the British ambassador, he answered that he considered the application as an insult, and expected therefore that it never would be repeated. Sir John Moore came to Stockholm to form a plan of operations with the King. The first proposal of Gustavus was, that the British troops should unite with a Swedish army, and invade the island of Zealand. Sir John Moore answered, that he was expressly prohibited by his instructions from joining in any such scheme. This refusal greatly irri-

tated the King, as it thwarted his favourite project, from which his ministers and generals had in vain attempted to divert him, by showing that he was not provided with a sufficient quantity of troops, or warlike engines, to make an attack upon Copenhagen with any chance of success.

“ His next proposal was that the British troops should land in the neighbourhood of Petersburg, in order to make a diversion in favour of the Swedish army in Finland. Sir John Moore declined this plan, observing that it was very well conceived if the object of the King was to give the Russians some thousand British prisoners of war; but that the neighbourhood of Petersburg was at too great a distance to be of any service as a diversion to the Finnish army.

“ Driven from these two objects, the King of Sweden again turned his attention to Norway, and proposed that the British troops in conjunction with the Swedes should make a new invasion of that country. Sir John Moore replied, that the British troops had been already confined for two months on board their transports, greatly to the injury of the health both of the men and horses; that it would be the beginning of August before the Swedish troops could be ready to take the field, a period much too long to continue on board the vessels. On that account, since the King of Sweden had no immediate occasion for the British troops, he was determined in obedience to the orders of his own government, to return home. The King urged him to remain at Gottenburg, at least till new dispatches arrived from the British government. Sir John Moore at first consented to this; but when he went home,

home, and considered the orders of the English ministry which he had received, he conceived himself bound to return home directly without waiting for any farther orders, unless the British troops were immediately permitted to land. He wrote a note to that effect to Mr. Thornton, the British ambassador at Stockholm, who laid it before the King. Gustavus was incensed, and without farther ceremony ordered Sir John Moore to be confined to his house. Strong remonstrances on the absurdity and danger of this step were made by Mr. Thornton; but without effect. At last Sir John Moore made his escape to Gottenburg, and the British troops returned home to England.

“All this while Finland and the Swedish army in that country were abandoned to their fate, while 15,000 Swedish troops lay in Sconia because the king had again resumed the project of invading Zealand. With this small army he proposed to besiege Copenhagen, and conquer Zealand: the proposal was referred to a committee, who pronounced it altogether impracticable. Supposing it even possible for this little army to take Copenhagen, it was clear that they could not keep it, because the Danes had it in their power immediately to besiege them with a much greater army. Gustavus sailed for Oland, and after writing some ridiculous letters to the Russian general, and sailing about for weeks in quest of the Swedish galleys, he at last established his head quarters at Grelsby. Mr. Thornton had recommended opening a negotiation with the Russians and Danes; but Gustavus treated the proposal as an insult, quarrelled with Mr. Thornton, and insisted upon his recal, a demand which was

soon after complied with by the British ministry.

“The army in North Finland had all this time been left to itself, yet it had begun to oblige the Russians to retire; and had it been properly reinforced, there can be little doubt that Finland might have been recovered. Two expeditions were indeed sent out by the King for the recovery of South Finland, consisting each of a few hundred men; one to land at Obo, the other at Vasa; but they were too insignificant to accomplish any thing, and served only to diminish the strength of the Swedish army. Early in the summer the Russians in North Finland, who had been much weakened by their winter campaign, were not able to stand their ground before the Swedish army, which, including the Finnish militia, amounted to about 13,000 men. The Swedes recovered a considerable space of ground, and conducted themselves with the utmost gallantry and skill; but they were left totally unsupported, and by the month of September were reduced by continual fighting to about 6000 men. All the losses of the Russians had been supplied, and they were now stronger than when they first entered the country. Some trifling expeditions were indeed sent to assist the Swedes; but by the express orders of the King, they were obliged to land at so great a distance, and to fight their way through so great a space, that they were destroyed piecemeal without being of the least service to the common cause of Sweden. Baron Vegesack, indeed, at the head of six battalions, by disobeying the king's commands and landing at Christinestadt instead of Björneborgt, succeeded in reaching the northern army, when it was driven

driven almost to the polar circle, and quite unable to oppose the Russians. The King upon this occasion expressed the greatest displeasure that his orders had not been exactly obeyed, though it was demonstrated to him, that if the troops had landed at Björnebourg not one of them could have escaped the Russian troops.

“South Finland, which was already lost, and covered with Russian troops, was more an object of consideration with him. He sent a standard bearer to Obo to collect information respecting the state of the country: this man brought back intelligence, that 13,000 peasants were ready to rise in arms against the Russians. He sent back this man and one of his life guards to take the command of this supposed army of peasants; 2600 troops were to be sent at the same time under the command of Count Lantingshausen. These troops were supplied with only sixty rounds of ball cartridges apiece: and though the general remonstrated on the insufficiency of such a supply, which would be exhausted immediately, he could procure no more. This little army was ordered to land at Lokalax, take Obo, and then to join General Vegesack's corps. After various delays, this small body of men landed at Varanpä, and took possession of a strong fort about four miles from the place of debarkation. They were immediately attacked by the Russians, who were repulsed; but the Swedish ammunition being speedily expended, while the number of their enemies had increased, they were obliged to return to their transports, which they effected without loss.

“An army of 6000 men was collected at Gefle, and ordered to sail to the northern coast of Oland,

where they would find ships that would make them acquainted with their destination. They did so, but found no vessels at the appointed place. The orders given to the different commanders were inconsistent and contradictory, so that they had no means of divining the object of their expedition. A storm arose and scattered the transports; some were wrecked, and some totally lost. Meanwhile two sets of orders had been issued by the king; one ordering them to the north, and the other to the south. One battalion and two companies of Colonel Skjöldebrand's brigade meeting at sea with the vessels carrying the first orders, joined the army in the north; but only served to increase the confusion, arising from the want of provisions and resources of every kind. Most of them perished in these dreary regions, not more than 90 returning again to Sweden.

“I shall pass by several other expeditions to Finland, undertaken during the course of this year, all of them small, and all of them as injudiciously contrived as possible. Had the object of Gustavus been the loss of Finland, and the destruction of the Swedish army, he could have taken no steps better calculated to accomplish them. No valour on the part of the Swedish troops, no skill on the part of their commanders, could be of any avail: because, by the consummate folly of the King, they were exposed every where to ten times their number of Russian troops, without any of the requisites which constitute an army; and every expedition was left to its fate without inquiry, and without reluctance. The Swedes are unanimously of opinion that Finland was
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lost, and their army ruined, by the extreme folly and incapacity of the King; that the resources of the country were quite sufficient to have defended it; and that the Swedish army, had it been judiciously placed, would have bid defiance to all the efforts of their enemies, at least for several years. But Gustavus was dreaming of conquests, and his eager desire to copy after the example of Charles XII. could ill brook the idea of defence, to which, in his circumstances, any King of common sense would have restricted himself. Of all the race of Gustavus Vasa, he was by far the weakest that had ever sat upon the throne of Sweden, whilst his passion for war, and the erroneous opinion that he had formed of his own abilities and qualifications, made him the most injurious to his country of any prince that Sweden had ever obeyed.

“ I am conscious that this picture of the conduct and capacity of Gustavus IV. is very different from what is generally entertained in this country. It is very different from what has been uniformly inculcated in all our newspapers, and, indeed, as different as possible from the opinion which I myself entertained before I went to Sweden. But it is an opinion which must be adopted by every person who will make himself acquainted with the facts which took place in Sweden during his reign. I have already stated a considerable number of these; but more are still wanting to complete the picture.

“ In consequence of the quarrel between Mr. Thornton, the British ambassador, and Gustavus, that gentleman had been recalled by the British government, and Mr. Merry sent out in his place. In his first conversation with the King of Swe-

den, that monarch, whose finances were in the most deplorable state, imperiously demanded an increase of the subsidy advanced to him by Great Britain, and the immediate payment of a sum of money to answer his exigencies. Mr. Merry informed him that he had no powers to enter upon any such negotiation; but to prevent an immediate quarrel between the two countries, he allowed him to draw bills for 300,000*l.* without any orders from his own government. These bills were returned dishonoured by the British ministry, and a note was written at the same time, advising Gustavus to make peace with the belligerent powers, assuring him that the British ministry would with pleasure release him from his engagements, and keep up the usual communications between the two kingdoms, even supposing him to make peace with France and Russia. Gustavus was indignant at this note. He again declared his unalterable resolution never to make peace with Buonaparte or the Emperor of Russia. He immediately ordered an embargo on the British merchant ships at Gottenburg, commanded that pilots should be refused to the British ships of war, and that if they attempted to sail without pilots they should be treated as enemies. He wrote a letter with his own hand to the King of Denmark, informing him that he was already at war with England, and requesting an immediate cessation of hostilities, and a negotiation for peace. But before this letter was sent off he received information that the Danes had circulated revolutionary proclamations in Sconia. He immediately tore his letter in pieces, recalled the embargo of the British vessels, and entered into a

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new treaty with the British minister.

“The crisis of Sweden was now at hand. The Swedish army in Finland had been driven out of the country and nearly annihilated. The army of the west had been equally unsuccessful in Norway, and the Norwegians had actually invaded Sweden. The Swedish supplementary army of 30,000 men had been nearly destroyed, partly by want of clothing and exposure to severe cold, and partly by being sent upon services quite unsuitable to the tender age of the troops, who were mostly boys not more than 19 years of age. The treasury was absolutely exhausted, and the violent taxes to which the king had recourse were so tyrannical and unjust that they could not be levied. The whole money remaining for carrying on the war, I had been credibly informed, did not exceed 2,000*l.* sterling. Meanwhile four separate armies were preparing to invade the kingdom on every side. Two Russian armies were ready to march; the one from Obo over the ice was destined to take possession of Stockholm, an open town, and incapable of any defence; the other was to proceed from the north and fall down upon Delecarlia and Nerike. A French and Danish army in conjunction were to cross the Sound upon the ice. But they were fortunately prevented by the sudden breaking up of the ice, and the appearance of some British ships of war. Finally, the Norwegian army, under the command of Prince Augustenburg, was to take possession of Wermeland and West Gothland. Such was the weakened state of the Swedish army, which in one year had been reduced from about 100,000 men to a comparatively

small number; such the discontent both of the officers and men; such the want of provisions and ammunition, that very little resistance could have been opposed, and Sweden must infallibly have been overrun and divided. In this dreadful dilemma, when no hope was left, the country was saved by an unforeseen revolution, which wrested the sceptre from the unworthy hands of Gustavus, and saved the country from partition by a speedy and necessary peace. I shall give an account of this revolution, with as much precision as my information on the subject will permit.—

“It is a fundamental maxim in the British constitution that it is the duty of a prince to promote the welfare of his subjects and country; and that whenever his conduct becomes unequivocally inconsistent with the interests of his people, resistance becomes not only innocent but an indispensable duty. It was by this maxim that the revolution of 1688 was justified, which hurled the family of the Stuarts from the throne, and introduced a new and a foreign dynasty. Never did a greater necessity for a revolution exist in any country than it did in Sweden in the beginning of the year 1809. The finances of the country were in the most deplorable state, the army was harassed and cut up in detail, as if it had been the professed object of the king to annihilate it. Three powerful nations were preparing to invade and divide the kingdom of Sweden among them. Gustavus had quarrelled with his only ally, and obstinately refused to listen to any terms of peace with France and Russia; though it was demonstrated that such a peace was essentially necessary for the interests of his country, and

and that perseverance in the war could lead to nothing else than complete ruin.

“The liberty of the press had been totally annihilated in Sweden, so that the people in consequence were but imperfectly acquainted with the state of Europe. The King had all along been very popular with the people, who, ignorant of his real character, ascribed all his errors in Germany to the want of capacity of his ministers. Even the commencement of the Russian and Danish war did not alter their sentiments, and the losses sustained in Finland served only to irritate the minds of the people. Popular enthusiasm was raised to the highest pitch, and the most glorious results would have taken place had the throne been filled by a prince who understood how to profit by the disposition of his subjects. But the management of the war in the summer and autumn of 1808 opened the eyes of the whole Swedish nation. The army were disgusted with a prince who expected from them impossibilities, who paid no attention to their lives or their comforts, and who refused to share the toils and hardships to which he exposed them. The barbarous treatment and cruel fate of the supplementary army excited the compassion of all ranks, and raised a corresponding abhorrence at the unfeeling mind of its author. The deplorable state of the finances, the determination of the king never to make peace, and the absurd plans which he had projected for the next campaign, awakened in the mind of every thinking man the necessity of taking some immediate step to save their tottering country.

“It was impossible to obtain in Sweden any very satisfactory ac-

count of the origin of the conspiracy. Every body asserted that the Duke of Sudermania was altogether unacquainted with it. This is possible, though from the subsequent conduct of that prince I can hardly bring myself to believe that this was the case. The two gentlemen, from whom my principal information was obtained, were neither of them actors in the conspiracy; though they took a very active part in the framing of the new constitution, and one of them indeed was for a short time a secretary of state. I must satisfy myself with giving the particulars, such as I learned them, without being able to throw much new light either upon the origin, or the names of the original conspirators. But the conspiracy appears to me to have originated in the army, and to have been very general all over the kingdom. The actors in it were all officers in the army, and even some battalions of common soldiers were let into the secret.

“Various projects and consultations about a revolution took place at different times, and were so publicly talked of, that if the government of Gustavus had possessed the least vigilance, the whole project must have been discovered. Different schemes were proposed and abandoned in succession, and the ardour of the conspirators began to cool. At this time an officer of high rank, in the disguise of a servant to his own adjutant, arrived from the army of the north. He found about twenty persons in Stockholm anxious to bring about a revolution; but not determined either about the time or the measures to be pursued. After some consultation, the different sentiments of this body were reconciled, and

and the 8th of February appointed for putting their plan in execution. The King was to be arrested opposite to a particular tavern on his way to Haga, a palace where he almost always resided, in consequence of a disgust which he had conceived against his capital.

“ Meanwhile the western army, having concluded a truce with Prince Augustenburg, the Governor of Norway, published a manifesto, stating their grievances, and their determination to redress them, and began their march for that purpose towards Stockholm. The leaders of this army seemed to have corresponded with the conspirators in Stockholm, and to have been perfectly aware of their designs. That the motives of all the conspirators were not of the purest kind, and that several of them were in the interest of France and Russia, is generally admitted. I could even mention the names of some who were most vehemently suspected of being in the pay of France; but am prevented from taking such a step from motives of delicacy, lest I should injure innocent men by accusations founded only on vague report, and drawn chiefly from the proposals which they made to bring about the revolution by dissolving the government.

“ Colonel Adlesparre, who commanded the western army, conducted his troops to Carlstadt, harangued the different regiments in succession in the market place, informed them of the hazardous enterprize which he had undertaken, and the necessity of such measures for the safety of their country. The troops unanimously entered into his views, and offered to sacrifice their lives for the salvation of their country. A detachment was sent to

take possession of Gottenburg, while Colonel Adlesparre marched with the rest of his army to Orebro. Meanwhile the spirits of the conspirators in Stockholm had failed them, and they had allowed the 8th of February to pass by without attempting any thing.

“ On Sunday the 12th of March, an extra post arrived in Stockholm with the proclamation of the western army, and a full account of their proceedings. In the afternoon the King went from Haga to Stockholm, and as soon as he entered the palace ordered the gates to be shut; guards were placed at all the avenues of Stockholm, with orders to allow no person to enter without the strictest examination, and to permit no one, whatever, to leave the city. All the great officers of state were ordered to repair to Nyköping, all the troops were to be withdrawn from Stockholm, and a German regiment was ordered to oppose the western army. The King was upon the point of seizing all the money in the bank, and of erecting his standard at Nyköping; the consequence would have been a civil war added to all the other miseries to which Sweden was already exposed. The conspirators, at Stockholm, were sensible that the king's retreat ought at all hazards to be prevented, and, therefore, resolved upon attempting to seize his person next day, the 13th of March, before he should have leisure to put any of his plans in execution. Baron Adlercreutz, who had come to Stockholm on purpose, and who had acquired reputation by his conduct in the Finland war, agreed to take the lead on this occasion.

“ Baron Adlercreutz, Count Klingspor, Colonel Silfversparre, and many other officers who were
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in the secret, assembled in the palace by eight o'clock in the morning. Only four of the life guards remained in the palace, the rest having gone to prepare themselves for their journey. The number of conspirators within the palace amounted to about fifty. Little danger was to be apprehended from any opposition which these four men could make. The gates of the palace had been shut by the king's command. The conspirators assembled in considerable numbers in a room adjoining the king's bed-chamber; Count Ugglas was first called in to his majesty; the Duke of Sudermania soon after arrived and went in to the king, just as Count Ugglas came out. It is said that the Duke was requested, by Baron Adlercreutz, to remain in the palace; but that he declined, saying, he had received orders from the King which must be immediately executed. Baron Adlercreutz insisted that Count Ugglas should remain, informing him, that a moment of infinite consequence approached, and that the King must be prevented from leaving Stockholm; Count Ugglas said, that he had used every endeavour to persuade the King to stay, but in vain, and begged that any further remonstrance might be offered with caution: the baron answered, that it was now intended to speak to the king in a manner which he thought would be effectual. When the Duke of Sudermania came out, Count Klingspor was called in to his Majesty, and during the conversation strongly represented the imprudence of leaving the capital. Baron Adlercreutz now went round and desired those who were stationed at the gates and the other parts of the palace to be vigilant on their parts, and having

collected a number of officers, he entered the king's room. When the door opened the king seemed surprised; the baron immediately approached, and said, 'That the public mind was in the utmost irritation from the unfortunate state of the country, and particularly from his majesty's intended departure from Stockholm: that the higher officers of state, the troops, and the most respectable citizens had encouraged him to represent the consequences to his majesty, for which purpose'—here the king loudly exclaimed, 'Treason! you are all corrupted and shall be punished!' The baron answered, 'We are no traitors, but wish to save your majesty, and our country.' The king immediately drew his sword, the baron rushed upon him and seized him round the waist, while Colonel Silfversparre took the sword out of his hand; the king then cried out, 'They are going to murder me, help! help!'—They endeavoured to re-assure the king, and he promised to be more composed if they would return his sword; this request they endeavoured to evade, and when the king obstinately insisted on it, he was told that in this respect he could not be gratified, nor be permitted any more to interfere in the management of the kingdom.

“The king's outcries had alarmed some of the body guard, who had just arrived, and the servants of the palace, who endeavoured to force open the door; but not being able to succeed, they broke the upper pannel with pokers and sabres. Baron Adlercreutz commanded the door to be opened, and rushed into the middle of the crowd, seized a sabre from a hussar, snatched from the adjutant-general his staff of office, and holding it up before him said,

said, that he now considered himself as adjutant-general, and in that capacity, commanded the guards to retire; this command was obeyed with some hesitation, and several officers who were not in the conspiracy were put under arrest. The baron then went up to the room where the guards usually assembled; he assured them that the king's person was not in the smallest danger, and that the only object in view was to save the country from ruin; he conjured them not attempt any thing that might occasion bloodshed and endanger the life of the king. After some hesitation and argumentations, the baron had the address to persuade them to remain tranquil. Proper regulations were then made for the security of the capital. The citizens mounted guard at the bank and public offices, and the streets were kept quiet by patrols of the burgher cavalry and cuirassiers, who had orders not to molest any person who was not openly riotous.

“ Meanwhile the king had entreated to be spared the mortification of seeing the officers who had been concerned in his arrest, and who had been left with him by Baron Adlercreutz in order to secure his person. They retired in consequence, and Count Ugglas and General Count Strömfelt were sent in to his majesty to endeavour to tranquillize him. The king contrived to draw General Strömfelt's sword from the scabbard, and when the general missed it, and entreated to have it returned, his majesty answered, that the general was just as good a general as he a king without a sword. Baron Adlercreutz, who had just returned, being informed of the circumstance, thought it necessary that some officers should

be placed in the room as a guard upon the king. He went out accordingly to procure them, and the king seeing him return with two officers through the door that had been demolished by the guards, immediately made his escape through the opposite door, and locked it behind him.

“ The baron was alarmed at the danger which would result from the escape of the king, leaped against the door and burst it open, and ran in pursuit of him. In the next room there is a spiral staircase, open all round, which leads up to the floor above. When the baron entered the room, he saw the king on the highest step of this stair. He threw a bunch of keys in the baron's face, and immediately disappeared. When Baron Adlercreutz got to the top of the stair, the king was nowhere to be seen. By accident he took the same road as the king, and meeting some servants in the way, was by them directed in his pursuit. But he reached the court of the palace without having seen the king. Gustavus had been so precipitate in his escape, that he fell on the stair, and hurt his arm severely.

“ When the king's escape was made known, the whole conspirators were filled with consternation, and rushed in a body to the court of the palace to endeavour to intercept his majesty's flight. Greiff, keeper of the king's game, had precipitately descended the great stair, and was the first that reached the court. He saw the king, with his sword in his hand, making towards the only gate that had been left open. As soon as Grieff overtook him, the king made a violent push at him, but with so unsteady an arm, that the sword passed up the sleeve of Grieff's coat, and only slightly

slightly wounded him. His sword being thus entangled, his breath gone, and his strength exhausted, he was easily overpowered. He was carried up stairs, and at his own desire taken into the white room. He was there set down upon the chair nearest the door, and exactly opposite to the portrait of Maria Antonette, the late unfortunate Queen of France. He remained quiet the whole day. Not the smallest disturbance took place in the capital, no displeasure was testified by the people, and the theatre in the evening was crowded by an unusual number of spectators.

“The Duke of Sudermaria took upon him the government. The change was immediately proclaimed, and received with acclamations by the people. Hardly any revolution was ever brought about with greater facility. No tumult ensued; no blood was shed in any part of the kingdom, and not a single murmur expressed at the dethronement of the king. At two o'clock in the morning, the king was conveyed to Drottningholm, and a few days after to Gripsholm. Intelligence of the revolution was dispatched all over the kingdom, and Baron Von Döbeln, who commanded in Oland, was requested to endeavour to conclude an armistice with Russia. One Russian army was descending from Torneo, another was crossing the Gulf of Bothnia upon the ice, and the little Swedish army in Oland was surrounded by 30,000 Russians. The Russians insisted that the Swedish troops in Oland should surrender prisoners of war; but Von Döbeln declared, that sooner than submit to such terms, he would put an end to the negotiations, and fight to the last man. Considerable difficulties took place in the negotiations with Russia; but as the re-

sult of them is well known, and likewise the terms upon which peace was concluded between Sweden and Russia, I conceive it needless to enter into any particulars. Soon afterwards peace was concluded likewise with France, and with Denmark.

“Most of the Swedish ministers retained their places, and every proper precaution was taken to quiet the minds of men, and prevent those commotions which even the mildest revolution never fails to provoke. A proclamation of the protector announced that the war taxes were not to be levied, and on the same day the states of the kingdom were in the usual form summoned to assemble at Stockholm, on the 1st of May. An account of the state of the nation was published on the 15th of March. A proclamation on the 20th of the same month informed the nation of the necessities of the state; and partly by loan, partly by contributions of money, trinkets, and jewels, the sum of 300,000 rix-dollars, or about 50,000*l.* sterling was immediately raised to defray the immediate exigencies of government.

“On the 29th of March, Gustavus Adolphus voluntarily abdicated the throne of Sweden. The terms of the abdication, which was written by the king himself, are so characteristic of the man, that I shall here insert a literal translation of the paper.

““In the Blessed Name of the Most Holy Triune God.

““We Gustaf Adolph, by the Grace of God, king of the Swedes, Goths, and Vandals, &c. Duke of Schlesvig, Holstein, &c. make known, that since on this day 17 years ago, we were proclaimed king, and with a bleeding heart ascended

a tenderly beloved and revered father's bloody throne, it has been our endeavour to advance the prosperity and honour of that ancient kingdom, indispensable to the happiness of a free and independent people. As we can now no longer exercise the royal functions, according to the purity of our intentions, nor preserve peace and order in the kingdom, in a manner worthy of ourselves and our subjects, we consider it a holy duty to resign our kingly calling, which we now do freely and without compulsion, in order that we may be enabled to live the

remainder of our days to the honour of God, wishing to all our subjects the grace and blessing of the Almighty, and better times to them and their posterity. Yes! Fear God and honour the king. For further proof, we have composed with our own hand, subscribed, and with our royal seal confirmed, these presents.

“ ‘ At the palace of Gripsholm, the 29th day of March, in the year after our Lord and Saviour's birth, one thousand eight hundred and nine.

“ ‘ GUSTAF ADOLF ✕.”

CUSTOMS AND MANNERS OF NATIONS.

DESCRIPTION OF CHRISTIANIA, THE CAPITAL OF NORWAY.

[From M. VON BUCH's Travels.]

“SKYTSJORD lies five hundred and fifty-three English feet above the sea. The distance to Christiania was fourteen English miles, and the way lay through deep vallies among the hills. These miles we passed in a most delightful summer morning, a favour which seemed to be conferred on us by heaven that the view of the wonderful country round Christiania might be enjoyed by us in all its glory. What variety! What astonishing forms of objects, looking down from the height of Egeberg! The large town at the end of the bay, in the midst of the country, spreads out in small divergent masses in every direction, till it is at last lost in the distance among villages, farm-houses, and well-built country-houses. There are ships in the harbour, ships behind the fascinating little islands before the bay, and other sails still appear in the distance. The majestic forms in the horizon of the steep hills rising over other hills, which bound

the country to the westward, are worthy of Claude Lorrain. I have long been seeking for a resemblance to this country, and to this landscape. It is only to be found at Geneva, on the Savoy side, towards the mountains of Jura; but the lake of Geneva does not possess the islands of the Fiord, the numerous masts, and the ships and boats in sail. Here we have the impression of an extraordinary and beautiful country, united in a wonderfully diversified manner with the pleasure derived from the contemplation of human industry and activity.

“We descended by numerous serpentine windings the steep height of the Egeberg, through the remains of the old town of Opslo, and through a continued row of houses along the bay to Christiania, which we reached about mid day of the 30th of July. What makes Christiania the capital of Norway, is not merely the presence of the principal constituted authorities and public bodies

bodies of the country, nor is it the superiority of its population, for Bergen contains double the number of inhabitants; but it is rather the extensive influence of this town over the greatest part of the country, the various connections of the inhabitants partly with the capital of the kingdom, and partly with the foreign countries, and the social mode of life and cultivation of these inhabitants. Whatever change takes place in any part of Europe, is in the same manner as in Germany keenly felt and eagerly followed: but this is not the case in Bergen. Many means of assistance, which are generally looked for in a capital, and where men meet actively together in great bodies, are to be found united in Christiania much more than in Drontheim, and still more than in the narrow-minded Bergen: as for Christiansand it is too small.

“Whoever is acquainted with northern towns, will discover, from the exterior of Christiania, that it is a distinguished, a thriving, and even a beautiful town; for the streets are not only broad and straight, and nearly all intersect one another at right angles, which gives a gay and animated appearance to the whole: but almost all the houses are built of stone; and wooden log-houses are, for the most part, banished to the remotest streets of the suburbs. When a Norwegian descends from his hills to the town, he stares at these stone houses as an unparalleled piece of magnificence; for perhaps he never saw before, in the interior of the country, a single house of stone: and those who have lived some time in Drontheim or Bergen, where stone houses are rarities, and wholly

concealed among the wooden houses, are willingly disposed to consider the houses in Christiania a very great luxury; they attribute to them a beauty which they do not in themselves possess, and they involuntarily connect with it the idea of a general prosperity, of a brisk trade, and of the superiority of this town over every other.

“In this case, however, they would not judge altogether correctly, for it is not optional with the inhabitants to build as they do, as log houses have been long prohibited by the government in the circumference of the town; and the wisdom of the prohibition has been confirmed by experience. There is not a town in Norway which has not been once, at least, burnt to the ground. The fire rages terribly among the dry boards. Whole streets burst into flames at once, and it is in vain to think of either extinguishing the fire or saving the property. How much has Bergen suffered from fire, where the houses are closely crowded together among the rocks! How much Drontheim and Skeen! Moss was twice, in the course of the year 1807; devastated by fire; and in Sweden, Gottenburg, Uddewalla, Norkiöping, Gefle; a slight inattention lays the whole town in ashes; and what costs centuries to build is annihilated in a few moments. Christiania hears also the alarm drum as often as other Norwegian and Swedish towns; but since its origin, during nearly two whole centuries, it has never lost entire streets, and seldom more than ten houses at once.

“If it were not for the prohibition, the inhabitants would, in general, soon return to wooden houses; and the greater cheapness as yet, and

and greater quickness of erection, would overbalance in their minds the idea of safety, of life, and property. The government itself, with no great consistency, thought proper, in 1806, to erect a large, beautiful, and excellent military hospital of logs, on an eminence at one of the ends of the town: a considerable fabric, which appears full in view all the way from Egeberg. With this royal building in sight at every corner of the town, we are less disposed to suspect that the building with stone was not perfectly free on the part of the inhabitants. It is a pity that so few of the houses will bear a narrow inspection: some of them are neatly built; but these are rare. Even the rich chamberlain, Berndt Ancker, who was surrounded with such extravagant luxury, left behind him no buildings to do honour either to his native town or himself.

“Formerly the proprietors of houses seem to have deemed it a very great ornament to mark the initials of their name, and the year of erection, with great iron hooks, on the outside of the houses. It deforms the houses very much.

“The town is by no means uniform, but is divided into several small towns, the boundaries of which may almost be laid down with certainty; and in these the exterior, the houses, trades, and manner of living, are very different from one another. In great towns we are accustomed to see this; but in a town like Christiania we are hardly prepared to expect it. There is an exact boundary between the part of the town occupied with the inland trade and that where the foreign trade is carried on.

“The straight streets, which

cross at right angles, run up from the harbour, but do not extend all the way to the country. The capitalists, the wholesale dealers, the ship owners, those who hold government offices, find more room here than elsewhere for their large houses; and the consequence is, a greater stillness, and almost a dead silence in these streets. They are called the *quartale*, and every person in the *quartale*, according to the way of thinking here, is considered richer, finer, and more polished than the inhabitants of the other streets.

“On the other hand, there is more stir in that part of the town which runs out into the country. The houses are more closely crowded together, and every bit of ground is carefully occupied. Whatever comes from the country must pass through these streets. All the artisans, shopkeepers, and retailers, who wish to dispose of their commodities to the country people, draw near to them; and signs and posts without number invite the entrance of purchasers. I have often considered, with astonishment, the multitude of small shops and booths. How is it possible, said I to myself, that so many people can derive a living in so small a town from the same trade? I looked over the lists, and found, that of nine thousand and five inhabitants, which Christiania contained in 1801, including the garrison, one hundred and ten were shopkeepers, two hundred and twenty retail dealers, and two hundred and forty-two master artisans. In what other town, with the same population, shall we find even the quarter of this number?—But let a person wait for the weekly market, and still more for the annual fair, or winter, which connects every

every place together, and he would then be almost tempted to believe that different nations were collected together in this place; for the Swedes, Danes, and Norwegians, assuredly do not differ more from one another than the inhabitants of various vallies, who assemble from all parts to the annual fair. This is one of the most interesting spectacles for every stranger who visits Norway, and for every person who wishes to examine human nature, and to trace by what routs and associations man gradually advances in the progress of cultivation towards his destination.

“ For several days before the annual fair, which is held on the thirteenth of January, the town is filled with country people from all quarters; and figures make their appearance, such as before were not seen in the streets. The strong and robust inhabitant of Guldbrandsdalen, in his long coat of the seventeenth century, and with his little red cap on his head, walks by the side of the comparatively elegant boor of Walders, who, in features and dress, is as unlike him as if he came from beyond the sea. The rich proprietors from Hedemarken pass along as if they were of the inferior order of townspeople; and their coats of home-made cloth are cut in an antiquated fashion, as is usual in country places. From Oesterdalen, on the Swedish boundaries, appears a higher class of men; but we may easily see, from their carriage, that it is borrowed from their neighbours. On the other hand, we see the rough and almost stupid native of Hallingdalen, in a true national uniform, and the sturdy men of Oevre Telemarken, still more rough and stupid. They alone yet continue to wear the broad northern

girdle round the waist; which the native of Telemarken embroiders and ornaments in quite a different manner from the other; and in this girdle they fix a large knife like the Italians, which was formerly as often used by them for attack and warfare as for conveniency. They wear a short jacket, with a sort of epaulette on it, and a small cap on the head: thin short leathern breeches contain in the side pockets all the wants of the moment, and almost always the important small iron tobacco-pipe. Every step and movement of these men is characteristic and definite. They have only one object in view, and nothing which surrounds them can deaden the eagerness with which they pursue that object. The boor of Foulloug and Moss is far from having this distinct character. Nearer to the town, his business is also more various, and he looks around him with attention and caution to discover any little advantages which may bring him easier and more securely to his end; he no longer lives insulated in his valley, relying on his own individual physical strength, but has become, through common interest and connections, a part of a nation.

“ This has been effected by the capital: it, and it alone, has effected this diversity among the country people, and it proves itself to be a capital in gradually burying, and even altogether changing, and extirpating, all nationality through so great an extent. Who would believe that in the times of Harald Haarfager, or Saint Oluf, the people in Guldbrandsdalen lived and dressed as at present? Who would suppose that the people of Oesterdalen, and the people of Hedemarken, possessed many remains of those times? But to be convinced that

that all these changes have proceeded from the town, we need travel but a very short way. An inhabitant of Guldbrandsdalen, in his long bottomed coat, and monstrous stiff and indented flaps over his coat pockets, has quite a strange appearance when he appears in the streets of Christiania; but the form of the dress and the men change upon us imperceptibly when we travel through their vallies.

"In the suburbs of the town we find the same fashions that were prevalent in the quartale three or four years before; and there they again follow the fashion shortly before set by Paris and London. The peasant nearest the town, particularly in the neighbourhood of the streets leading to the country, takes a pattern from the coat he sees worn in the suburbs. He seldom penetrates farther into the town, and to the quartale he is altogether a stranger. It appears as if he changed his nature and habits with his dress; and this is natural enough; for it is only through more important connections he acquires the knowledge of this new fashion. In the clothes of the boors of Hedemarken and Fouloug, there is not the smallest trace of the national dress. The same fashion prevailed twenty-five years ago in Germany, and probably also in Christiania. As we ascend the country, the cut becomes older and older, but the dress of their ancestors is always perceptible; and when we come to the strange dress in Guldbrandsdalen, what else is it but the regimental uniform of the times of Eugene and Marlborough? It is the same with the women; they change perhaps slower and later; but they must also at last yield to the influence of the town. "When we see a woman from

Guldbrandsdalen in her full dress," said the noble and intelligent chamberlain Rozenkrantz in Christiania to me one day, "we imagine ourselves standing before our old northern grandmothers, as they are occasionally to be seen in our antiquated family portraits."

"If Hallingdalen, Walders, and especially Oevre Tellemarken, have yet retained in their exterior something exclusively peculiar to the country, they owe it to the remoteness of their vallies, and the difficulty of communication with the town. They are consequently seldom to be seen in the towns on the coast.

"That the national character is in this manner limited to a few remote districts; and that the towns have so powerful and extensive an influence on the surrounding country, and render the Norwegian a quite different being from what he was in the time of Snorro Sturleson, is lamented by many, and those among the most exalted characters, as a national calamity; and they earnestly wish that it were possible to arrest the further progress. But why? Are men to remain for ever stationary like insects? Do they imagine that they have gained the golden fleece with that degree of virtue which can be practised in remote vallies? And though this virtue may have somewhat of a national phÿsiognomy, shall we concede to it any thing more than a relative excellence? And can, or should this excellence endure through the length of time? It is certainly great and becoming to assert ones freedom boldly and vigorously in remote vales: but what if this freedom is never endangered? Through social institutions, a still higher freedom may be acquired.

quired. Virtue has no national physiognomy, but belongs to all men, and to all ages. If it is ever produced by a particular national character, if the Norwegians, the Germans, the French, and the English, have each their particular virtue, however respectable this virtue may be, it is not pure, it is not like the medicinal spring which restores health to the infirm, though superfluous to the strong.

“ We may therefore congratulate ourselves, and consider it as a fortunate circumstance, that we thus see a gradual change spreading from Christiania to the remotest provinces. Though evils formerly unknown may follow in the train, let them be weighed against the mass of newly developed good, and and let us never forget that a free and happy man is a much more respectable and distinguished being than a free and happy Samoide.

“ How different is the appearance of the more upland vales, from what it was before the town secured to the inhabitants a constant sale for their commodities! How many conveniences, nay, almost necessities of life, they can now have in exchange for their produce, to which formerly they were strangers! And how many places of the country may now be turned to account, which were formerly doomed to remain uninhabited and waste! It is certainly a great pleasure to meet on the days of the annual fair whole caravans of country people with their full-loaded sledges on all the roads leading to the town. They bring such a quantity of tallow, cheese, butter, and hides, with them, that we can hardly conceive how they can find a market for them in the town. But every landlord and householder waits for the

time of the sledges: the boors are seldom embarrassed in the disposing of their tallow; and they have it generally in their power to set their own price on their commodities. Yet in October, shortly before the commencement of the snow, thousands of oxen are driven to Christiania to supply the inhabitants with the necessary winter provisions. They take in return, corn, malt for beer at weddings and holidays, iron and ironmongery, and also, perhaps, fish, and some other small articles, which serve more for comfort than necessary support. This is the true division which nature and climate have made of the land: grazing in the highest perfection among the hills, and grain from the town. Men are collected together in societies, that every situation may be applied to what is most suitable to it, and that the surplus may be exchanged for wants which other places can more easily supply.

“ The corn is mostly brought from Jutland, Fladstrand, Aalborg, or Flensburg, partly in large ships by great capitalists, and partly in such small vessels, yachts, and even large boats, that we cannot help wondering how they durst expose themselves to the hazard of so boisterous a sea. But the passage is made in a single night, and the sale and profit are certain. That in time of peace the best and heaviest corn from the Baltic was always to be found in the harbour of Christiania is alone a sufficient proof that the town and country possessed means which enabled them to procure more than the necessities of life. Those means were deals and iron, in return for which English gold flowed into Norway, and perhaps into no place more than Christiania; for the

the deals exported from Christiania have always been in high repute. It appears an easy matter to divide a tree at a saw-mill into deals and planks; and the saw mills themselves look exactly like those in other places; yet the greater prosperity of Christiania is entirely owing to the circumstance, that the deals exported from it are more skilfully sawed than elsewhere. The scrupulous and precise Englishman rejects the deals of Drontheim, and sends them to his less fastidious neighbours in Ireland, though the price of those of Christiania and Frederickstadt is much higher. This is not so much owing to the superior quality of the tree, as to the uniform thickness of the plank, and the accurate parallel of its two planes, and several other minute circumstances, that are only known to the sawer and to the delicate English merchant, but which nevertheless decide the happiness and misery, the wealth and poverty, of whole districts.

“ The activity and stir is great and striking in winter, when numberless sledges descend from the mountains with planks, and proceed with them to the great Timber Magazine. They are all accumulated in this place, which includes the whole space between the town and the suburb of Waterland, and stretches so far towards the bay, that the vessels seem to touch the piles of planks. Notwithstanding the extent, this magazine at the end of winter has the appearance of a great town of boards; and we lose ourselves in the multitude of avenues and streets leading through them. The noise of the country people bringing the timber continues without interruption so long as the snow lasts. They deliver over

their boards to the overseers, who mark on their backs with chalk in letters and figures the place to which the boards were brought, and the number of them. It is a singular enough sight to see these boors hurrying away with all possible expedition to the counting-houses of the merchants in the Quartale, with this original species of obligation on their shoulders. By stopping on their way, or engaging in any other business, they might rub out the marks on their coats, and thus extinguish for ever all evidence of the debt. When they appear before the treasurer at the counting-house, they have no occasion to say a single word. They present their shoulders, and are immediately paid. The brush which the treasurer applies to his shoulders is the boor's acquittance.

“ There may be perhaps some twenty houses which have thriven by the timber trade; some of them are even rich. The great fortune which the ingenious chamberlain Berndt Ancker acquired in a short time, principally by this trade, notwithstanding his expensive mode of living, and the immense sum of more than a million and a half of Danish dollars which he left behind him at his death, are certainly remarkable circumstances. His house is still standing; for he left his property to trustees, and destined the revenue to charitable purposes. It appears as if he could not bear the idea of breaking up this large sum, and that he wished it to remain a perpetual monument of what his talents enabled him to acquire. As the revenues must be expended in general charity, it is a pity that he did not take a pattern from the institutions of the worthy Pury, at Neufchatel, which still continue to have

have such a beneficial effect on that place. The objects of Ancker's charity are widows and orphans, the poor and needy, and the fitting out of travellers to foreign countries; but all this is very indefinite, and instead of producing good, must waste and dry up the stream, by turning it into numberless channels.

"If the power of controlling the expenditure of these revenues were vested in the town, as is the case at Neufchatel, a regular stone harbour would probably have been gradually erected, in the room of the present tottering and filthy wooden quay (Bryggen); the town would have perhaps received a decent town-house, which it at present wants; and the pavements and streets would have been, in point of cleanliness and ornament, suitable to a great town. The fine supplies of water would not have remained at the crossings of streets, as at present collected in wooden, but in stone reservoirs; and many other excellent improvements would have been adopted for the good of the town. What assists the town is returned over the whole country; and widows and orphans, the poor and needy, would have been easier provided for out of the great superfluity arising from it. Increased activity every where diminishes their numbers, which immediate pensions have a uniform tendency to increase. The memory of Ancker will always live in Christiania, from so many benevolent institutions; but in this way his honour would have extended throughout Europe, and the eternal gratitude of all Norway would have been secured to him.

"The wealthy inhabitants of the town are engaged, from their ex-

tensive connections in trade, in numberless and difficult pursuits; but they contrive admirably to lighten the burdens of life by the pleasures of society. The prevailing tone of conversation here is what one would by no means have expected: for we frequently meet with the delicacy and polish of a capital with the high pride and independence so eminently peculiar to the Norwegians. We are more agreeably surprised still to find that this cultivation is no foreign and short-lived plant. Many of the most polished among the inhabitants, whose society would be an honour to any person, have seldom, perhaps, extended their travels beyond the country around Christiania; and the visits of others have been so short in foreign countries, that they would never have been what they are, if their manners had not been formed before leaving home.

"Hence we observe in this what takes place in all capitals, where the art of social intercourse has made any considerable progress—the division of society into several classes, tolerably distinct from one another. That these divisions were effected, or in any considerable degree influenced, by riches, titles, influence, or personal connections with the state, I could never discover: they arose rather from a diversity of tone. Hence the boundaries of these divisions flow almost imperceptibly into one another, whatever may be the difference between the extremes. It is a proof of the refinement of manners in a town, when all are not united in one mass. The mind possessed of refinement ascends naturally to the top, and every thing like a common union in society is artificial, constrained, and cannot be permanent, because

Because the parts which compose the union are heterogeneous. These divisions, marked out by nature, are no ways inimical to public spirit, or patriotism, as has been often proved by the example of England, and in miniature by the Canton of Schweitz, where shepherds and lords co-operate together in so singular, yet harmonious a manner.

“ I have often thought that the decided predilection of the Norwegians for the theatre may have had no small influence on their character. It is certainly surprising to find no town in Norway without a theatre. The most polished of the inhabitants play in a manner in public before the better sort of people, frequently tolerably, and often excellently. I saw several well-known persons in Bergen perform their different parts with the fervency and truth which belong only to the most skilful professional actors. Drontheim, Christiansand, and Frederickshall, have all of them their theatres; and when I was at the small town of Moss, I heard a very earnest deliberation respecting the means of constructing a theatre there also. Christiania has no less than two, and the whole winter through two different societies of Dilettanti tread the boards for the amusement of themselves and their fellow-citizens. The most beautiful and delightful music is spread and generally diffused, not merely by little occasional pieces, but by the representation of operas. Though the expression of the higher passions in the tragedy requires a continued practice and study which the acting of Dilettante will not admit of, yet I shall always remember with lively pleasure the splendid representation of the national tragedy

of Dyvecke, a piece certainly however praised beyond its deserts, in which the first families of the town distinguished themselves equally by their magnificence and their skill. They had an excellent poet among them, who seems to have given a good direction to their taste, and who entered with great enthusiasm into the management of their theatre. This was M. Falssen, counsellor of state, president of the highest tribunal in Christiania, and one of the three members of the government commission for Norway, during the Anglo-Swedish war. The town was deprived of him by a sad accident in the winter of 1808: but his influence will long continue in circles dedicated to joy and festivity, through his sweet poetry, his translations of so many excellent French pieces for the theatre in Christiania, and still more through his original and affecting comic-opera of *Dragedukken*, with the lively music of Kuntze, in Copenhagen: and the Norwegians ought long to remember, that to the passionate but energetic official paper *Budstikken*, edited by him, they owed their courage and their confidence in the beginning of the Swedish war, when their own strength was unknown to them. His mind appears to have been of too vehement a cast for the cold blood of his fellow-citizens: it consumed itself.

“ The Gymnasium in Christiania, which bears the modest appellation of school, may be mentioned with distinction as a public establishment for education. Its merits are proved by the abilities of the teachers, and the progress made by the scholars. It supplies to a certain extent the want of a university in Norway, which has been so often warmly,

but

but however reasonably, always fruitlessly demanded by the Norwegians, as a literary centre in the interior of a remote kingdom, which constitutes more than a third part of the whole monarchy. The school, which is situated in the best part of the town, is a large building, and has a serious and dignified external appearance. It contains, besides the rooms adapted for tuition, several collections, which are not very distinguished, and the library, which is not more ornamental than useful and profitable to the town. This library is open to the citizens, and contains perhaps not many rare, but a number of useful works. It owed its origin chiefly to the collection of chancellor Deichmann, who died about twenty years ago, and who distinguished himself by his works on the modern history of Norway. This patriotic individual bequeathed his library to the town of Christiania, well judging that it would there be productive of the greatest benefit. In the same spirit several other more recent libraries have been incorporated with it, for which they are partly indebted to an Ancker; and they now continue unremittingly to procure the most important productions of the German and Danish press, so far as the school-funds, which are by no means scanty, will allow them. How few towns of the same extent, or in the same situation, can congratulate themselves on such a library! And as it is not suffered to remain idle, we can hardly doubt that it will greatly contribute to the diffusion of knowledge.

“ The excellent military academy, which directly fronts the school-house, is an object no less remark-

able. It is certainly one of the best institutions in the Danish state, and has been the means of supplying the Danish army with a great number of useful and accomplished officers. It is a pleasant sight to see the hundred cadets, who generally receive an education here, either assembled together, or in the streets. Their vivacity, their blooming complexions, and their dignified behaviour, dispel at once every idea of constraint; and we soon see when we enter the building that it is a much nobler institution than similar schools for cadets generally are; yet the institution is almost wholly supported by the contributions of wealthy individuals. The academy is indebted for the house (an elegant little palace), and perhaps the most beautiful in the town, to the liberality of the Ancker family, by whom it was formerly inhabited; their instruments and books are legacies; and only two years ago it received from the chamberlain, Peder Ancker, the rich library and instruments which devolved to him on the death of his brother, Berndt Ancker. By these means they have been enabled from a mathematical school, which was the origin of the institution, to convert it into an academy, in which the young officers, besides the mathematical sciences and drawing, are diligently instructed in history, natural philosophy, natural history, and foreign languages. During several days of the week they practise leaping, climbing, rope-dancing, swimming, and other exercises, which professor Tresehow in Copenhagen very appropriately calls the luxury of education; but a good officer will perhaps not regret the time he spent in such exercises. It is an excellent regulation,

regulation, that the cadets neither lodge nor eat in the house; they are boarded with respectable people of the town, for the purpose of avoiding the monkishness of a secluded education. They wish to bring the young people as much as possible into contact with the world, and to break them at an early period of the narrow-mindedness which so circumscribed an occupation as that of a soldier has a necessary tendency to produce. The correctness of these principles has been confirmed by experience, even in the short space of a few years. So long as the state of Denmark deems it necessary to keep up a great army, and to dedicate so much of its attention to that object, it were heartily to be wished that all the Danish officers found such a school for their formation as the military academy in Christiania.

“ We may easily conceive that such a beautiful country as the environs of Christiania does not in vain display its charms to the wealthy inhabitants, and that they will be disposed to quit the town in summer for the health and pleasure of a country life. The multitudes of country-houses round the town is in reality so great, that their appearance puts us in mind of Marseilles. A country-house is an essential piece of luxury in Christiania; and as a merchant in Hamburg does not suppose he can appear without his coach and his horses, so the country-house is the first expense of a rising citizen here. These small places are called Lükken in Christiania. Why they are so called I could never learn; and what is singular, this appellation is exclusively peculiar to this town. Many of their places are

indeed very diminutive—a little house with a small meadow; but they have all an enchanting situation: and there is a perpetual variety of prospect from the height of the amphitheatre, of the Fiord, the town, and the hills. Whatever may be the number of these Lükken, we may boldly assert that there is not one of them without a prospect peculiar to itself. Most of them have not much to recommend them except this prospect, as little has been done for the surrounding grounds. But this they cannot be blamed for. The great desire to possess a small piece of ground in the neighbourhood of the town has raised the price of them so immoderately high, that it is seldom in the power of the possessor one to ornament any part of it. A Lükke worth eight or twelve thousand dollars seldom exceeds the size of many a garden in Berlin; and a meadow worth a thousand rix-dollars may be over-looked at a glance. The occupation as a meadow is essentially necessary to the support of the town; for the country is not sufficiently inhabited to allow the market to be constantly supplied with every thing that house-keeping requires. Every family must keep their own cow; and the long winter requires great stores; hence a dry year, unusual warmth and drought in June and July, not unfrequently occasion great want and embarrassment; and although the upland vales of Ringerige or Walders send some hay to the capital, it is by no means equal to the consumption. Assistance is then looked to from abroad, and hay is commissioned from England and Ireland. I could hardly believe my eyes, when I saw in the harvest of 1806,

a number

a number of ships loaded with hay in the mouth of the bay of Christiania. Is this hay exported to the Baltic or Jutland, to countries fertile in corn? No, I was answered, it is hay from England, commissioned to supply the wants of the householders in Christiania and Drammen. It is well with the country that possesses means and opportunities to supply its wants in such a manner; but it is still better with the country which by its own industry can produce what nature in the ordinary course of things refuses. And why should it not? When we see the Aggers Elv, a considerable stream close to the town, falling in noisy cascades from wheel to wheel, from saw-mill to paper-mill, and again to saw-mill; when we see numerous little streams descending from the wood-covered hills; and when we view at Frogner a considerable rivulet running through the midst of these possessions, before it falls into the Fiord at the west end of the town, a stream which in the greatest heat of summer is never dry; it is surprising that all these supplies of water have not been long ago made to fall from Lükke to Lükke, and to spread in a thousand various channels over the parched hills, as has been so beautifully done in the Emmenthal and Valais in Switzerland, and with so much art even in Norway itself, in the valley of Les-søe, and in Leerdalen below Fillefeldt. For this an agreement of all the proprietors among themselves is no doubt necessary, and it may be attended with some difficulty; but are we not to consider it as a want of public spirit that such an agreement has never taken place? And are we not entitled to suspect some

error in the government, which, with such an excellent opportunity, prevents the inhabitants from finding their individual interest in the general good.

“The possessors, in truth, show no want of individual industry. Bare rocks are yearly thrown down and converted to meadows, and many a place is now attractive which was formerly repulsive from its sterility. The small possession of Frydenlund, about an English mile from the town, formerly nothing but dry slates hardly covered with moss, has become, through the incessant labours of the indefatigable lady of General Wackenitz, one of the sweetest and loveliest places imaginable. And what has been effected by the noble and active Collet on his possession of Ulevold, will, in point of agriculture, long serve as a model for Norway.

“Whoever takes a delight during his stay in Christiania in exploring the beauties of the surrounding country, must not neglect to visit the charming Skoyen, the country residence of Ploen the merchant; in point of situation, the crown of all the rural places in the neighbourhood of the town. The whole magnificence of nature is here unfolded to us: the Fiord, the town, and the hills, appear all entirely new, as if we had never before seen them. We never weary in looking down upon them, to follow the beautiful light spread over them, and to rivet our eyes on the picturesque forms of the hills of Bogstadt and Bårum. And again, what rural beauty, what charming solitary prospects, when we lose ourselves among the woods and dales that border on Skoyen! Here alone we live with nature! In
Bogstadt,

Bogstadt, the magnificent seat of the chamberlain, Peder Ancker, we may please ourselves with viewing the way in which a rich individual may create and beautify a residence to give delight to a cultivated mind; and in Ulevold we may gratefully recognize the endeavours of the noble possessor to diffuse joy and benevolence around him,

“ This high cultivation and beauty of the country around the town deceive us into a belief of a better climate than the place actually possesses. The appearance of the objects down the bay puts us so often in mind of Italy, that we would willingly associate the idea of Italian heat with them. It is confidently, however, believed by many, that the climate of Christiania is at all events better than might be expected from its high latitude. But this is not actually the case. By much too unfavourable an idea is entertained in other countries of nature under the sixtieth degree of latitude. Where oaks thrive, fruit-gardens may be cultivated with advantage and pleasure: and accordingly in Christiania not only apples and cherries, but even pears and apricots, grow in the open air: plums, however, do not succeed; and peaches and vines, as well as several sorts of pears, must be dispensed with. As to the trees, the high ash thrives admirably, and it is a peculiar ornament to the country. Limes grow vigorously and beautifully; and sycamores and elms are among the most common trees of the woods. The aspen tree, (*Populus tremula*), the alder, and the birch, grow always larger and finer; they are the true trees of the north; and the warmth of Christiania is even in some measure too great for their highest perfection: at least, the as-

per and birch seem here to love the shade very much.

“ Neither does the winter appear here much earlier than in the north of Germany: the snow is hardly expected to lie before the beginning of December; and continued frost is very rare in November. It is, however, sufficient to cover the harbour of Christiania with ice in the end of November, and the shipping is then for some months altogether at a stand. The inmost part of the bay, between the numerous islands and points, resembles a lake, and is therefore soon frozen. The Bonnefiord, an arm of more than fourteen English miles in length, is fully frozen, and in the main arm the ice extends frequently for nine English miles down the bay. The vessels are then frozen in, and lie in the harbour the whole winter through as if on land. People pass and repass between the yachts, galleys, and brigs, as through streets, and the land and water appear no longer separated. This continues for a long time. The fine season gradually makes its appearance. The snow has been long all melted on the hills of Christiania by the sun and the warm rains, and every thing has assumed a green and animated appearance, before the ships are disentangled from the thick ice. About the 24th of April the waves begin, at last, to beat against the moles of the harbour. The ship-owners then frequently lose all patience: for a few miles farther out in the Fiord, the ships of Droback, Laurvig, and even Frederickstadt, have been long out at sea before the vessels at Christiania exhibit the smallest motion. They at last remove the obstacles by force, and break the ice. This is a most interesting moment. I heard

heard once in February, that several ships wished to break through the ice, and I knew that they had at least a German mile to proceed through the hard ice to the nearest open water: I immediately ran to witness the Herculean undertaking; but I was not a little astonished to see the ships advanced a great way through the ice, and still continuing in motion, though slowly, as if they were in open water. The whole work is, in fact, much easier than one would be led to imagine. About fifty men stand opposite one another like an alley; and the space they allow between them corresponds to the breadth of the ship which is to be moved through. They cut along the solid mass of ice as far as their line extends, and then they separate, by cuts across from the one line to the other, immense rectangles of ice, perhaps more than twenty feet in length. A wooden plank is next placed in the cut so opened: the men then all proceed over to the opposite side; some of them press the rectangle of ice with all their might below the water: in the same moment, all the others lay hold of a number of ropes fastened to the board in the opposite cut, and shove the immense loosened mass of ice, with one effort, below the ice which is firm. They then begin to loosen another rectangle. The work proceeds so quickly, that the ship which fol-

lows hardly ever stops, and in the space of a few hours makes its way through a covering of two feet of ice for almost five English miles from Christiania to the open water. In this way several English ships of the line wrought their way in the winter of 1808 from Gottenburg through the ice into the open sea. Hence we may easily see that where the art of working through ice is properly understood, ships which are frozen in, do not always necessarily fall into the hands of an advancing land army.

“ When the ice has left the vicinity of Christiania, the warmth increases with indescribable rapidity; and May, instead of being a spring month, is completely summer. On the 3d, 4th, and 5th of May, 1808, I observed that the thermometer at its highest rose to 70° Fahr. In the middle of the month all the trees were in leaf, except the ash (*ask*, *fraxinus excelsior*); and towards the end of the month the thermometer was daily at noon 19 or 20. In the beginning of July garden stuffs were every where to be had: the mean warmth of the month rose to upwards of 65°, and at noon it was generally 81, nay, even sometimes 80 degrees. They commenced their harvest before August, but September was not fully over before they began to think of stoves in the town.”

LAPLAND VALLEYS AND VILLAGES.

[From the same.]

KAUTOKEJNO, the 11th of September, 1807. The two rein-deer, with their driver, Mathes Michelsöon Sara, had agreeably to engagement come down from the Fieldts. These animals were loaded with the most necessary requisites for our journey, and with them, two Laplanders, a woman, and a child. I left Antelgaard as I would leave a home, on the evening of the third, and a few hours afterwards I reached Rosecop. This remote country, besides the attractions which it has received from nature, the grand and interesting style of the environs, the variety of new phenomena which strongly recommend it to our notice, possessed a superior charm for me in the highly distinguished and agreeable society which are here collected. Their repeated and incessant acts of kindness and benevolence continued for so many months towards a stranger whom they could never expect to see again, with the polish and the attraction of their conversation, could not fail to produce such an impression on my mind. Although strict justice, wisdom, and knowledge, are qualities which we ought not to look upon as extraordinary in any governor of a province, I felt a particular pleasure in the consideration that even the head of the most remote province of the Danish dominions possessed these qualities in so

eminent a degree. At the last habitation, about two miles beyond Rosecop, I took my leave of them, when I began to think, for the first time, that I was three degrees beyond the Polar Circle, among wilds and deserts.

“ We soon entered the wood: the rocks of Skaana Vara appeared nearer and nearer, narrowed the valley, and formed perpendicular precipices along its sides. All traces of habitation disappeared. The high and majestic Scotch firs stood thickly around, with excellent stems, and the small marshes in the wood were surrounded with alders and aspens. On entering deeper into the valley the view became suddenly frightful. The trees lay in heaps above one another, torn up by the roots almost in every direction for large spaces, and the few solitary stems which remained erect were quite lost among them: an image of the alarming nature of the storms in winter. Most of the trees lay with their heads down the valley. The storm had swept down from the south, and when compressed between narrow ranges of rocks, the firs are not always able to withstand it.

“ At the approach of evening the Laplanders took the rein-deer up several cliffs which were covered with rein-deer moss like snow, and there they tethered them. We passed the night ourselves contentedly

edly under the trees by the side of a clear blazing fire.

“ These Fieldt or mountain Laplanders require time for their operations. I lost several admirable hours of the morning, before the woman had bathed her child in warm water, and then till the man had again loaded the rein-deer. We reached in half an hour a lateral valley, and a stream which pours down it, called the Curjajock. There we left the great valley of Alten, and began to ascend the new valley towards the west, which rises pretty rapidly for the space of five English miles at least. Hitherto we had still seen traces of the cows and horses which the inhabitants of Alten allow here to run about almost wild in summer; but the last vestige of cultivation at last forsook us. The Scotch firs became smaller and more scanty, and the birches became more frequent; and as we lay down at mid-day on the banks of a small lake we found ourselves beyond the region of firs. This lake, Gurjajaure, was actually 898 English feet above the sea, and consequently above the height which the observations on Skaane Vara had given as the boundary of their growth. Our ascent became now less rapid; the vallies began to widen; and the mountains to become marshy levels. On the long extended rockless mountains the birch bushes grew scantily and dwarfish, their growth being probably prevented by the storms; the ground was also less covered than usual with rein deer moss. All nature was here bare and dismal. Several leagues farther, towards the south-west, at the termination of these dreary levels, the northern ocean suddenly appeared in the distance, for the last time, like a

ray of light, piercing through the darkness. I never saw it again. It was a part of Ress Bottn to the right of the source of the Alten stream above the valley of Alten. We now descended a flat and broad valley, and prepared our night quarters on a sort of island in the Carajock, a small stream, which appears to be of some importance in spring, but which was then almost dry. It probably unites in its course to the eastwards with the Aiby Elv which is laid down on the maps, before it flows into the stream of Alten. We durst not have ventured much farther if we wished to avail ourselves of birches for our nightly fire. The small birches became visibly shrivelled, and were thinly scattered over the plain, so that it was evident, without the protection of vallies and cliffs, they could not have possibly stood. Our island in the Carajock was 1,531 English feet above the sea. We might have ascended about 19 or 20 English miles beyond the wood; we travelled but slowly; for a rein-deer is like a gazelle, destined by nature to run and not to carry. Notwithstanding a horse could, with the greatest ease, have carried more than double of the load with which these animals were burdened, they became fatigued however in a very short time, and we were obliged to halt, and allow them time to recruit their strength with the moss, which they greedily devoured. During the night we tied them with a long thong to some bush or piece of rock, round which the ground was thickly covered with excellent moss. They slept or lay very little, but continued to eat the whole night through.

“ On the following morning, the 5th, we ascended an entirely flat, parched,

parched, and dismal valley for about five English miles, till we reached the height of Nuppi Vara, which is, according to the barometer, 2,655 English feet above the sea. This was the greatest height of this table-land; for we commanded from it a prospect of many leagues in every direction. The snowy chain of Lyngen appeared again in a long range towards the Fiord, notwithstanding it was at least 46 English miles distant; and we could now see very distinctly how these cones became lower and flatter where the Fiord terminates, and the chain continues to run along the main-land. The Fiord is a fosse (graben); the chain the wall above it. At the foot of Nuppi Vara a long marshy level runs towards Quaenangerfiord, containing a number of small marshy lakes, a desert and dreary prospect. Every thing is here solitary and dismal. The snow had long disappeared; but nature still remained dead and torpid. The dwarf birch (*betula mana*), the true companion of these mountains, could only support itself here with weak and powerless branches; the mountain brambles (*rubus chamaemorus*) in vain endeavoured to put forth fruit: they could only bear leaves; and here and there could alone be seen a spring-flower endeavouring, with great difficulty, to blow in harvest. A few solitary bushes of mountain willow seem to make their appearance here, more in defiance of the inhospitable climate than as a covering to the earth.

“ The barking of dogs below announced the vicinity of a herd and the hut of a Lapland family. We made all the haste we could towards it; for the rising storm and rain from the south-west se-

riously admonished us to seek shelter for the night. - We soon found the hut or gamme at the foot of the hill, and on the bank of the Great Marsh. They received us, but not in a friendly manner. The Laplanders are not Arabs. Where the spruce and Scotch firs, and where birches will not succeed, the nature of man seems equally defective. He sinks in the struggle with necessity and the climate. The finer feelings of the Laplanders are to be developed by brandy; and, as in eastern countries, a visit is announced by presents, the glass alone here softens their hostile dispositions. Then, indeed, the first place in the bottom of the tent, opposite to the narrow door, is conceded to the stranger. We lie in the circumference of a room containing at most eight feet in diameter; the fire or smoke of the hearth in the middle prevents the draft from the door: and hence this back space is the place of the master or mistress of the herd. The children sit next them, and the servants next to the door. When a stranger demands entrance he is commanded by Lapland politeness to keep himself on his legs in the inside of the door, and sometimes even before a half-opened door. The master of the house then asks him the cause of his arrival, and also the news of the country; and if he is pleased with the account, he at last invites the stranger to approach nearer. He then becomes a member of the family; a place in the house is allotted to him, and he is entertained with rein-deer milk and flesh. The Arab invites into his hut, and asks no questions.

“ It was well for us that we passed this night under a roof. The storm raged furiously, and the rain struck

struck like sand against the roof of the gamme. It was not a little wonderful that the feeble hut could withstand such a hurricane. It is built of stakes, which are united together in the middle in form of a cone. Several other cross stakes hold them together below. Over the frame there is nothing spread but a piece of coarse linen, generally sail-cloth, in such a manner, however, that a quadrangular opening at the top remains uncovered for the smoke to issue out of. A great part of this covering lies also loose on the ground, and serves to protect their milk and other household concerns against wind and weather, and to cover over their stores; and then these articles, and the covering over them, form altogether a sort of mound, which prevents the entrance and draft of the external air into the gamme from beneath. Another large and loose piece of sail-cloth is drawn round this outward covering on the side from whence the wind blows. This side is therefore always protected with a double covering. The inside seat consists of soft rein-deer skins and white woollen covers. The quality of this skin and cover also determines here the rank of the place and the person who is to occupy it. This is certainly a slight habitation; and it is almost inconceivable how a large and frequently numerous family can find room in such a narrow space for many months together. But all the members of the family are seldom assembled together at the same time; the herd of rein-deer demands their presence and their attention even during the night, and such stormy and dreadful nights as the one we passed here in Nuppihy. Men and boys, wives and daughters, take the

post of watching by turns twice or thrice a-day; and each goes out with several dogs, which belong in property to that individual, whose commands alone they will obey. The former guards in the mean while their return with their hungry dogs. Hence it not unfrequently happens that eight or twelve dogs march over the heads of the persons sleeping in the gamme in quest of comfortable spots for themselves to rest in. They certainly stand in need of rest, for all the time they are out with their master, watching the flock, they are in continual motion. The welfare and the security of the flock rests wholly on them. By them alone are they kept together in their destined situation, or, when necessary, driven to others. The wolves, the dreadful enemies of the Laplanders, are by them driven away from the rein-deers. The timid animal runs frightened up and down the wilderness when the wolf approaches; the dogs then by their barking and snarling keep the flock together, and by this means the wolf will not easily venture an attack. If the rein-deer is to the Laplander what his field is to the husbandman, the dog is to the Laplander what the plough is to the other. When he returns wearied to his gamme, he always willingly shares his rein-deer flesh and his soup with his dog, which he will hardly do with either father or mother.

“It is an unusual, a new, and a pleasing spectacle to see, in the evening, the herd assembled round the gamme to be milked. On all the hills around, every thing is in an instant full of life and motion. The busy dogs are every where barking, and bringing the mass nearer and nearer; and the rein-deer

deer bound and run, stand still, and bound again in an indescribable variety of movements. When the feeding animal, frightened by the dog, raises his head and displays aloft his large and proud antlers, what a beautiful and majestic sight! And when he courses over the ground, how fleet and light are his movements! We never hear the foot on the earth, and nothing but the incessant crackling of his knee-joints, as if produced by a repetition of electric shocks: a singular noise, and from the number of reindeer by whom it is at once produced, it is heard at a great distance. When all the three or four hundred at last reach the gamme, they stand still, or repose themselves, or frisk about in confidence among one another, play with their antlers against each other, or in groups surround a patch of moss. When the maids run about with their milk vessels from deer to deer, the brother or servant throws a bark halter round the antlers of the animal which she points out to them, and draws it towards her: the animal struggles, and is unwilling to follow the halter, and the maid laughs at and enjoys the great labour of her brother, and wantonly allows it to get loose that he may again catch it for her. The father and mother have quietly brought their's together, and filled many a vessel, and now begin to scold them for their wanton behaviour, which has scared the whole flock. Who would not then think on Laban, on Leah, Rachel, and Jacob? When the herd at last stretches itself to the number of so many hundreds at once, round about the gamme, we imagine we are beholding a whole encampment, and the com-

manding mind, which presides over the whole, in the middle.

" They were already returning from their summer pasturage on the high mountains along the sea, to the woods which surround the church of Kautokejno. Numbers had already gone before them, and numbers were still to follow. They descend, in fact, always more and more from the mountains the farther they advance into the country; for towards the interior there are no longer any ranges of mountains, and mountains are visible only above the Fiords: the highest are precisely where they are straightened between two Fiords. The view from Nuppi Vara, towards the south, stretches therefore over an endless level, on which Sallivara, Dasko-Vara, Stora-Lipza, &c. seem more like hills than mountains. On the other hand, towards Talvig, and above Kaafiord, the whole mass of mountains suddenly rose, covered with furze for the whole length of their course, as if mountains first began there. The rein-deer feed there in summer at a height of between two thousand and two thousand eight hundred Paris feet, and one thousand six hundred feet above the sea. The winter gammes of the Laplanders at Kautokejno are not above seven hundred feet above the sea. That the Laplanders, the nearer they approach to the sea, should also be obliged to drive their flocks higher up the mountains, is a singular peculiarity of these mountains.

" We left Nuppibye on the evening of the 5th, and reached, about mid-day, the border of the long and narrow Zjolmijaure, and the gamme on the brink of the lake. It was between four and five English

H

miles

miles from the gamme below Nupivara. The herd belonged to Mathes Sara, my guide, who was to exchange the exhausted rein-deer with fresh ones at this place. The herd, however, was at a great distance, and could not be expected before the evening. We entered the gamme. The grown-up son was within, but he did not rise up or welcome us, and nobody would have suspected that he had not seen his father for a number of days. Distrust had completely blinded him. In the evening he went out to the herd with the younger brother, and the daughters returned. Why did not the herd also come? Why were they not to be milked at the gamme as usual?—The women thought the distance too great, and it would be too difficult to drive them to the gamme that day. The son took the rein-deer that had been employed on the journey along with him, but he did not send back fresh ones. The night passed away. In the morning still there were no rein-deer. 'I must seek them myself,' said Mathes Sara. The women told him the place where the herd was feeding. He ran about the whole day, and returned breathless and worn out with fatigue in the evening, without having seen a single rein-deer. His wife and children had given him a false direction, and while he was seeking the herd in one quarter, it was driven to one directly the contrary way. It did not come home this evening any more than the former, and was nowhere to be seen in the neighbourhood of the gamme. Still less appeared the rein-deer which were stipulated for on the following morning. The will of Mathes, it seems, was not the will of his family. They

did not hold the stranger in sufficient estimation to consent to let him have rein-deer for the prosecution of his journey; and the bargain with the master of the house had no power over them. Mathes's exhortations and his threats were equally powerless. Certainly there was here no patriarchal authority of the father over his children: to cause the father purposely to wander among the desert mountains, and in the wilderness, was no display of submissive respect. But what breaks through all the resolutions of the Laplanders brought us at last also the rein-deer which we were in such anxious expectation of. The mother could not withstand the impression of the brandy. She was moved by a feeling of gratitude, whispered a word in the ear of her daughter when she returned home late in the evening, and in a few minutes the electric-like crackling of the cattle, and the barking of the dogs, announced the anxiously expected arrival of the herd. And yet we had in vain two whole days been seeking for them. Here the mother evidently had the management of matters; it was the same thing also in Nuppibye, where the feminine authority might be styled, perhaps, more hard and severe, for the movements of the mistress of the house there were by no means of a mild and gracious nature. The wife of Torbern Kaafiard, my other Laplander, who was daughter of Michel Sara, had also a decisive power over him. Yet how necessary it is to observe a foreign nation long and attentively before venturing to pronounce respecting its manners and customs. The internal state and condition of these families could hardly bear an application to the

the whole community. For how is it possible to separate the idea of a patriarchal authority of the father from that of a nation of Nomades?

“ Zjolmijaure lies nearly 2,236 English feet above the level of the sea: its naked banks still bear no trace of birches. The Laplander can procure no firing except the dwarf birch (*Betula nana*), or mountain willow, both of which, it is true, grow very well here as shrubs of the height of two or three feet. They run along the banks of the small streams, and wherever they can find any moisture; and a small stream is frequently wholly concealed by them. We can scarcely, however, warm ourselves at a fire made of such materials: the leaves alone give out a flame; the moist wood goes off in such thick clouds of smoke, that even the Laplanders themselves rush out of their gamme to draw fresh breath. This prevents the people from residing here in the winter. They are compelled to return to the woods. Even on the mountains above Talvig, and above Langfiord, where the dwarf birches almost entirely disappear, the Laplanders have frequently an insufficiency of wood to cook their flesh and their broth, and on that account the gamme is then often at a great distance from the place where the flocks are feeding. The summer on such heights cannot be of long duration; it is as if we were living above the cloister of the Great Bernhard. We never again experienced a fine day on this range of mountains. On the 6th of September there was a violent storm in the night from the north-west. In the morning, not only the mountains, but the plains along the lake were covered with snow. It is true it did not remain along the banks,

but on the height it was seen the whole of that and the following day. The sun could now no longer draw out flowers and herbs.

“ We first put ourselves again in motion about mid-day of the 8th. The fog lay deep, and the thermometer stood at only four degrees and a half of Fahrenheit, above the freezing point. Mathes was of opinion that there was some risk in venturing ourselves in such weather through these wastes; for the fog prevents the view of the distant hills, which are the guides through the country, and traces of paths on the ground are nowhere to be found. But it succeeded. The fog ascended about 200 feet, and allowed us just a sufficiency of prospect to enable us not to lose the proper direction. We went between four and five miles down the banks of the lake. There we found the gamme of the rich Aslack Niels Sombals. He received us in a friendly manner, introduced us himself into the gamme, put the kettle on the fire, and cooked a rich and abundant supply of rein-deer flesh for Mathes. He mixed milk and meal with the broth of the flesh, and handed it to Mathes. The daughter brought me some milk, which she had brought from the distant flock in a tin flask, and she insisted with friendly earnestness that I should completely empty it. Without a doubt, the nature of Laplanders varies as well as that of other beings. Why should kindness and benevolence be strangers to this people alone?

Mathes conducted me through a lateral valley down towards the lake of Zjarajaure, which was narrowly confined between the steep clay-slate rocks. It seems it abounds in fish, which are not only caught by the Laplanders, but also very much

by the Finns of Kautokejno. They remain for several weeks in summer in a gamme not far from the outlet of the lake, catch the fish, dry it, and return with it to Kautokejno, where it serves them for a winter store. The high and bare rocks by the side of it give an indescribable dreary and dismal character to the water. They at last prevented us from following its banks; and we were obliged to ascend a height of about three hundred feet to the westward. Here we saw ourselves in an instant surrounded with rein-deer. As far as the eye could reach all was in motion, and far and near the barking of dogs was incessantly heard. 'That is the herd of Aslack Niels Sara, my brother's son,' said Mathes, with a tone of self-complacency. 'He is a rich man: he possesses well on for

a thousand deer. He has every day rein-deer flesh, and he possesses clothes in superfluity. We must pass the night in his gamme, for we can no where be better off.' When we got to the gamme, Niels came out. 'My dear Mathes,' said he, 'I cannot receive you. A few hours ago two Lapland strangers arrived here, who have taken up all my spare room.' So we were obliged to go on. After we had been half an hour on our way, Mathes said to me, with a tone that indicated the state of his feelings: 'It was not well done in Niels to refuse us a place in his gamme.' 'But how could he help it, when all his spare room was already taken up by strangers?' 'It is all very well,' answered he with keenness; 'but where there is room in the heart it is soon found in the gamme.'"

DESCRIPTION OF GOTTENBURG.

[From Dr. *Thompson's Travels in Sweden.*]

“OUR vessel anchored at Mastugat, a village about a mile south from Gottenburg, and a kind of suburb. We were going ashore without any formality, when we were told by our captain that the laws of Sweden did not permit any passenger to land till the vessel had been visited by the custom-house officers; non-compliance with this condition, we were told, was punished by a fine of 300 rix-dollars. In consequence of this information, we thought ourselves obliged to remain aboard the vessel. The custom-house officers at last made their appearance at four o'clock, and after a slight inspection of our portman-

teaus, and receiving a little money, we were permitted to go ashore. We found afterwards that there was no necessity for staying aboard as we did; that deviations from the strict letter of the law were common, and that with regard to foreigners it was usually winked at, or easily made up by a little address.

“We prevailed upon the captain to row us up to town in the ship's boat. There is a canal which runs through the middle of the principal street in Gottenburg. When we came to the extremity of this canal, opposite to the governor's house, where the town began, a custom-house officer perceived us and our boat

boat. He bawled out lustily, and made signs to us, in a threatening manner, to bring our boat to the margin of the canal. His whole manner indicated a confident expectation of a lucrative prize. When we opened our portmanteaus, in consequence of his orders, and when he saw that they contained no contraband goods of any kind, but merely a few books and clothes, he slunk away very much disconcerted, and allowed us to proceed. When the boat had rowed as far as the middle of the street, we went ashore to look for an inn. Our surprise was not small, and our disappointment extreme, when we traversed the whole city from one end to the other without meeting with any house that had the least appearance of an inn or a hotel. As we were unacquainted with the language; and therefore had no means of making inquiry, we were utterly at a loss what to do.

“ Luckily we met our captain, who carried us to his broker, a gentleman who understood English: by him we were informed that Gottenburg contained no inns, but that there were two hotels at the east end of the main street, where we might perhaps find lodging and breakfast, but that they would not provide us with dinner. He told us likewise that the concourse of strangers at Gottenburg was always so great that these two houses were usually overflowing with lodgers. He immediately carried us to what he called the best of these houses, and we found to our mortification that they had not a single empty room. In the other, however, kept by a Swede, of the name of Blum, we got a couple of rooms, and began to feel ourselves pretty comfortable after the fatigues of our voyage.

“ This total want of inns in a place like Gottenburg, which is at present a great thoroughfare, being the channel of communication of Great Britain and the continent, is quite unaccountable. There are indeed at Mastuget two houses kept by natives of Great Britain, a Mr. Tod and a Mrs. Ribbens, which are the great rendezvous of the captains of British merchantmen. But they are little better than ale-houses, and so crowded that you might as well attempt to lodge in the middle of Bartholomew fair. If any Englishman properly qualified for the purpose were to set up a good inn at Gottenburg, he would be certain of making a fortune in a few years. He ought to have an English, German, French, and Swedish waiter, and he ought himself to be so far acquainted with all these languages, as to be able to understand the orders of his guests. Were he to establish a stage coach between Gottenburg and Stockholm, running twice or thrice a week, it would be an additional source of emolument, and would contribute much to the convenience of his guests. It would not be necessary to have all the horses requisite for such a conveyance in his own possession. In a country, where there is no chance of rivalry in such undertakings, the common post horses of the country would answer. It would be requisite only to settle at the different post houses the time when the horses would be required, and to keep exactly to that time. A very small capital would be required to commence such an establishment; and if it were rightly managed, nothing could turn out more profitable.

“ Gottenburg is entitled to the name of a magnificent city. It consists

sists of a long wide street called *Stora Hamna Gatan* (Great Harbour street.) The houses on each side of this street are three stories high, built of stone or brick, and covered with white plaster. The windows are large, and all of them are folding windows after the French fashion. No sashes are to be seen in Sweden. The roofs are mostly flat and concealed. The houses are all large, and some of them are decorated with pillars. Along the middle of this street runs a canal, which is crossed at certain places by wooden bridges. There are two of these bridges which are built for the convenience of carriages, and are decorated with wooden figures of lions and men in armour. The other bridges are only for foot passengers. This principal street is crossed at right angles by three or four other streets, through some of which the canal also runs. The principal of these are distinguished by the names of *Nord Hamna Gatan*, and *Soedra Hamna Gatan* (North Harbour-street, and South Harbour-street). Parallel to *Stora Hamna Gatan*, both on the north and south, there run other streets which are much narrower and not nearly so magnificent. Towards the west end of the town, there is a hill about 100 feet in height, up which some streets run. On the east side there is a marsh which must be very disagreeable in summer, though it may have its conveniences in winter. The streets are all paved with round stones; but there is no foot-path for passengers either in Gottenburg or in any other town in Sweden. Indeed the scarcity of flag-stones in that country is a sufficient apology for this omission. In a church at present building in Gottenburg, and

which will be a very magnificent one, the stones for the pillars, and other ornamental parts, and indeed for the whole front, have been brought from Scotland at a very considerable expense.

"Gottenburg having been twice burnt down within these ten years, a law has been passed prohibiting the building of any more wooden houses. This law has contributed considerably to the embellishment of the city. Gottenburg is the seat of a Swedish bishop. The town contains two Swedish churches and a German church, and formerly it contained an English church. I do not know whether it exists at present.

"Gottenburg is perhaps the most thriving town in Sweden, owing in a great measure to the present state of communication between Great Britain and the continent. It serves as a kind of intermediate link, and of course has become a depot of British and continental goods. Great profits have resulted to the Gottenburg merchants, and the wealth which they have acquired is sufficiently apparent in their mode of living.

"In the year 1791, I am told, the population of Gottenburg was about 15,000. In 1804 it was 17,760, in 1811 it was 24,858. This is not equal to the rate of the increase of some towns in Britain, during the same period, as London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and some others; but it is nevertheless very considerable. As very correct registers of births and deaths are kept in Sweden, the population is known with more accuracy than in most other countries. I was at some pains to procure these documents all over the country, and therefore have it my power to state

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the population of all the Swedish towns, and of the whole kingdom, with considerable accuracy.

“Gottenburg lies upon the banks of the Gotha, which I conceive to be the largest river in Sweden. It comes from the lake Wennern, at the distance of about 50 English miles north. About ten miles from Gottenburg it divides into three branches, two of which speedily unite, inclosing a rock upon which stands an old fort called Bohus, intended to defend the city from the incursions of the Norwegians. The two branches of the Gotha, inclose a pretty large island called Hisingen, and fall separately into the sea. Gottenburg lies upon the most easterly of these branches.

“This city cannot boast of any great antiquity. Gustavus Vasa built a town called Lodese, and endowed it with such privileges as soon rendered it the great emporium of the north. Charles IX. when Duke of Gothland, in 1604, laid the foundation of a new town in the island of Hisingen, at no great distance from Lodese, and called it Gottenburg out of compliment to his dutchy. When he mounted the throne he granted this place many privileges, established in it a trading company, and placed there a number of British troops. He granted to the Calvinists the free exercise of their religion, and rendered his new town, next to Stockholm, the most flourishing in the kingdom. Being burnt by the Danes in 1611, it was rebuilt by Gustavus Adolphus, on its present site; and its privileges being confirmed and enlarged, it soon recovered its former thriving state.

“Gottenburg is regularly fortified with a ditch and wall; but is not in a state to make any resistance.

When the Danes suddenly attacked the Swedes in 1788, under the pretence of assisting their allies the Russians, with whom Gustavus III. was at war, they marched suddenly towards this city. Gustavus III. was at that time in a state of great distress. He had gone to Dalecarlia to solicit the assistance of the warlike peasants of that country, and having mounted the stone from which Gustavus Vasa had addressed them, harangued them with such effect, that they agreed to march in a body against the Russians. Hearing of the march of the Danes, he hastened with the utmost rapidity to Gottenburg, and animated the inhabitants to defend their city. The Danes had taken possession of the fort of Bohus and summoned the Gottenburghers to surrender. They were not a little surprised when they understood that the king was present in person, and that he meant to defend the place to the last extremity. Fortunately Mr. Elliot, the British ambassador at the court of Denmark, prevailed on him to accept the mediation of Britain, Prussia, and Holland, and succeeded in stopping the career of the Danes.

“The principal merchants in Gottenburg are Scotchmen. In consequence of letters of introduction which we carried to several of them, we experienced from that liberal and respectable body a profusion of kindness and politeness which it was impossible to surpass, and which it would be very difficult to equal. The want of inns, and our ignorance of the Swedish language, would have made it very difficult for us to have procured dinner while we stayed at Gottenburg, but this difficulty was obviated by the merchants, with one or
other

other of whom we dined every day during our stay in that city. The entertainments which they gave were in the Swedish style, and possessed a degree of splendour at which I was not a little surprised. As the mode of dining in Sweden is very different from the mode followed in Great Britain, I shall give a general description of a dinner, that my readers may form some notion to themselves of the customs of that country.

“The houses in Sweden are fitted up with great magnificence. The public rooms are usually on the first floor, and vary from three to seven or more, according to the size of the house and the wealth of its master. These rooms always open into each other, and constitute a very elegant suite of apartments. The furniture though very handsome is not similar to ours. You seldom see mahogany chairs; they are usually of birch or of some other wood painted. As the table cloth is never removed they have no occasion for our fine mahogany tables, and as the dishes are brought in one by one, and the dessert and wine put upon the table before the company sit down, they have but little occasion for a side-board. Accordingly, except in the house of Mr. Lorent, who had a very splendid side-board made in London, I do not recollect to have seen one in Sweden, even in the houses of men of the first rank. The rooms are not provided with bells. This I am told is owing to the extreme cheapness of servants in Sweden, which enabled every person to keep such a number as rendered bells unnecessary. This reason, which I do not consider as a very good one, exists not at present, for since the loss of Finland the wages of servants have

considerably increased. Bells, therefore, might now be introduced with the greatest propriety; and to a foreigner, from Britain at least, they would constitute a great convenience. I have sometimes been obliged to go three times to the kitchen during the course of my breakfast to ask for things that had been neglected or forgotten by the servants.

“The Swedes are fond of great parties. I have more than once sat down to table with nearly 50 people in a private house. The hour of dinner is two o’clock. After the company are assembled they are shown into a room adjoining the dining-room. In the middle of this room there is a round table covered with a table-cloth, upon which are placed bread, cheese, butter, and corn-brandy. Every person eats a morsel of bread and cheese and butter, and drinks a dram of brandy, by way of exciting the appetite for dinner. There are usually two kinds of bread; namely, wheat-bread baked into a kind of small rolls, for I never saw any loaves in Sweden; and rye, which is usually baked in thin cakes, and is known in Sweden by the name of *nickebroed*. It is very palatable but requires good teeth to chew it.

“After this whet, the company are shown into the dining room, and take their seats round the table. The first dish brought in is *salmagundy*, salt fish, a mixture of salmon and rice, sausages, or some such strong seasoned article, to give an additional whet to the appetite. It is handed round the table, and every person helps himself in succession to as much of it as he chooses. The next dish is commonly roasted or stewed mutton, with bacon ham. These articles

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are carved by some individual at table, most commonly the master of the house, and the carved pieces being heaped upon a plate are carried round the company like the first dish. The Swedes like the French eat of every thing that is presented at table. The third dish is usually soup, then fowls, then fish (generally salmon, pike, or streamlings), then pudding, then the dessert, which consists of a great profusion of sweet-meats, in the preparation of which the inhabitants of Gottenburg excel. Each of these dishes is handed about in succession. The vegetables, consisting of potatoes, carrots, turnips, cauliflowers, greens, &c. are handed about in the same way. During the whole time of dinner a great deal of wine is drank by the company. The wines are claret, port, sherry, and madeira. What they call Claret at Gottenburg does not seem to be Bourdeaux wine. It is a French wine with a taste intermediate between claret and port. At Stockholm I drank occasionally true claret; but scarcely in any other part of Sweden. As all the wine used in Sweden is imported from Great Britain, our wine merchants can probably explain this circumstance though I cannot.

“The Swedes employ the same articles for seasoning their food as we do, salt, pepper, mustard, vinegar, &c. I was struck with one peculiarity which I had never seen before: they always mix together mustard and sugar: I had the curiosity to try this mixture, and found it not bad. The dinner usually lasts about two hours. On a signal given the company all rise together, bow with much solemnity towards the table, or rather towards each other, and then adjourn into the

drawing-room. Here a cup of coffee is served up immediately to every individual. It is but doing the Swedes justice to say that their coffee is excellent, greatly preferable to what is usually drunk in England. This is the more remarkable because the Swedes import all their coffee from Britain: its quality, therefore, is not different from that of our own, and its superiority owing solely to their understanding better how to make it. You can get coffee in the meanest peasant's house, and it is always excellent. It is usually about five o'clock when coffee is over. The company separate at this time, either going home to their own houses, or sauntering about in the fields if the weather be good.

“They collect again in the drawing room about half past six to drink tea. Swedish tea is just as bad as their coffee is good. If an epicure could transport himself in a moment from one place to another, he would always drink his coffee in Sweden, and his tea in England. The Swedish tea is so weak, that happening one evening to sit by the lady who was pouring it out, it struck me that she had accidentally forgot to put in any tea, and was pouring out nothing but hot water; I took the liberty to notice this mistake, in order as I thought to prevent the lady, when the tea should be handed round, from being put out of countenance by the detection of the oversight. My blunder occasioned much mirth, and the company no doubt set me down as a person very little acquainted with tea. It is not the quality of the tea that is bad, but the quantity employed is so small that you do not perceive the taste of it in the water. So that in fact you are drinking in reality,

reality, hot water, sugar, and cream. The Swedish cream, to do them justice, is excellent. Though I have met with some Englishmen accustomed to the London cream who complain of it as too thick.

“ After tea the company usually sit down to cards: supper is served up about nine, and the party separate for the evening between eleven and twelve. In some houses, the interval between tea and supper was filled up by music. The Swedish instrument is a kind of harpsicord, not equal in its tones to our piano-forte. The music played is always Italian, and some of the ladies usually accompany the instrument with their voice. I could not find out that the Swedes had any peculiar music of their own; at least I could not succeed in Stockholm in procuring any specimens of it. All the music exposed for sale was Italian.

“ There is no money at present in circulation in Sweden; not even silver or copper. The only currency is paper, and as the notes are of very different value, they occasion considerable embarrassment to strangers. On that account it may be proper to explain them here; as it was at Gottenburg that we were supplied with such notes, and obliged to make ourselves acquainted with their value. There are two kinds of paper in Sweden: bank paper and government paper. The name of the notes issued by both is the same, but they are distinguished from each other by the word *banco* being added to the first, and *rickschels* to the second: they are of very different value. The government paper has suffered a depreciation of 50 per cent; but the bank paper continues at par. The bank of Stockholm was established about

the year 1688 by Charles XI.; and though it has undergone several fluctuations in consequence of various encroachments of the crown, it has upon the whole maintained its credit. It has been customary for many years in Sweden to suspend the cash payments of the bank whenever the state of their affairs render it necessary. This is the case at present. The bank issues no gold nor silver, but if you present a small note, you may have its value in copper money. Besides the national bank, there are several private banks, at least in Gottenburg, and their notes bear the same value as bank of Stockholm paper.

“ The calculations are all made by means of government paper, so that when you pay in bank paper, or in copper, your payments go for one-third more than their denomination.

“ The money in Sweden is rix-dollars, dollars, skillings (pronounced shillings), stivers, and runsticks. The following is the relative value of these denominations:

12 runsticks make. . . 1 skilling.

4 stivers. 1 skilling.

8 skillings 1 dollar.

48 skillings or 6 dol. 1 rix-dollar.

“ A skilling, according to the present rate of exchange, is as nearly as possible equivalent to an English halfpenny, and a rix-dollar to two shillings; but what was formerly called a copper skilling (and which is still so marked upon the coin) goes for a skilling and a half, or is equal in value to three-farthings. The bank notes are of the following kinds:

	s.	d.
8 skillings equivalent to 0	6	sterl.
12 skillings.	0	9
24 skillings.	1	6
1 rix-dollar.	3	0

2 rix-

2 rix-dollars 6 0

3 rix dollars 9 0

And so on up to 30 rix-dollars, or 4*l.* 10*s.* sterling, which is the largest note I met with, though there may be notes much higher. The government paper is now scarce. The only notes of it that I saw were the following :

s. d.

16 skillings equivalent to 0 8 sterl.
and called a plote.

32 skillings 1 4

1 rix-dollar 2 0

2 rix-dollars 4 0

“ In Denmark, at present there is nothing but paper currency, as in Sweden, and their paper has been so much depreciated that their lowest notes of eight skillings Danish are only equivalent to a halfpenny sterling. These facts serve to throw some light upon the depreciation of our paper currency, a question which has been canvassed of late with so much keenness.]

“ The gentleman at Gottenburg, who appears at present to live with the greatest splendour is Mr. Lorent, originally a Hamburgh merchant. He afterwards settled in Copenhagen as a sugar-baker. When Copenhagen was bombarded by the British, his house happened to be the only one in the row that was not burnt down. On this account solely he was accused of being in the English interest, and obliged to leave Copenhagen. He settled first in London, and afterwards went to Gottenburg. Here he established a sugar-refinery, and seems to have realized a great deal of money. What appears very singular, considering the size of the town, he is not able to procure in Gottenburg a sufficient quantity of blood for his purpose; but is obliged to import it at considerable expence from Eng-

land. Any new mode of purifying sugar would therefore be to him of the utmost consequence. He is at present setting up a porter-brewery in Gottenburg. The Swedes are very fond of this liquor, and always drink it at their entertainments, though it is not much cheaper than claret wine: we were charged for it about half-a-crown per bottle in the inns or taverns where we lodged. The whole of it is imported from London, and it pays a high duty when landed in Sweden. So that if Mr. Lorent succeeds in brewing a tolerable porter at Gottenburg, it will be conferring a very great favour upon Sweden; though it may at first deprive the Swedish government of part of its revenue. Mr. Lorent lives at a place he lately purchased, about four English miles from Gottenburg; the place is surrounded with wood, and therefore pretty. He has a large garden under the charge of Mr. Ferguson, a Scotchman, from the neighbourhood of Drummond Castle, in Perthshire, who is introducing the British style of gardening. He praised the goodness of the soil very much, but blamed, as is usual with foreigners, the mode of gardening practised by the Swedes. I saw considerable plantations of Scotch fir, which had been imported from Edinburgh. Mr. Lorent employs also Mr. Hornblower, known for his patent steam-engine. His patent was broke in consequence of a prosecution on the part of Mr. Watt. Mr. Lorent brought over likewise several workmen from England; but they proved so unruly that he was obliged to send them home again.

“ I have been thus particular in my account of Mr. Lorent, because I lay under greater obligations to him

him than to any man in Gottenburg. He introduced me to Count Rosen, the Governor of Gottenburg, who was of essential service to me. He introduced me likewise to Mr. Smith, the British Consul at Gottenburgh, one of the most agreeable and friendly men I ever met with. To him I am indebted for my introduction to the professors at Upsala, and to the mine of Danemora. Mr. Lorent likewise gave me letters of introduction to the principal literary characters of Stockholm, and by that means opened my way to every thing worth seeing in that capital. In short, he was indefatigable in his endeavours to be of service. I may say, without any risk of contradiction, that he was the most polite and obliging man I ever met with.

“The other persons in Gottenburg, to whom I lay under the greatest obligations, were Dr. Lampert, originally from London, but settled as a physician in Gottenburg. It was he that introduced me to Mr. Lorent—no small obligation. By his means I was introduced to the whole medical faculty of Gottenburg, in number about twelve, with whom I had the honour of dining twice, once in the house of Dr. Schultz, an old Librarian of Sir Joseph Banks, and once in the house of Dr. Dubb, Fellow of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Stockholm, at the head of his profession at Gottenburg, and one of the most eminent physicians in Sweden. I was surprised to find the utmost cordiality reigning among these medical men, and nothing of that jealousy, envy, and rivalry so conspicuous among the medical men in most of the towns of Great Britain. Dr. Lampert likewise introduced me to Dr. Eckman, who had

travelled over most parts of Europe, and had a considerable collection of minerals, which he had made during his travels. This collection was not so interesting to me as some others that I saw afterwards, for the very reason that would make it more valuable in the eyes of a Swede. It consisted chiefly of foreign minerals, many of them English, and contained few or no Swedish. My principal object being to see the minerals peculiar to Sweden, I only looked over Dr. Eckman's slightly.

“Next to Dr. Lampert, I must rank Mr. Kennedy, a merchant originally from Edinburgh, but long settled in Gottenburg. He carried me out to his country house, about an English mile from town; I was much pleased with the style of his garden, and with the abundance of fruit which it contained. Among others was the Astracan apple, which when ripe is so transparent that you can count the cells containing the seeds. Mr. Kennedy was married to a Swedish lady, one of the most amiable and accomplished women that I met with during the whole of my tour. After Mr. Kennedy come Messrs. Barclay and Eisher, likewise two Scotch merchants, and Messrs. Dicksons, two brothers, settled for some time at Gottenburg. I ought also to mention Mr. James Sinclair, a clerk in the house of Mr. Kennedy, to whom I was indebted for my introduction to Mr. Kennedy, and for other favours.

“The prosperity of Gottenburg formerly very much depended upon the herring-fishery, which was carried on in the neighbourhood to a great extent; but for some years past the herrings have left the Swedish coast, so that the fishery has sunk to nothing. The food of the herring

herring appears to be a small species of crab. Hence their frequenting or leaving a coast must depend upon the abundance or scarcity of this minute animal. It would possibly be practicable to propagate the breed of this creature in any particular place, and thus the annual visit of the herrings might perhaps be secured.

“ In travelling through Sweden, it is necessary to be provided with a passport from the governor of the province where you first happen to land. This passport was easily procured from Count Rosen. All that was requisite was to pay some small fees, amounting altogether to about six shillings sterling.

“ As there are no public vehicles in Sweden, there is no other means of travelling but by purchasing a carriage. We bought a very light open one, but hardly strong enough for the purpose, for 267 rix dollars, or about twenty-seven pounds sterling. Our ignorance of the language obliged us likewise to hire a servant, to act as an interpreter. We hired a black man from North America to conduct us to Stockholm, at the rate of two rix-dollars, or four shillings sterling per day, and his victuals on the road. We found afterwards that this was below the usual rate, because he had conducted some person from Stockholm to Gottenburg, and was anxious to get back to the place of his residence. He was very obliging, but we could not help suspecting that he had gone snacks with the man from whom we had purchased our carriage. For we told him to take a coach-maker to examine it, and see whether it was stout enough for our purpose. As the wheel afterwards gave way, we had reason to believe

that he had never taken any person to inspect it.

“ Before leaving Gottenburg, it may be worth while to state a few particulars, respecting the charges made in the hotel where we lodged. These, the badness of the accommodation considered, were considerably higher than even in England. For two rooms, for four days, we paid twelve rix-dollars, twenty-four shillings sterling. Our breakfast cost us from eighteen-pence to two shillings, and the washing of a shirt came to eight pence sterling. A dozen years ago, the prices did not amount to one-fourth of the above sums. The rise has been sudden, and is still going on: it is to be ascribed to the immense concourse of people that pass through Gottenburg, and the necessity they are under of taking that route. The renewal of the intercourse between Great Britain and Russia will serve to increase this inundation of people still more. To travel by land from Gottenburg to Stockholm is so much shorter than to pass through the Sound, and so much safer during the continuance of our war with Denmark, that few persons, who consult only their ease and safety, will take any other road.

“ The country round Gottenburg is the most singular which I ever saw. It consists of low precipitous ridges of rocks, running in various directions, and quite naked. They vary from 100 feet above the level of the sea to about 300. The highest which I measured, and it was the highest I observed, was 310 feet high. These ridges are separated from each other by valleys about a mile wide. These valleys afford a tolerable soil, and are cultivated. The only crops we saw were of rice,

rice, and big (a small barley): they were nearly ripe, but in a very filthy state, being in many places almost choaked with thistles and other injurious weeds. Indeed the state of agriculture in this place is much

lower than in any other part of Sweden that I have seen.

“The rocks are all gneiss, interspersed with large beds of felspar and hornblende.”

ART OF TATTOOING, AND OTHER CUSTOMS, IN THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

[From Mr. *Langsdorff's Travels.*]

“THE most remarkable and interesting manner which the South-Sea islanders have of ornamenting their naked bodies consists in punctuation, or, as they call it, tattooing. This kind of decoration, so common among many nations of the earth, merits greater attention from travellers than it has hitherto received; and I am much surprised that the acuteness of a Forster has passed over the subject with so much indifference. It is undoubtedly very striking, that nations perfectly remote from each other, who have no means of intercourse whatever, and according to what appears to us never could have had any, should yet be all agreed in this practice.

“Among the Europeans, that is to say the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and the sailors of almost all the nations of Europe, in the Alautian islands on the north-west coast of America, in the Sandwich, Friendly, and Society islands, among the New Zealanders, and the people of Easter Island, in short, among the nations both of the northern and southern hemispheres, both of the east and of the west, in the old

and in the new world, are to be found traces of this custom; in some places more, in some less, but among all in a certain degree. It seems always done with the idea of ornament, but it is also highly probable that in the warmer zones it may have the farther view by cutting through the pores of the skin so much to diminish transpiration, and by that means supersede, in some sort, the necessity of anointing the body.

“Among all the known nations of the earth, none have carried the art of tattooing to so high a degree of perfection as the inhabitants of Washington's Islands. The regular designs with which the bodies of the men of Nukahiwa are punctured from head to foot supplies in some sort the absence of clothing; for, under so warm a heaven, clothing would be insupportable to them. Many people here seek as much to obtain distinction by the symmetry and regularity with which they are tattooed, as among us by the elegant manner in which they are dressed; and although no real elevation of rank is designated by the greater superiority of these decorations,

decorations, yet as only persons of rank can afford to be at the expense attendant upon any refinement in the ornaments, it does become in fact a badge of distinction.

"The operation of tattooing is performed by certain persons, who gain their livelihood by it entirely, and I presume that those who perform it with the greatest dexterity, and evince the greatest degree of taste in the disposition of the ornaments, are as much sought after as among us a particularly good tailor. Thus much, however, must be said, that the choice made is not a matter of equal indifference with them as with us; for if the punctured garment be spoiled in the making, the mischief is irreparable, it must be worn with all its faults the whole life through.

"For performing the operation, the artist uses the wing bone of a tropic bird, *phaeton æthereus*, which is jagged and pointed at the end after the manner of a comb, sometimes in the form of a crescent, sometimes in a strait line, and larger or smaller according to the figures which the artist intends to make. This instrument is fixed into a bamboo handle about as thick as the finger, with which the puncturer, by means of another cane, strikes so gently and so dexterously, that it scarcely pierces through the skin. The principal strokes of the figures to be tattooed at first sketched upon the body with the same dye that is afterwards rubbed into the punctures, to serve as guides in the use of the instrument. The punctures being made so that the blood and lymph ooze through the orifice a black dye, composed of ashes from the kernel of the burning-nut, *leurites triloba*, mixed with water, is rubbed in. This occasions at first

a slight degree of smarting and inflammation, it then heals, and when the crust comes off, after some days the bluish, or blackish-blue, figure appears.

"As soon as the inhabitant of Nukahiwa approaches towards the age of manhood, the operation of tattooing is begun, and this is one of the most important epochs of his life. The artist is sent for, and the agreement made with him that he is to receive so many hogs as his pay; the number is commonly regulated according to the wealth of the person to be tattooed, and the quantity of decoration bestowed, is regulated by the pay. While we were at the island, a son of the chief Katanuah was to be tattooed. For this purpose, as belonging to the principal person in the island, he was put into a separate house for several weeks which was *tabooed*; that is to say, it was forbidden to every body, except those who were exempted from the *taboo* by his father, to approach the house; here he was to remain during the whole time that the operation continued. All women, even the mother, are prohibited from seeing the youth while the *taboo* remains in force. Both the operator and the operatee are fed with the very best food during the continuance of the operation: to the former these are days of great festivity. In the first year only the ground-work of the principal figures upon the breast, arms, back, and thighs is laid; and in doing this, the first punctures must be entirely healed, and the crust must have come off before new ones are made. Every single mark takes three or four days to heal; and the first *sitting*, as it may be called, commonly lasts three or four weeks.

"While the patient is going through

through the operation, he must drink very little, for fear of creating too much inflammation, and he is not allowed to eat early in the morning, only at noon and in the evening. When once the decorations are begun, some addition is constantly made to them at intervals of from three to six months, and this is not unfrequently continued for thirty or forty years before the whole tattooing is completed. We saw some old men of the higher ranks, who were punctured over and over to such a degree, that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished, and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. This is, according to the general idea, the height of perfection in ornament, probably because the cost of it has been very great, and it therefore shews a person of superlative wealth. It is singular, that the men of distinction should place their gratification in acquiring this dark hue, while the women place theirs in preserving their original fair complexion uninjured.

“ The tattooing of persons in a middling station is performed in houses erected for the purpose by the tattooers, and *tabooed* by authority. A tattooer, who visited us several times on board the ship had three of these houses, which could each receive eight or ten persons at a time: they paid for their decorations according to the greater or less quantity of them, and to the trouble the figures required. The poorer islanders, who have not a superabundance of hogs to dispose of in luxuries, but live chiefly themselves upon bread-fruit, are operated upon by novices in the art, who take them at a very low price as subjects for practice, but their works

are easily distinguishable, even by a stranger, from those of an experienced artist. The lowest class of all, the fishermen principally, but few of whom we saw, are often not able to afford even the pay required by a novice, and are therefore not tattooed at all.

“ The women of Nukahiwa are very little tattooed, differing in this respect from the females of the other South-Sea islands. The hands are punctured from the ends of the fingers to the wrist, which gives them the appearance of wearing gloves, and our glovers might very well borrow from them patterns, and introduce a new fashion among the ladies, of gloves worked *à la Washington*. The feet, which among many are tattooed, look like highly ornamented half-boots; long stripes are besides sometimes to be seen down the arms of the women, and circles round them, which have much the same effect as the bracelets worn by European ladies. Some have also their ears and lips tattooed. The women are not, like the men, shut up in a *tabooed* house while they are going through this operation: it is performed without any ceremony in their own houses, or in those of their relations; in short, wherever they please.

“ Sometimes a rich islander will, either from generosity, ostentation, or love to his wife, make a feast in honour of her, when she has a bracelet tattooed round her arm, or perhaps her ear ornamented; a hog is then killed, and the friends of both sexes are invited to partake of it, the occasion of the feast being made known to them. It is expected that the same courtesy should be returned in case of the wife of any of the guests being punctured. This is one of the few occasions when

when women are allowed to eat hog's flesh. If, in a very dry year, bread-fruit, hogs, roots, and other provisions, become scarce, any one who has still a good stock of them, which commonly happens to the chief, in order to distribute his stores, keeps open table for a certain time to an appointed number of poor artists, who are bound to give in return some strokes of the tattoo to all who choose to come for it. By virtue of a *taboo*, all these brethren are engaged to support each other, if in future some happen to be in need, while the others are in affluence. This is one of the most rational orders of freemasonry upon the globe.

“Our interpreter Cabri, who was slightly and irregularly tattooed all over his body, upon one of these occasions got a black, or rather blue eye; and Roberts, who had only a puncture on his breast, in the form of a long square, six inches one way and four the other, assured us that he would never have submitted to the operation, if he had not been constrained by the scarcity in the preceding year to become one of the guests fed by the chief Katanuah. The same person may be member of several of these societies; but, according to what we could learn, a portion must always be given to the priest or magician, as he is called, even if he be not a member. In a time of scarcity also, many of the people who have been tattooed in this way unite as an absolute troop of banditti, and share equally among each other all that they can plunder or kill.

“The figures with which the body is tattooed are chosen with great care, and appropriate ornaments are selected for the different parts. They consist partly of ani-

mals, partly of other objects which have some reference to the manners and customs of the islands; and every figure has here, as in the Friendly Islands, its particular name. Upon an accurate examination, curved lines, diamonds, and other designs, are often distinguishable between rows of punctures, which resemble very much the ornaments called *à la Grecque*. The most perfect symmetry is observed over the whole body: the head of a man is tattooed in every part; the breast is commonly ornamented with a figure resembling a shield; on the arms and thighs are stripes, sometimes broader, sometimes narrower, in such directions that these people might very well be presumed to have studied anatomy, and to be acquainted with the course and dimensions of the muscles. Upon the back is a large cross, which begins at the neck, and ends with the last vertebræ. In the front of the thigh are often figures, which seem intended to represent the human face. On each side the calf of the leg is an oval figure, which produces a very good effect. The whole, in short, displays much taste and discrimination. Some of the tenderest parts of the body, the eye-lids for example, are the only parts not tattooed.

“The clothing of these people consists of a piece of cloth round the waist, which among the men is called *tschiabu*, but among the women *terweu* or *teuweu*. The women have besides a large piece of cloth thrown over them: this is done less from modesty than to keep off the burning sun from injuring their complexions. Many of them would very gladly have given us their cloaks for a piece of iron, or a knife,

knife, if they had not been too far from their habitations, and afraid of being tanned by the sun in returning to them. A few of the men had a piece of cloth hanging partly down the back, and fastened together upon the breast or under the chin.

“The bread-fruit, which forms so essential an article of food among these people, is here, as in almost all the South-Sea islands, what corn and potatoes are in Europe, what rice is in India, and what the cassava root is in Brazil. This tree appears indigenous in these islands, and was first known to Europeans through the great English navigators, by whom the vast Archipelagoes of the South-Seas were discovered. Its importance and utility induced the English government, in 1787, to send out an expedition under the command of Captain Bligh, to carry a quantity of the plants to their West India possessions. Notwithstanding the miscarriage of their first attempt, Captain Bligh was ordered again to Otaheite for the same purpose, and in 1792, succeeded happily in transporting this precious gift of Providence to the West Indies: the plants have ever since flourished there exceedingly. The fruit, in size and form, resembles very much a cocoa-nut or a melon. The tree grows to a great height, is thick in the stem, and has a very luxuriant foliage; the leaves are much like those of the oak, but a great deal larger, growing to the length of a foot or a foot and a half. The fruit is not eaten raw, but roasted or broiled; the taste is different according to the manner in which it is dressed, but either way has a considerable similarity with that of the banana, only less sweet and not so greasy. It very much

resembles a cake made of flour, butter, egg, milk, and sugar; it has more the appearance of being a composition of flour than the banana.

“The usual manner of cooking the fruit is to make a hole in the ground, and pave it round with large smooth stones; a fire is then kindled in the middle, and as soon as the stones are thoroughly heated, the ashes are cleared away; bamboo canes and banana leaves are then laid over them, and the bread-fruit wrapped in a banana leaf laid into the oven, which is covered with leaves and hot stones. The fruit, when roasted in this way, and eaten with milk pressed from the cocoa-nut, is called *waikai*, and is esteemed very delicious. The chief of Taiohaie once brought us a present of this dish, as a specimen of the cookery of his country, and we all liked it exceedingly. Another way of dressing the bread-fruit is to take off the outward shell after it is roasted, and mix it with water, or milk of cocoa-nut, with some of the nut scraped fine; this is called *kakuh*, and is also very pleasant.

“The ripe bread-fruit will not keep good many days: in times of great abundance, therefore, it is cut into small pieces, when a hole is made in the ground about eight feet long by four broad, and five or six feet deep, which is paved with large stones, and the pieces of fruit thrown into it. A strong fermentation ensues, and forms a leaven, which will then keep for months. This food is called *popoi*. When it is mixed with water, it makes a drink which has very much the appearance and taste of buttermilk, and is extremely cooling and refreshing. There are many other ways

ways of dressing the bread-fruit, mixed with taro, with yams, with bananas, or other fruits, concerning which I could not obtain any accurate information.

“The animal food of these islanders consists in man’s and swine’s flesh, in fish and poultry. The two latter are not held of any great account; but the flesh of swine, with, alas! that of their fellow-creatures, form very essential articles in their political economy. On the birth of a child, on a wedding or a funeral, on the tattooing of a person of distinction, at any dance, festival, or other ceremony, swine are always killed in a greater or less number, according to the circumstances. They are roasted in ovens such as have been described for roasting the bread-fruit, and eaten without salt: the latter is unknown among these islanders; it is only sometimes compensated by the use of sea-water. Fish and shell-fish are not held in any esteem, and fowls are rather kept for the sake of their feathers than as an article of food.

“The want of variety in objects of animal food seems the principal reason why a variety is made by eating slaughtered enemies, and human flesh procured by other means. On account of the importance of this subject, I propose in a future chapter to be somewhat diffuse upon it. In the time of scarcity, the people are glad to eat any thing, and content themselves with rats, and different kinds of fish; among others, *medusæ*, which are not usually considered as objects of food. We did not observe here the custom common among the other South-Sea islanders, of extracting an intoxicating liquor from the pepper plant, *piper-*

latifolium, although the plant grows here, and the manner of making the liquor seemed known to them. Probably much of the beauty and good health of the men is to be ascribed to their abstaining from a beverage so extremely unwholesome.

“The habitations of the people of Nukahiwa are different in size, though resembling much in their exterior European houses of only one floor. They are commonly about twenty-five feet in length, and six or eight in breadth, with a division across the middle; the hinder wall is much higher than that in front, the former being ten or twelve feet high, the latter not above three or four. They are made with four strong posts stuck into the earth at the corners, to which are fastened horizontal poles. The sides are composed of bamboo canes of equal thickness, placed perpendicularly about half an inch from each other, and lined in the inside with leaves of the cocoa-palm, and some sorts of fern dried. The roof is covered with several layers of leaves of the bread-fruit tree, which keep out the heaviest showers of rain; the entrance is in the low wall in front. It has always appeared to me extraordinary, that not only here, but in the habitations of all uncivilized nations, the entrance should be so disproportionately low. In cold climates, inhabited by a pigmy race of men, a good reason may be assigned for it, that the smaller the opening, the more easily can the cold be kept out: but it is incomprehensible how the custom can have become universal among the large and robust inhabitants of warm climates, who must find the inconvenience of it very sensibly.

“The best houses are built upon
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a plat-

a platform made of quadrangular smoothed stones, which sometimes extends several feet in front of the house: this undoubtedly makes the habitation more dry, and gives it a handsomer appearance. In these buildings one cannot but be very much astonished to see with what dexterity the people put together such immense stones; they are of a size scarcely to be moved by less than ten or twelve men, and are united without any kind of cement whatever, so that they are absolute Roman walls: they would, indeed, do honour to any European architect. In erecting a new house, the neighbours reciprocally assist each other. People often build houses merely for amusement, and those who are in affluence have frequently houses or huts in several parts of the valley they inhabit, which can be taken down again, and removed in a few days.

“The building of the larger dwellings, in which a numerous family can live altogether, is the business of the men and women conjointly. But when a man, without the assistance of his wife, brings together the stones that are to serve for the ground-plot of his house, the building erected upon it is *ta-bood*, that is, the women are prohibited entering it. Every affluent islander has at least one such *ta-bood* house, which is commonly at a little distance from the dwelling-house. He suits it entirely to his own convenience, and has above all a *salle-à-manger*, where, removed from the presence of his wife, he

can eat swine's flesh undisturbed; for this, as has been already hinted, is a food of which the women are rarely permitted to partake, and when they are, it is only by special grace and favour of the men. Such a *taboo-house* is called *popoi-taboo*.

“Every new-built house must be consecrated by a priest or magician, or whatever he may be called; he makes an oration upon the occasion, which is given in a language wholly incomprehensible to the people at large. He must then be feasted with swine and other good things, over which he makes strange ceremonies, and sleeps the first night in the new house; by these means it is for ever protected from evil spirits. Upon several occasions the women also have separate houses allotted to them, particularly for the purpose of lying-in. The interior of the houses is very clean, for the inhabitants are bound by the laws, or by taboos, to a great degree of cleanliness: it is divided by rafters into two unequal parts: in the first, which is the smallest, there is nothing but the stone pavement to be seen; but the other is strewed over with a soft grass, over which straw mats are laid, and on these all the inhabitants of the house, without distinction of age or sex, sleep. The walls are hung round with domestic utensils, such as calabashes of different sizes, coconut shells, fishing-nets, lances, slings, stilts, battle-axes, hatchets, sundry ornaments, drums, and a variety of other articles.”

PRESENT STATE AND PROSPECTS OF OWHYHEE.

[From the same.]

“ON the 7th of June, being in latitude $19^{\circ} 34'$ north, we came in sight of the eastern point of the island of Owhyhee, then at the distance of thirty-six sea miles. This island, the largest of the group called the Sandwich Islands, is celebrated from its having been the place where the great navigator Cook so unfortunately lost his life. Vancouver, his worthy disciple, gave the world a few years after a complete map of these islands.

“Captain Krusenstern was desirous of reaching Nangasaki, a great trading town of Japan, before the end of September, hoping, by thus hastening his voyage, to avoid the change of the north-easterly monsoon, which often takes place about the middle of that month. In order, therefore, to gain time, he resolved not to anchor in Caracaca Bay, but without any delay to institute a traffic with the islanders for such objects as he wanted, so that in a few days he might be amply provided with swine and provisions of all kinds. With this view he cruized till the tenth along the southern coast of the island; but to our very great concern, during that time so few of the inhabitants made their appearance, and they demanded so high a price for whatever they brought, that he resolved to leave the island, and make the best of his way to Kamschatka. This he was the better enabled to do from the excellent state of health of his whole crew.

“The few islanders we had an

opportunity of observing were all naked, dirty, of a middling stature, not well made, and with skins of a dark dingy brown; they were covered with bruises and sores, probably the effect either of drinking kava, or of a well-known disease very common among them. Most of the men had lost their front teeth, which they said had been knocked out in battle by the slings. They were very good swimmers. Their arms and sides were tattooed in figures of lizards, goats, musquets, and other things, but by no means so well executed as the figures we had seen at Nukahiwa. The ill impression made upon us by these people was so much the more forcible, as but a very short time before, only on the 17th of May, we had left an island, the inhabitants of which, as to their stature and admirable proportions, are certainly to be ranked among the handsomest people upon the globe. For the rest, the Sandwich islanders, probably from their more frequent intercourse with European nations, appear to have much greater affinity with them than the people of Nukahiwa. Cabri was so little pleased with either the men or the women, that he could not resolve to live among them, and earnestly entreated Captain Krusenstern, who would have set him on shore here, to carry him on to Kamschatka. The language of Owhyhee seems to differ very much from that of Nukahiwa, since Cabri, who spoke the latter fluently, could not make himself

himself understood here. By the assistance of some English words we succeeded better.

“ The canoes of these islands are light, and very neatly constructed; they prove that the people have made a much greater progress in naval architecture than those of Nukahiwa; they go out to sea in them many miles. The coast, in the part about which we cruized, is pleasant and well-cultivated: we observed many groves of bananas and cocoa-nuts. Our attention was particularly attracted by the majestic mountain Mowna Roa. According to former observations, its point should be two thousand five hundred and seventy-eight toises above the level of the sea, but our indefatigable astronomer, Doctor Horner, calculated it at only two thousand two hundred and fifty-four.

“ This lofty mountain, which is between three and four hundred toises higher than the Peak of Teneriffe, rises so gradually from the sea-shore to its summit, that it has a very remarkable and most pleasing appearance; in no other place can any one ascend to so great a height with so little difficulty. A part of this facility arises from the warmth of the climate; since, notwithstanding its great height, even the very summit scarcely reaches the snow mark at so short a distance from the equator. At the time of year when we saw it, the summit was entirely free from snow. How many unknown plants might here be discovered, and what contributions might be collected towards the geography and natural history of plants! It were much to be wished that some zealous naturalist would remain at least a year

upon this island to study these subjects.

“ We quitted Owhyhee on the 10th of June, without having been able to obtain the least information with respect to the present state of the island. As I afterwards passed the winter of 1805 and 1806 upon the north-west coast of America, I had then an opportunity of learning some particulars, which will perhaps be better given in this place.

“ The group of the Sandwich Islands is very commodious for all ships going to the north-west coast of America, to the Aleutian Islands, or to Kamschatka, to touch at; it has very secure bays. Here may be procured abundance of swine, bread-fruit, bananas, cocoa-nuts, taro, yams, batatas, salt, wood, water, and other things particularly desirable for ship stores. The ships of the United States of America touch here almost every year, in their way to the north-west coast of their continent. The object of these voyages made by the Americans is to collect the sea-otter skins, which are so highly valued by the Chinese, and carry them to Canton. For these skins they give iron wares, cloth, knives, hatchets, kitchen utensils, rice, molasses, biscuit, powder, and flints. This trade has been carried on principally, since the English, as well as the Spaniards, have deserted Nootka Sound, and given up their former establishments there. The exchange must be extremely profitable, since not less than seven or eight ships annually go to Nootka, Queen Charlotte's, and Norfolk Sound. If they do not get a good cargo of sea-otter skins for Canton, they go in October or November to Columbian river, or more commonly to

to the Sandwich Islands, and winter there, so that they may be ready the beginning of March to go again to the north-west coast, and complete their lading.

“ The number of ships that visit Caracocoa Bay, and the intercourse that takes place between them and the natives, has had already so great an influence upon the civilization of these islands, that they may be said to have advanced in it with giant strides, and Owhyhee is likely to take the lead among the South Sea islands, in becoming a polished and civilized country.

“ Their king, Tomoomah, from his constant intercourse with the sea-officers of the American States, and particularly under the instruction of Mr. Young and Mr. Davie, who have already lived with him some years, and are, as it were, his ministers, has introduced many European customs, and has brought the English language so much into use, that most of the inhabitants of the island of any rank or distinction can now speak English. Tomoomah has found means to subject all the islands to his jurisdiction, so that he is become sole sovereign of the whole group. He was soon made to comprehend the value of silver, and to prefer selling the products of his country to the ships that visited it for Spanish dollars or piasters. As soon as he had got a tolerable sum together, he bought a ship of an American merchant, and manned it partly with his own people, and partly with foreign sailors, of whom there are many now living in Owhyhee. The seamen of the United States like so well to revel in a superfluity of the productions of nature without much labour, and to have handsome young girls at their disposal, that a ship scarcely ever

touches here without leaving one or more of its sailors behind; the king, however, will not permit any one to stay who has not a good character from his captain. Through the instruction of these guests, the islanders are become very fond of a seafaring life, and they make excellent sailors. While I was on the north-west coast of America, I saw and talked with several natives of Owhyhee serving as sailors on board vessels from Boston, who received as pay ten or twelve piasters per month.

“ They have got to make cordage of all kinds, and fishing nets in so much perfection in Owhyhee, probably from the threads of the *phormium verax*, that ships are supplied with them, and they are considered as more durable for tackling than the European cordage.

“ Tomoomah, in every thing he does, shews a strong understanding, and great activity of mind. He has increased his power at sea so much within a short time, that in the year 1806 he had fifteen ships in his possession, among which were some three-masted vessels, brigs, and cutters. In the same year he made known to the agent of the Russo-American trading company, Von Baranoff, at New Archangel in Norfolk Sound, that he understood from persons trading to that coast how much the Russian establishment had sometimes suffered in winter from a scarcity of provisions; that he would therefore gladly send a ship every year with swine, salt, batatas, and other articles of food, if they would in exchange let him have sea-otter skins at a fair price; and these he purposed to send upon speculation to Canton.

“ But the thing which more than any

any other occupies his attention is ship-building, and he already can point out with great accuracy and judgment the excellencies and faults in the construction of a vessel. All tools and implements belonging to ship-building are therefore considered by him as of particular value, and are the most advantageous articles of traffic that can be carried to the island. Any sailor, who is at the same time a ship carpenter, is particularly welcome; he is immediately presented with lands, and almost any thing that he wants.

“A few years ago a most extra-

ordinary and valuable discovery was made at Owhyhee, of a sort of wood growing there, which it is said the worms, that do so much mischief in these waters by boring into the ships, will not touch. This, if ever duly established, will render the sheathing vessels with copper, an otherwise absolutely necessary precaution, wholly superfluous. Among the products of Owhyhee is the sugar-cane. If this were cultivated to any degree of perfection, in time Kamschatka, and indeed all Siberia, might be supplied with sugar from hence.”

PRESENTATION OF THE RUSSIAN AMBASSADOR AT THE COURT OF
OCHATTO, IN JAPAN.

[From the same.]

“IN this way did we pass several months in the place assigned us at Megasaki, shut up under locks and bolts. We had scarcely any intercourse with the Japanese, for even the interpreters could not visit us without a special permission from the governor; they came therefore but seldom, and not unless urged to it by particular business. Our principal occupation during this time was to clear the ship, to bring the presents on shore, and to unpack and set them in order. The repairs of the ship besides occupied our attention; and, strange enough, whatever was wanted in this way we might ask for freely, and it was brought immediately. As to every thing else, provisions excepted, we could not make any purchase without asking permission of the governor, and this was often refused, or if granted, not without

great difficulty; even such trifles as a live bird or a tobacco-pipe were sometimes refused. Provisions of every kind were furnished us free of expense. We were put off with fair words from one month to another. All possible freedom was promised us as soon as the answer should be received from Jedo, with a free intercourse between the two nations.

“After waiting about two months, the arrival of a *Great man* or messenger from Jedo was announced to us, when the whole matter seemed immediately to assume a new face. Our hopes of a journey to the capital diminished every day; the interpreters examined more minutely than before into the progress made in repairing the ship, and at length nothing remained but the hope of being able to establish a friendly intercourse of trade.

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“ He who would put himself in our place can yet have but a very imperfect idea how disagreeable we found our situation. After encountering many storms, and experiencing much inconvenience, we had at last reached an interesting foreign country, where we hoped to be received, if not as friends, at least as strangers of distinction, entitled to all possible deference and respect. Instead of this, we were treated as criminals or state prisoners, confined in a place at the utmost not exceeding a hundred paces in the square, where we were locked up and watched on every side. This was equally hard and unjust.

“ Spring was now coming on: all nature began to be alive, and we were shut out entirely from the view of so charming a spectacle by immense barricadoes of bamboo canes;—being deprived besides of our arms, we were wholly at the mercy of this suspicious nation. All means of exerting ourselves for the promotion of science and knowledge were precluded, so that the mind grew contracted for want of freedom and a wider range in which it might expand itself. The fish alone brought to us as provisions afforded an object of scientific investigation, and by secret promises we at length prevailed upon our caterer to bring us every time different kinds of fish: with these, Counsellor Tilesius and myself sometimes entertained ourselves very agreeably. We were not only precluded from all purchases, but were equally prohibited making the most trifling present to any Japanese. Some insignificant objects, such as Indian ink, a couple of pictures, some fans, tobacco-pipes, &c. were brought us secretly by such of the interpreters as were the most in our confidence;

but in so doing they incurred the risk of an examination; and if they had been detected their lives would probably have atoned the misdeemeanour.

“ On the 27th of March, to our great joy, it was announced to us in due form on the part of the governor, that the *Great Man* from Jedo, with the emperor's answer, was expected at Nangasaki in two days. From our guards we learnt on the thirtieth that this bearer of his master's pleasure had been in the town several days, but it was not till the 2d of April that the intelligence of his arrival was communicated to us. We also remarked that it was a long time since we had seen any interpreters. At length on the third, some appeared, who, besides announcing the arrival of the *Great Man*, invited the ambassador to an audience the next day at the governor's house: they said, moreover, that they were commissioned to regulate the ceremonies proper to be observed upon the occasion.

“ On this subject they informed the ambassador that the next morning, at eight o'clock, an Opperbannjos would come to conduct him to the governor's house. As the way by water was the shortest, it was proposed that he should go in the Prince of Fisi's barge to the great stairs of Ochatto (the Muscle), where he would be received by a civil and military guard, and from thence he would proceed to the governor's in a large Norimon or Sedan-chair, accompanied by several *Great Men*. This distinction, however, must be confined to him alone, the officers of his train must go on foot. They assured him, that the Norimon was very roomy and convenient, and that this mode

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of conveyance was confined entirely to the Daimios, the most distinguished personages of the country. When arrived at the governor's house, he would be introduced into a separate chamber by himself, and the officers of his train into another, there to *rest* till the opening of the audience. We observed that they avoided making use of the term *wait*. This was all, they said, done from particular respect, as it was the custom of the country that *Great Men* should at all times be separated from the inferior servants of the government. The ambassador, however, begged to decline this distinction, and requested that his officers might be in the same apartment with himself.

"In the Hall of Audience, the interpreters proceeded, the ambassador alone could be permitted to enter, since this was a place sacred only to the very greatest people of the country; and the Dutch never were allowed to come farther than the antichamber. To this the ambassador made many objections, and after much discussion, this point, together with the request not to be separated from his officers, were committed to writing, and reserved for the governor's decision.

"As to the question of compliments, the Japanese required that the ambassador, according to the customs of their country, should kneel to the governor and to the representatives of the emperor, and then bow the head, in the manner that has been mentioned, as a customary token of respect. Both these things the ambassador refused, and declared that he would salute these *Great Men* only after the European fashion, and in the same manner that he would pay his respects his own emperor. With

much difficulty, and after a good deal of discussion, this point was conceded to him. The interpreters farther desired to know in what position the ambassador would remain during the audience. As, according to the oriental custom, the use of chairs was unknown in Japan, and the people sat, or rather knelt, upon the carpets or mats, they hoped he would find it convenient to comply with this fashion, one which the greatest princes in the country were bound to observe, and that he would, like the *Great Man* from Jedo and the governor, kneel upon soft stuffed straw mats. This the ambassador at first refused, saying, that he would stand in the same manner as he would do in the presence of his own emperor: on being repeatedly urged upon the subject, however, and on being assured that this would be the most disrespectful thing he could possibly do, he consented to lie down with his feet stretched out sideways. The interpreters also intreated that the ambassador would not think of wearing his sword in the Hall of Audience, assuring him that notwithstanding the *Great People*, as he had seen, usually wear two swords, they were always laid aside in that place. After many animadversions, the ambassador yielded this point, assuring the interpreters that he did so only as a proof of his great respect for the Emperor of Japan.

"The persons selected to attend the ambassador to the audience were Major Von Friderici, Counsellor Von Fosse, Captain Foedoroff, Lieutenant Koscheleff, and myself. It was impossible to make the Japanese consent that the guard of honour, with their muskets, should attend: the utmost to be obtained

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was, that a soldier should carry the Imperial Russian standard behind the ambassador as a mark of distinction. In the evening the interpreters came with the governor's answer, that the cavaliers of the embassy should be allowed to remain in the same apartment with the ambassador; and two of them should be admitted with him into the Hall of Audience.

"On the 4th of April, at eight in the morning, the Banjos and interpreters appeared. The Prince of Fisi's barge, decorated with flags and hangings of silk and cotton, received the ambassador and his train. A number of smaller boats, all carrying the flags of Fisi, accompanied it.

"Arrived at the stairs of Ochatto, we landed, and his excellency was received by several Japanese of great distinction. A numerous civil guard was in waiting here, bearing many insignia of honour, and all were kneeling in rows one behind the other. The houses, as well by the water-side as all round the place, with the fortresses and guard-houses, were covered with hangings, on which were the imperial arms and those of Fisi, so that we could see nothing of the houses or the people, nor could they see any thing of us: here and there only we saw a head, urged on by irresistible curiosity, peeping from behind the hangings. We were, however, in the main, unseen by the inhabitants, while our own eyes were equally restrained from making our observations upon them or their town. This was not only the case at the landing place, but in all the principal streets, through which we passed, and if in some of the cross streets, the hangings did not cover the houses entirely, their place was supplied by straw-

mats or trellis-work. The reason of this, the interpreters told us, was, that the common people might be kept off, since they were not worthy to see so *Great a Man* as the ambassador face to face.

"When we had landed upon the great place of Ochatto, our procession was arranged in the following order. First marched about forty persons of various ranks, among whom were several Banjos, every one followed by an attendant: next followed six Imperial soldiers without their muskets, but carrying long staves: after them came the Norimon, in which was the ambassador: it was carried by four persons, and followed by the standard-bearer carrying the Imperial Russian standard: then came the cavaliers of the embassy, with a number of civil magistrates and interpreters: afterwards a guard of sixteen or twenty Japanese soldiers, with an officer on horseback: and lastly, a great number of inferior officers of state and magistrates, with a long train of servants.

"The procession passed through several streets, the names of which were, taking them in the order that they came, Hokowra Mass, Omuru Mass, Mottofacata Mass, Foru Mass, Honkose Mass, Bungo Mass, Satura Mass, Kaschijamma Mass, Jooscha Mass: at the end of the latter is the governor's house. In all the streets were guard-houses ornamented with garlands, some smaller, some larger, some with a civil, some with a military guard. The streets are broad and clean, with wide kennels on each side to carry off the water, but are not all paved. Some have a single row of small stones, others of large square ones, down the middle. Of the houses, as I have already said, we could see little or nothing: they are chiefly
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of wood, only one story high, and with a great deal of trellis-work about the windows and doors.

“ At the door of the governor’s house we were all obliged, the ambassador not excepted, to take off our shoes, that we might not dirty the straw mats, or the finely varnished floors. This is an universal custom, and did not now appear surprising to us, as we had been so long accustomed to see the Banjos and interpreters come into our room at Megasaki without their shoes.

“ A vast number of officers were in attendance at the governor’s house both within and without. We were carried through a long and wide corridor, the floor of which was highly varnished, into an apartment, which, like our’s at Megasaki, was covered with fine straw matting: the walls were ornamented with landscapes extremely well executed, but there was no kind of household furniture, such as tables, chairs, benches, or the like: all the wood-work about the doors and windows was finely polished and varnished. The light came through the adjoining corridors. Glass windows are a thing not to be seen in Japan; thin paper stretched over the window-frames supplies their place. In the midst of the apartment to which we were now conducted were implements for smoking, consisting of pipes, tobacco-boxes, pans for lighted coal, and spitting vessels. A large porcelain spitting vase stood in one corner of the room. When we had finished smoking, tea was brought us without sugar: the cups were of porcelain, but massive, heavy, of ugly forms, and ill painted; the tea was, according to the general judgment of our company, by no means good.

“ After a short half-hour the ambassador was introduced into the Hall of Audience, whither he was accompanied by Major Von Fridericci and Lieutenant Koscheleff. The representative of the Japanese Emperor, and the governor, were kneeling nearly in the middle of the hall, and behind them were several persons holding their swords crossed, high over their heads. Thus it appeared that an untruth was told to the ambassador, when he was assured that no swords were allowed at the audience. The ambassador and the officers saluted the *Great Men* according to the European fashion, after which they retreated about six paces, and the interpreters knelt on each side of them. All round the hall were ranged some of the most distinguished persons of the country.

“ The first questions asked by the governor of the ambassador were, Why, and for what purpose, he had come to Japan? Why the Emperor of Russia had written to the Emperor of Japan, since Lieutenant Laxmann had been explicitly informed that this was forbidden, as contrary to the customs and laws of the country, and as absolutely inconsistent with propriety? Whether Lieutenant Laxmann had failed in making this known, and whether he was still alive? The governor then remarked, that though in the permission that had been produced leave was given for a trading vessel from Russia to come to Nangasaki for mercantile purposes, no mention whatever was made of an embassy. He concluded with asking the reason why no use had been made of this permission till after such a lapse of years? and why, having been so long neglected, it was at last brought forwards? The audience
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broke up about one o'clock, when we returned to Megasaki in the same order that we had come.

"In the evening some interpreters came to tell the ambassador that he might have a second audience the following day, if he wished it. The proposal was accepted; but at half-past seven in the morning it rained so hard that we all thought the audience must be postponed. About nine, however, the weather began to clear, and some Opperbanjos, with the interpreters, came to escort us to the governor's. We were ready to accompany them; but the ambassador thought it right to remark, that his officers could not go on foot, as the day before, since the streets would, in consequence of the heavy rain, be extremely dirty, and the governor's house was quite at the other end of the town. To this the Opperbanjos at first made many objections, but at length they dispatched some persons to the governor, to lay the matter before him, and to desire that Norimons might be prepared for the cavaliers of the embassy, while we were going by water from Megasaki to Ochatto. At the latter place, however, we were obliged to wait two hours on board the barge before we were informed that the five Norimons were ready for the officers. A very heavy shower had fallen in the mean time, accompanied by thunder; but the barge was so well sheltered that we felt no inconvenience from it: we very tranquilly partook of the tea and pipes which had been prepared for us.

"The captain of the barge was extremely polite and courteous. He wrote down the name of his guests, to keep them, he said, as a lasting memorial in his family of the ho-

nour he had received. We were not less observant of every thing around than the Japanese were of us, and remarked, among other things, a man who concealed himself behind some of his countrymen, and seemed occupied in drawing. We endeavoured to inspire him with confidence, and entreated him to shew us, without fear or diffidence, the interesting objects on which he was employed. He ventured upon this to exhibit his works, and we were not a little surprised at the talents displayed in them. He had in a short time taken a sketch of every thing remarkable which he saw about him; as, for instance, the three-cornered hat with feathers, worn by the ambassador, his star, and the ribband of his order, with the different insignia about the uniforms of the officers; their sabres, their swords, and the scabbards; their buttons, scarfs, and keys of office as chamberlains, their watch-strings and seals. The celerity and address with which he sketched, almost at a glance, so many objects entirely new to him, was beyond the talents of most European artists; for they were done with Indian ink, on the fine Chinese silk-paper, as it is called; and what steadiness in the strokes, what lightness of pencil must be required, to give the proper expression in drawing with such materials! The time that we were detained here must have been of the greatest value to this man.

"About twelve o'clock we were informed that the Norimons were all ready; the procession, therefore, immediately began to move forwards, precisely in the same order as the day before, with the exception of the officers being in these vehicles instead of going on foot. The place, the houses, the streets were

were also all in a like manner hung with tapestries and matting.

“ Scarcely had we arrived at the governor’s house before the ambassador was invited to the audience, whither he went, accompanied by Counsellor Fosse and Captain Föderoff. He soon returned to us, bringing in his hand a large roll of paper, which had been given him with great ceremony, and with a request that he would have it explained by the interpreters. These latter held up the roll to their foreheads, bowing their heads with profound respect, and then opening it with a sort of awe, said: ‘ This is an extraordinary instance of favour shewn by the Emperor of Japan to the Russian ambassador: the paper contains nothing but friendship; but since it is written in the Japanese language, we are commissioned to explain, orally, the principal articles of its contents. In the sequel all will be faithfully translated, and committed to writing, that it may be understood with the utmost accuracy. This will be no trifling or easy task; for the paper is full of deep thought, and written with much attention and profound learning.’

“ They then proceeded to make known to us the principal articles, which were as follows. ‘ In former times, ships of all nations were allowed to come freely to Japan, and the Japanese were in the habit of visiting foreign countries with equal freedom. A hundred and fifty years ago, however, an emperor had strictly enjoined his successors never to let the Japanese quit the country, and only to permit the Chinese, the Dutch, and the inhabitants of the Island Riukiu, with the Koreans, to come to Japan. For many years the trade with the

latter had been broken off, and only that with the Chinese and Dutch had been kept up. Since that epoch several foreign nations had, at various times, endeavoured to establish an intercourse of friendship and commerce with Japan; they were always, however, repulsed, in consequence of the long established prohibition, and because it was held dangerous to form ties of friendship with an unknown foreign power, which could not be founded on any basis of equality.’

“ The interpreters here made a pause, and then proceeded. ‘ Friendship,’ they said, ‘ is like a chain, which, when destined to some particular end, must consist of a determined number of links. If one member, however, be particularly strong, and the others disproportionally weak, the latter must of necessity, by use, be soon broken. The chain of friendship can never, therefore, be otherwise than disadvantageous to the weak members included in it.’

“ ‘ Thirteen years before,’ they continued, ‘ a Russian ship, with Lieutenant Laxmann, came to Japan, and a second was now arrived with an ambassador from the great Russian Emperor. That the one should be received with forbearance, and the other with friendship, could be permitted, and the Emperor of Japan would gladly do whatever was in his power, consistently with adhering to the laws; he could and would, therefore, consider the arrival of the second Russian ship as a proof of the great friendship borne him by the Emperor of Russia.’

“ ‘ This powerful monarch had sent him an ambassador with a number of costly presents. If they were accepted, the Emperor of Japan

pan must, according to the customs of the country, which are considered as laws, send an ambassador with presents of equal value to the Emperor of Russia. But as there is a strict prohibition against either the inhabitants or the ships quitting the country, and Japan is besides so poor, that it is impossible to return presents to any thing like an equivalent, it is wholly out of the emperor's power to receive either the ambassador or the presents.

“ ‘Japan has no *great* wants, and has therefore little occasion for foreign productions: her few *real* wants, as well as those that she has contracted by custom, are richly supplied by the Dutch and Chinese, and luxuries are things she does not wish to see introduced. It would besides be very difficult to establish an extensive trade, since that must, almost of necessity, occasion frequent intercourse between the common people and the foreign sailors; and this is a thing strictly prohibited.’

“ The ambassador now made many protestations that he did not come with any idea of receiving presents in return for what he had brought; and added, that if the emperor would not accept any presents, he must insist upon paying for the provisions, and materials for repairing the ship, with which we had been furnished. To this the Japanese answered, that these were not presents: the provisions were necessary for the support of life, and the other was only assistance imparted in a case of need: to give both freely was a duty of the government. At the same time they informed us, that the emperor had issued a particular order to supply the ship with provisions for two months of every sort that we deemed

expedient or desired. He had ordered besides, two thousand sacks of salt of thirty pounds each, and a hundred sacks of rice of a hundred and fifty pounds each, with two thousand bundles of the finest Japanese raw silk, to be given us; the two former were for the crew, the latter for the officers. These the ambassador refused, saying, that if the emperor declined accepting his presents, he could not possibly accept the articles offered.

“ While these discussions were going on, pipes had been brought us, and tea without sugar, with some sugared things as refreshments. The latter were upon separate sheets of paper for each person, and consisted of a variety of articles bound together with a sugar-work, which had all the appearance of a very pretty striped ribband.

“ After the interpreters had explained the emperor's pleasure, they brought a small roll of paper, which was addressed by the governor to the ambassador. Its principal contents were, to recommend that our ship, immediately on leaving the harbour, should stand out to sea to a considerable distance, as the coast, upon account of the rocks and frequent storms, was extremely dangerous; and to request, that if in future any Japanese should be thrown upon the Russian coasts, they might be consigned to the Dutch, who would transport them to Batavia, whence they might easily return to Japan.

“ Our audience being now at an end, about four in the afternoon we were carried back in the Norimons to Ochatto, but without any train, and thence proceeded by water to Megasaki. The whole day was very cloudy, with some heavy showers

ers of rain, which only contributed to increase the gloom in our minds created by our disappointment. As it was doubtful whether our audience might not be protracted to a late hour in the evening, preparations had been made for illuminating all the streets through which we were to pass: at every four or five paces a post of about two feet high was stuck into the ground, to which was fastened a paper lantern.

“On the sixth, the interpreters came to talk once more with the ambassador, in the name of the governor, about the provisions and the silk. They assured us that the governor could not do any thing in the affair from his own judgment; he must obey the emperor's orders; and if the ambassador persisted in refusing the things offered, he must send a courier to Jedo to signify as much, which would prolong our stay at least two months. In order, therefore, to obtain our liberty, his excellency was obliged to accept the silk and provisions. The interpreters then asked whether it would be agreeable to him to have his audience for taking leave the next day, or whether he would defer it for some days. The ambassador chose the first, that he might quit Japan as soon as possible.

“Towards noon, therefore, on the 7th of April, we passed again through the streets of Nangasaki; they were ornamented as before with hangings, and beset with guards. As it rained very hard, we were each provided with a new umbrella when we arrived at Ochatto, and were carried in our Norimons.

“The audience consisted in a reciprocal exchange of compliments and friendly adieus. We were then

conducted into an adjoining apartment, where were the two thousand bundles of silk sent by the emperor. The interpreters assured us that it would have been an extraordinary piece of ill fortune to them if the ambassador had not permitted the officers to accept this present, since they would have been supposed to have ill interpreted the emperor's orders, and this is a very heavy crime; they were therefore eloquent in their acknowledgments for the ambassador's condescension.

“Thus ended our extraordinary embassy to Japan. Nothing now remained for us but to repack the presents destined for the emperor as soon as possible, and return them on board the ship, and to proceed with the utmost dispatch in all other preparations for our departure. While we were proceeding in them, we once more made an attempt to gain permission for visiting the Dutch at Desima, and one of the temples in or about Nangasaki, but we could not succeed in either.

“After very urgent and repeated solicitations, the ambassador did at length obtain leave to make seven of the principal interpreters a trifling present in acknowledgment of the trouble we had given them; and the governor at length consented to accept, as remembrances, the little pocket globe, with some maps and sketches of the different nations that compose the Russian empire.

“The utmost exertions were now made to get the ship ready for sailing with all possible dispatch; and it was evident that the Japanese were not a little astonished, when on the sixteenth we announced that every thing was ready for our departure.

DESCRIPTION OF BOMBAY.

[From Mrs. Graham's Journal.]

AFTER a voyage from England of twenty weeks, we landed here on the 26th of this month, in a thick fog, which presaged the coming on of the rainy-season in this part of India. On the new *bunder*, or pier, we found *palankeens* waiting to convey us from the shore. These palankeens are litters, in which one may either lie down or sit upright, with windows and sliding doors: the modern ones are little carriages, without wheels, those anciently used were of a different form, and consisted of a bed or sofa, over which was an arch just high enough to admit of sitting upright; it was decorated with gold or silver bells and fringes, and had a curtain to draw occasionally over the whole. The palankeen-bearers are here called *hamauls* (a word signifying carrier); they for the most part wear nothing but a turban, and a cloth wrapped round the loins, a degree of nakedness which does not shock one, owing to the dark colour of the skin, which, as it is unusual to European eyes, has the effect of dress. These people come chiefly from the Mahratta country, and are of the *coombe* or agricultural caste. Their wages are seven or eight rupees a month; they are a hardy race, and, if trusted, honest, but otherwise they consider theft innocent, if not meritorious.

“Leaving the *bunder* we crossed the esplanade, which presented a gay and interesting scene, being crowded with people in carriages, on horseback, and on foot. A painter might have studied all the

varieties of attitude and motion in the picturesque figures of the *koolies* employed in washing at their appropriate *tanks* or wells, which are numerous on the esplanade, each tank being surrounded by broad stones, where groupes of men and women are continually employed in beating the linen, while the better sort of native women, in their graceful costume, reminding one of antique sculptures, are employed in drawing, tilling, or carrying water from the neighbouring wells. The Hindoo women wear a short bodice with half sleeves, which fastens behind, and is generally made of coloured brocade. The *shalie* or *sarie*, a long piece of coloured silk or cotton, is wrapped round the waist in form of a petticoat, which leaves part of one leg bare, while the other is covered to the ankle with long and graceful folds, gathered up in front, so as to leave one end of the *shalie* to cross the breast, and form a drapery, which is sometimes thrown over the head as a veil. The Mussulman and Parsee women have nearly the same clothing, in addition to which they wear long loose trowsers. The hair is drawn back from the face, where the roots are often stained red, and fastened in a knot behind. The hands and feet of the native women are in general delicately shaped, and are covered with rings and *bangles* or bracelets, which sometimes conceal the arm as far as the elbow, and the leg as far as the calf. As the food, lodging, and dress of the lower class of natives cost very little,

it is common to see both the men and women adorned with massy rings and chains of gold and silver, round their necks, arms, waists, and legs, and the toes and fingers decked with fine filigree rings, while the ears and nose are hung with pearls or precious stones. The vanity of parents sometimes leads them to dress their children, even while infants, in this manner, which affords a temptation, not always resisted, to murder these helpless creatures for the sake of their ornaments or *joys*. The custom of laying out the whole, or at least the greater part of their wealth, in ornaments for the person, has probably arisen among the natives of India from the miserable state of society for so many ages. Where the people were daily exposed to the ravages of barbarous armies, it was natural to endeavour to keep their little wealth in that form in which it could with most ease be conveyed out of the reach of plunderers: for this purpose, jewels were certainly the best adapted; and though the necessity for the practice has in a great measure ceased, custom, which has perhaps more influence in India than in any other country, continues it.

“On entering the Black Town, which is built in a coco-nut wood, I could not help remarking the amazing populousness of this small island; the streets appear so crowded with men, women, and children, that it seems impossible for the quiet bullock *hackrays*, or native carriages, to get along without doing mischief; much less the furiously driving coaches of the rich natives, who pride themselves upon the speed of their horses, which are more remarkable for beauty and for swiftness than for strength. I was informed that Bombay contains up-

wards of two hundred thousand inhabitants. The Europeans are as nothing in this number, the Parsees from six to eight thousand, the Mussulmans nearly the same number, and the remainder are Portuguese and Hindoos, with the exception of about three or four thousand Jews, who long passed in Bombay for a sect of Mahometans, governed by a magistrate called the *cazy* of Israel; they willingly eat and converse with the Mussulmans. A number of them are embodied among the marine sepoy, but most of them are low traders. The dwellings of the rich natives are surrounded by *virandas*, equally necessary to guard against the intemperate heat of the sun and the monsoon rains; they are generally painted in flowers and leaves of a green or red colour; those of the Hindoos have usually some of the fables of their mythology represented on their walls. The houses are necessarily of great extent, because, if a man has twenty sons, they all continue to live under the same roof even when married; and uncles, brothers, sons, and grandsons, remain together till the increase of numbers actually forces a part of the family to seek a new dwelling. The lower classes content themselves with small huts, mostly of clay, and roofed with *cadjan*, a mat made of the leaves of the Palmyra, or coco-nut tree, plaited together. Some of these huts are so small, that they only admit of a man's sitting upright in them, and barely shelter his feet when he lies down. There is usually a small garden round each house, containing a few herbs and vegetables, a plaintain tree, and a coco-nut or two. The coco-nut is the true riches of a native Indian.

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The fruit forms a chief article of food during several months in the year, and from it the oil for the lamp is expressed, after being dried in the sun. The fibrous covering of the nut is steeped, and becomes like hemp, though more harsh; it is then called *coier*, and is used for making cordage of all kinds. The *tarry*, or toddy, (which is a juice procured from the tree, by making an incision in the bark near the top, or cutting off one of the lower leaves, and applying an earthen pot to the aperture in the bark,) when distilled, furnishes arrack; that which flows in the night is the sweetest, and drunk before sunrise, it is very wholesome. The leaves over the houses, and two of them plaited together form a light basket-work cloak, which the peasants wear in the rainy season while transplanting the rice. When no longer capable of yielding fruit or tarry, the wood makes excellent water-pipes and joists and beams for houses. The *Palmyra*, another tree of the family of palms, here called the *brab*, furnishes the best leaves for thatching, and the dead ones serve for fuel. The trunk is applied to the same purposes as that of the coco-nut, and is said to resist the attacks of the white ant. The *brab* grows on hills and stony places. The coco requires a low sandy soil, and much water. In the outskirts of the Black Town we saw the fields already flooded for the rice; they are ploughed in this state. The plough consists of a piece of crooked stick, or two straight pieces joined, so as to form an obtuse angle; it is sometimes shod with iron, but most frequently not; it is drawn by an ox or a cow, or sometimes both. The buffaloes make good draught cattle, and are commonly used for

drawing water; the other cattle are of the kind which has a hump on the shoulders; they are used by the natives to draw carriages called hackrays, to which they are only fastened by a beam, which is at the end of the pole, and lies across their necks; they use no traces.

“As there is but one tavern in Bombay, and as that is by no means fit for the reception of ladies, the hospitality of the British inhabitants is always exercised towards new-comers, till they can provide a place of residence for themselves. We have the good fortune to be under the hospitable roof of Sir James and Lady Mackintosh, at Tarala, about three miles from the fort and town of Bombay. Sir James possesses the best library that ever doubled the Cape. It is arranged in a large room like the cell of a temple, surrounded with a viranda inclosed by Venetian shutters, which admit and exclude the light and air at pleasure. As the apartment is at the top of the house, which is built on an eminence, it commands on all sides charming views; in short, it combines all the agréments that one can look for in a place of studious retirement, and we feel its value doubly from having been so long confined to the cabin of a frigate.

“August 10th.—The rainy season, which began in the middle of May, still continues, but we have sometimes intervals of several days of dry fine weather, so that we have been able to visit most of the villages within the island of Bombay. The first walk we took was to Mazagong, a dirty Portuguese village, putting in its claim to Christianity, chiefly from the immense number of pigs kept there. It is beautifully situated on the shore between two hills, on one of which

is Mazagong house, a leading mark into the harbour. It is interesting to the admirers of sentimental writings, as the house from which Sterne's Eliza eloped, and perhaps may call forth the raptures of some future pensive traveller, as the sight of Anjengo does that of the Abbé Raynal, when he remembers 'that it is the birth-place of Eliza.' Mazagong has, however, more solid claims to attention; it has an excellent dock for small ships, and is adorned with two tolerably handsome Romish churches; but its celebrity in the East is owing to its mangoes, which are certainly the best fruit I ever tasted. The parent tree, from which all those of this species have been grafted, is honoured during the fruit season by a guard of sepoys; and in the reign of Shâh Jehan, couriers were stationed between Dehli and the Mahratta coast, to secure an abundant and fresh supply of mangoes for the royal table.

"Our next excursion was to Sion, nine miles from the fort of Bombay, and at the opposite extremity of the island. We drove through a country like an English park, where I first saw the banian, or Indian fig-tree. It is a large spreading tree, from the branches of which long fibres descend to the ground, and there taking root become new trunks, and thus spread over a very great space. The banian is sacred, and is usually to be found near the *Pagodas*, as the Europeans call the Hindoo temples. I have seen the natives walk round it in token of respect, with their hands joined, and their eyes fixed on the ground; they also sprinkle it with red and yellow dust, and strew flowers before it; and it is common to see at its root stones sculptured with

the figures of some of the minor Hindoo gods. Sion Fort is on the top of a small conical hill; it commands the passage from Bombay to the neighbouring island of Salsette, and was of importance while the Mahrattas possessed that island, but it now only serves to beautify the scene. It is manned with a few invalids, and commanded by General Macpherson, a Highlander, who was in the battle of Culloden, on the losing side, and who, at the age of forty, came to Bombay as a cadet in the company's army. He retains so strong a recollection of his early years, that when the Culloden, with Sir Edward Pellew's flag, was in Bombay harbour, no entreaties could prevail on him to go on board of her,—he always shook his head, and said, he had enough of Culloden.

"At the foot of the little hill of Sion is a causeway, or *vellard*, which was built by Mr. Duncan, the present governor, across a small arm of the sea, which separates Bombay and Salsette. It is well constructed of stone, and has a draw-bridge in the middle, but it is too narrow for carriages to go along with safety in bad weather; however, it is of great advantage to the farmers and gardeners who bring in the daily supplies of provisions to the Bombay market. The vellard was begun A. D. 1797, and finished in 1805, at the expense of 50,575 rupees, as I learnt from an inscription over a small house at the end next Bombay, where a guard is kept to prevent the introduction of contraband articles from Salsette, which, though under the English government, is still subject to the Mahratta regulations with regard to taxes.

"From Sion we went to Mahaim, passing in the way several neglected

neglected Portuguese churches, Mussulman tombs, and Hindoo temples, but nothing very interesting till we reached the coco-nut wood near the village, where there are two beautiful temples, with large tanks surrounded by trees. These tanks are the great luxuries of the natives; one sees people bathing in them from morning till night, all ages and sexes together; but they wear as much clothing in the water as out of it. There is at Mahaim a *Pir's kubber*, or Mussulman saint's tomb, with a fine mosque attached to it, both under the guardianship of a Mahometan family of the Sooni sect. The Portuguese church at Mahaim is close to the sea, and is surrounded by trees. Attached to it there is a college for native Catholic priests; but those who pretend to learning, usually study at Goa, where they learn to speak barbarous Latin, and have the advantage of occasionally seeing priests from Europe. A small premium is given at the church for every native child who is baptized, consequently a number of Hindoo women present their offspring for that purpose, who never think farther of Christianity.

“From Mahaim a good causeway leads to Parell, the governor's country house, which was formerly a Jesuits' college. It is said that the holy fathers employed their penitents in the construction of this work.

“August 15th.—A longer continuance of fine weather than is usual during the rainy months, tempted us yesterday to go to Malabar Point, at the south-west extremity of the island, formerly a place of singular sanctity, and where a number of pilgrims still annually resort. We left our carriage at the

foot of the hill, and ascended a long flight of irregular steps to the top. Near the summit there are a multitude of small temples, and a few Bramins' houses, whose inhabitants generally beg from the passengers and strangers whom business or curiosity lead to the hill. After walking nearly two miles through gardens, or rather fields of vegetables, we came to a small *bungalo*, or garden-house, at the point of the hill, from which there is, I think, the finest view I ever saw. The whole island lay to the north and east, beautifully green with the young rice, varied with hills and woods, and only separated from Salsette, and the Mahratta shore by narrow arms of the sea, while the bay and harbour to the south, scattered with beautiful woody islands, reflected the grand monsoon clouds, which, as they rolled along, now hid and now discovered the majestic forms of the ghauts on the mainland. Within a few yards of the bungalo is a ruined temple; from what remains, it must have been a fine specimen of Hindoo architecture; almost every stone is curiously carved with groupes of figures, animals, and other ornaments. Tradition says that the Portuguese, in their zeal for conversion, pointed cannon against this temple, and destroyed it with its gods; its widely scattered remains seem to countenance the report. Close to the ruin there is a cleft in a rock, so narrow, that one would wonder how a child could get through it, nevertheless, there are multitudes of pilgrims who annually come to force themselves through, as a certain method of getting rid of their sins.

“Half a mile from the old temple I saw a most beautiful village, entirely

entirely inhabited by Bramins. In the centre is a large tank, on the banks of which are some fine trees and high pyramidical pillars, which are lighted up on festivals. A broad road round the tank separates it from the temples, which are more numerous than the houses; they are mostly dedicated to *Siva*, under the name of *Maha Deo*, and to his wife *Parvati*. The sacred bull *Nandi* is placed in front of all *Siva*'s temples in Bombay, and I have generally observed a tortoise at his feet. The Bramins of this village speak and write English; the young men are mostly *parvoes*, or writers, and are employed in the public offices and merchants' counting-houses, while the elders devote themselves to their sacerdotal duties, and the study of the *Vedas*; but I am tempted to believe that the Bramins of Bombay are very ignorant, even with regard to their own sciences.

"The road from Malabar Hill to the Fort of Bombay lies along the beach of Back-bay, a dangerous bay formed by the point of Malabar on one side, and by Old Woman's Island, or Coulaba, on which is the light-house, on the other. The shore is the general burial-place of all classes of inhabitants. That of the English is walled in and well kept; it is filled with pretty monuments, mostly of chunam, and contains many an unread inscription, sacred to the memory of those who, to use the oriental style, 'had scarcely entered the garden of life, much less had they gathered its flowers.' Next to the British cemetery is that of the Portuguese, after which follow those of the Armenians, the Jews, and the Mahomedans, with the few Hindoos who bury their dead in regular suc-

cession; they are all overshadowed by a thick coco-nut wood, and there ride among the monuments, placed between the grove and the sea, would be far from unpleasing, were it not that the tide continually washes in the skulls and bones of the Hindoos who are burnt on the beach at low water. After passing the burying-grounds, we saw several pretty country houses along the sea-shore, as we approached the esplanade in our way to the fort.

"The Fort of Bombay is said to be too large to be defended, if ever an European enemy should effect a landing on the island, and no part of it is bomb-proof; besides which, the native houses within the walls are closely crowded together, very high, and mostly built of wood. The fort is dirty, hot, and disagreeable, particularly the quarter near the bazar-gate, owing to the ruins of houses which were burnt down some time ago, and have never been removed; but new buildings are in many places rising on the broken fragments of the old, so that the streets are become so uneven as to render it disagreeable, if not dangerous, for carriages to pass through them. The most important and interesting object in the fort is the dock-yard, where a new dock is nearly finished, consisting of two basins, in the inner one of which there is already a seventy-four gun ship on the stocks. The old dock is still serviceable, though much out of repair, and too small to admit a large ship; it was found a few inches too short to receive the *Blenheim*, so that she could not receive the repairs she required previous to her leaving India. The new dock is said to be complete and excellent in its kind; it is the work of Capt. Cooper of the company's engineers.

There

There is a steam-engine for pumping it dry, the only one on the island. Bombay is the only place in the East where the rise of tide is sufficient to construct docks on a large scale, the highest spring-tides having never been known to be above seventeen feet, and rarely more than fourteen. The docks are the company's property, and the King pays a high monthly rent for every ship taken into them. Near them is the castle, now used as an arsenal; it belongs to the King, and the governor of Bombay is also styled the governor of the King's castle of Bombay. The harbour is filled with vessels from all nations, and of all shapes, but the largest and finest of the foreigners are the Arabs. Our trade with them consists in horses, pearls, coffee, gums of various kinds, honey, and *ghee*, which is butter clarified and put into leathern jars. Besides these articles from Arabia, the Persian Gulf also furnishes dried fruits, oil of roses, tobacco, rose-water, a small quantity of Schiraz wine, with a few articles of curiosity and luxury, as books, worked slippers, and silk shawls. The principal export from Bombay is raw cotton, which is chiefly drawn from the subject province of Guzerat, which likewise supplies us with wheat, rice, and cattle, besides vessels of earthen ware and metal for cooling liquors, cornelians, and other rare stones. The Laccadive and Maldive islands furnish the greatest quantity of coco-nuts for oil and coir for cordage; and from the forests of Malabar we get timber and various drugs and gums, particularly the Dammar, which is used here for all the purposes of pitch. In return for these things, we furnish British manufactures, particularly hardware,

and a variety of Chinese articles, for which Bombay is the great depôt on this side of India.

“ While in the fort we went to see the *screwing-houses*, where the bales of cotton are packed to go on board ship. The presses consist of a square frame, in which the cotton is placed, and a large beam of great weight, which is fixed to the end of a powerful screw. This screw is worked by a capstan, in a chamber above, to each bar of which there are often thirty men, so that there would be about two hundred and forty to each screw. They turn the screw with great swiftness at first, shouting the whole time, the shouts ending in something like loud groans, as the labour becomes heavier. Hemp is packed in the same manner, but it requires to be carefully laid in the press, for the fibres are apt to break if they are bent.

“ The only English church is in the fort; it is large, but neither well served nor attended. The Portuguese and Armenian churches are numerous, both within and without the walls, and there are three or four synagogues, and mosques and temples innumerable. The largest pagoda in Bombay is in the Black Town, about a mile and a half from the fort. It is dedicated to *Momba Devee*, or the Bombay goddess, who, by her images and attributes, seems to be Parvati, the wife of Siva. Within a large square, inclosed by high walls, there is a beautiful tank, well built of freestone, with steps to accommodate the bathers, according to the height of the water. Round the tank are houses for the Bramins, choultries for the reception of travellers, and temples to a variety of deities. One of these contains a well

well carved *trimurti*, or three-formed god; it is a colossal bust with three faces, or rather three heads joined together; the centre represents Brama the creator, the face on the right hand Siva the destroyer, and that on the left Vishnu the preserver. Offerings of rice, fruit, milk, and flowers are daily made to these deities, and they are constantly sprinkled with water. The priests are of an olive complexion, being very little exposed to the sun; their dress consists of a linen scarf wrapped round the loins, and reaching nearly to the ancles, whose folds fall very gracefully: their heads are shaved, excepting the crown, where a small lock of hair is left; and over the shoulder hangs the braminal thread or zenaar. The zenaar must be made by a Bramin; it is composed of three cotton threads, each ninety-six cubits, (forty-eight yards) long. These are twisted together, then folded in three, and again twisted; after which it is folded in three again without twisting; and a knot made at each end; it is put over the left shoulder, and hangs down upon the right thigh. The Bramins assume it with great ceremony at seven years old, the Xetries at nine, and the Vaisyas at eleven. In the English settlements, when the Bramins go out of their houses, they usually put on the turban and the Mussulman jamma or gown. I saw at Momba Devee's temple some soidisant holy men; they were young and remarkably fat, sprinkled over with ashes, and their hair was matted and filthy. I believe they had no clothing, for, during the few minutes I remained in the temple, they held a veil before them, and stood behind the Bramins. My expectations of Hindoo innocence and virtue are fast

giving way, and I fear that, even among the Pariahs, I shall not find any thing like St. Pierre's *Chaumiere Indienne*. In fact, the Pariahs are outcasts so despicable, that a Bramin not only would refuse to instruct them, but would think himself contaminated by praying for them. These poor creatures are employed in the lowest and most disgusting offices; they are not permitted to live in any town or village, or to draw water from the same well as the Hindoos. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that their minds are degraded in proportion to their personal situation. Near every Hindoo village there is commonly a hamlet of Pariahs; whose inhabitants pay a small tax to the *kalkurny*, or village-collector, for permission to reside near a bazar and wells, and they earn a subsistence by acting as porters and scavengers. They are filthy in all their habits, and do not scruple to use as food any dead animal they find; it is even said that, in some places, they do not reject human bodies.

"September 19th 1809.—We have spent our forenoon to-day very agreeably, in conversing with two well informed natives, one a Hindoo, the other a Mussulman. They both speak English well, and are thoroughly informed in all that concerns the laws, religion, and customs of their own nations. The Pundit Bapoojee is a Brahmin of the Vedanti sect; he seems to take pleasure in giving us information concerning the mythology of the country, though he is very careful to convince us that he is superior to the belief of the popular superstitions, which he affects to deride as inventions to keep the lower classes of society, or, as he calls them, the

inferior

inferior castes, in subjection. He is a man of about twenty-two years of age, elegant in his person and manners, and has an uncommon share of shrewdness and quickness of perception. I find him of the greatest use in explaining the customs, prejudices, and belief of his countrymen, and, in return, I do not find it very easy to satisfy his curiosity respecting England, to which country he has a great desire to travel were it not for the fear of losing caste, or rather the privileges and honours attached to his own.

“ Our Mussulman friend, the Cazy Shahab o’dien Mahary, is a sincere Mahometan, and therefore a great bigot ; however, he sometimes drinks tea with us, and does not scruple to eat bread, pastry, and fruit in our house. He is only two or three years older than Bapoojee, and though I doubt if his natural parts are so good, he is, I believe, a man of more learning ; his manners are correct and gentleman-like, but not so refined as those of his Hindoo friend. He accompanied us the other day to several mosques in the neighbourhood, but, as they only differ from each other in size, I shall content myself with describing the largest. It is a square building, capable of containing five or six hundred people, supported by highly pointed arches, finished with cinquefoil heads, in rows from the front, which is open. The only interior ornament is a plain stone pulpit, for the imaum ; the outside is adorned with carved work like that of the Gothic style. The whole building is raised on arches over a large tank of excellent water, and surrounded by a paved court, in which there are a few tombs. Attached to each mosque there is a

school where Arabic is taught ; the master only attending to the elder boys, while the others are taught by their more advanced school-fellows. Instead of books, there are alphabets and sentences painted on wood for the younger scholars.

“ My sister and I paid a visit to Shahab o’dien’s harem, but could by no means prevail on the cazy to admit any of the gentlemen of our family. In the lower part of his house we saw a number of Mussulmans sitting cross-legged, with cushions at their backs, in the different apartments, perfectly idle, rarely even speaking, and seeming hardly able to exert themselves so far as to put the betel into their mouths. We ascended to the women’s apartment by a ladder, which is removed when not in immediate use, to prevent the ladies from escaping, and were received by the cazy’s wife’s mother, a fine old woman dressed in white, and without any ornaments, as becomes a widow. Shahab o’dien’s mother, and the rest of his father’s widows, were first presented, then Fatima his wife, to whom our visit was paid, and afterwards his sisters, some of them fine lively young women. They all crowded round us to examine our dress, and the materials of which it was composed. They were surprised at our wearing so few ornaments, but we told them it was the custom of our country, and they replied that it was good. I was not sorry that they so openly expressed their curiosity, as it gave us a better opportunity of gratifying our own. The apartment in which we were received was about twenty feet square, and rather low. Round it were smaller rooms, most of them crowded with small beds, with white muslin curtains, these were not particularly

ticularly clean, and the whole suite seemed close and disagreeable. Most of the women were becomingly dressed. Fatima's arms, legs, and neck, were covered with rings and chains; her fingers and toes were loaded with rings; her head was surrounded with a fillet of pearls, some strings of which crossed it several ways, and confined the hair, which was knotted up behind. On her forehead hung a cluster of coloured stones, from which depended a large pearl, and round her face small strings of pearl hung at equal distances. Her earrings were very beautiful; but I do not like the custom of boring the hem of the ear, and studding it all round with joys, nor could even Fatima's beautiful face reconcile me to the nose-jewel. Her large black eyes, the *chesme ahoo*, stag eyes, of the eastern poets, were rendered more striking by the black streaks with which they were adorned and lengthened out at the corners; and the palms of her hands, the soles of her feet, and her nails, were stained with *hinna*, a plant, the juice of whose seeds is of a deep red colour.

"Fatima's manner is modest, gentle, and indolent. Before her husband she neither lifts her eyes nor speaks, and hardly moves without permission from the elder ladies of the harem. She presented us with perfumed sherbet, fruit, and sweetmeats, chiefly made of ghee, poppy-seeds, and sugar. Some of them were tolerably good, but it required all my good manners to swallow others. Prepared as I was to expect very little from Mussulman ladies, I could not help being shocked to see them so totally void of cultivation as I found them. They mutter their prayers, and some

of them read the koran, but not one in a thousand understands it. Still fewer can read their own language, or write at all, and the only work they do is a little embroidery. They thread beads, plait coloured threads, sleep, quarrel, make pastry, and chew betel, in the same daily round; and it is only at a death, a birth, or a marriage, that the monotony of their lives is ever interrupted. When I took leave, I was presented with flowers and *paung*, (chunam and betel-nut wrapped in the leaf of an aromatic plant,) and sprinkled with rose-water.

"As visits in the East are matters of ceremony, not of kindness, they are considered as a burden on the visitor, from which the person visited relieves him, as soon as he is satisfied with his company, by ordering refreshments, or offering the *paung*, which is a signal to depart. The highest affront one can offer to an Oriental, is to refuse his betel. Bernier tells a story of a young noble who, to prove his loyalty, took and swallowed the *paung* from Shah Jehan, though he knew it to be poisoned.

"October 20th.—Having gone through the ceremony of receiving and returning the visits of all the settlement, I have had an opportunity of seeing most of the European houses; and as I think our own the most agreeable residence I have seen, I shall content myself with a description of it, in order to give an idea of an Indian dwelling. It is pleasantly situated on the side of a hill, on the west side of Bombay, and commands a view of the greatest part of the island. On the summit are the ruins of a bungalow, once inhabited by Ragabboy, during his exile from Poonah, which, with the clefts in the surrounding rocks, afford

ford shelter to a few half-starved hyenas, who do no other mischief than stealing poultry and kids, and to innumerable jackalls, whose barking in the night is the greatest, I had almost said the only, inconvenience we feel here as to situation. The bases of the rocks are concealed by the wood, which reaches quite down to the plain, and is composed of the brab, the tamarind, and mango trees, while here and there a little space is cleared for a garden, in which there are usually two or three gardeners houses. In our walk last night, we discovered one of these little hill colonies, which had till then escaped our observation. We found, at the principal hut, three very pretty children playing round their grandmother, who was sitting on the ground in a little viranda at the end of the house, grinding rice for the evening meal of the family. The mill consists of two round flat stones, in the lower one of which there is a groove to let out the flour; the middle of the upper one is inserted into a hollow in the other, and is turned by a wooden peg stuck into it, about one-third of the diameter from the edge. Three or four goats, with their kids, were tied to stakes round the door, and a few fowls were running about in the garden. We sat by the old woman while she made her bread, but at a sufficient distance not to pollute her cooking utensils or her fire. Every vessel she used, though apparently clean before, she carefully washed, and then mixed her rice-flour with milk, water, and salt, when she beat it between the palms of her hands till it was round and thin, and baked it on a round iron plate, such as is used in Scotland for oat-cakes. Besides these cakes she prepared a few heads of

maize, by rubbing off the chaff, and laying them in the fire to roast for the family supper. At the next hut, the woman was grinding mis-sala or curry stuff, on a flat smooth stone, with another shaped like a rolling-pin. Less than a English halfpenny procures enough of turmeric, spice, salt, and ghee, to season the whole of the rice eaten in a day by a labourer, his wife, and five or six children; the vegetables and acids he requires are found in every hedge. The curry was cooked with as much cleanliness as the bread, and the inside of both the huts was beautifully neat. In one corner in each a large stone, with red powder sprinkled on it, stood as a household god, and before it were laid a few grains of rice and a coco-nut as offerings.

“ But to return to the description of the house. You enter it at one end of a viranda, which goes round four sides of a large square hall where we dine. On each side of the inner apartment are large glass doors and windows, so that we can admit or exclude the air as we please. The viranda keeps off the too great glare of the sun, and affords a dry walk during the rainy season. It is about twenty feet wide, and one side of it is one hundred feet long; the roof is supported by low arches, which are open to the garden. At one angle of the square formed by the viranda is the drawing-room, which has likewise a viranda on three sides, the fourth having a large bow-window overlooking the garden. The offices are connected with the house by a covered passage, and are concealed by thick shrubbery. Most of the country houses in Bombay have but one story; ours has two. The bedrooms above are well lighted and aired,

aired, and have glass windows within the Venetian shutters, which are only used in the rainy season, or during the land winds, which are cold and dry, and are said to give rheumatisms and cramps, with swelling, if they blow upon one while sleeping. Our garden is delightful; the walks are cut in the wood on the side of the hill, and covered with small sea-shells from the beach of Back Bay, instead of gravel, which, besides the advantage of drying quickly in the rainy season, are said to keep off snakes, whose skins are easily wounded by the sharp edges of the broken shells. On each side of the walks are ledges of brick, chunamed over, to prevent them from being destroyed by the monsoon rains. We are always sheltered from the sun by the fan-like heads of the palmyras, whose tall columnar stems afford a free passage to the air, and serve to support an innumerable variety of parasite and creeping plants, which decorate their rough bark with the gayest hues, vying with the beautiful shrubs which flourish beneath, and affording shelter to birds more beautiful than themselves. Some of these build in the sweet-scented champaka and the mango; and one, small as the humming-bird, fixes its curious nest to the pointed tips of the palmyra leaf, to secure its young from the tree-snake, while flights of paroquets daily visit the fruit-trees, and with their shrill voices hail the rising sun, joined by the *mina*, the kokeela, and a few other birds of song.

“At the lowest part of the garden is a long broad walk, on each side of which grow vines, pamplemouses, figs, and other fruits, among which is the jumboo, a species of rose-apple, with its flowers, like crimson

tassels, covering every part of the stem. Our grapes are excellent, but we are obliged to make an artificial winter for them, to prevent the fruit from setting at the beginning of the rainy season, which would destroy it. Every leafy branch is cut off, and nothing is left but the stump, and one or two leading branches; the roots are then laid bare and dry for three or four weeks, at the end of which a compost of fish, dead weeds, and earth, is heaped round them, the holes filled up, and the plants daily watered.

“At one end of this walk are chunam seats, under some fine spreading trees, with the fruit-walk to the right hand, and to the left flower-beds filled with jasmine, roses, and tuberoses; while the plumbago rosea, the red and white ixoras, with the scarlet wild mulberry, and the oleander, mingle their gay colours with the delicate white of the moon-flower and the mogree. The beauty and fertility of this charming garden is kept up by constant watering from a fine well near the house. The water is raised by a wheel worked by a buffalo; over the wheel two bands of rope pass, to each of which are tied earthen pots, about three or four feet from each other, which dip into the water as the wheel turns them to the bottom, and empty themselves as they go round, into a trough, communicating with chunam canals, leading to reservoirs in different parts of the garden. In short, this would be a little paradise, but for the reptiles peculiar to the climate. One of them, a white worm of the thickness of a fine bobbin, gets under the skin, and grows to the length of two or three feet. Dr. Kier thinks the eggs are deposited in the skin by the wind and rain, as they are seldom

seldom found to attack those who never expose their legs or feet to the external air, and generally appear in the rainy monsoon. If they are suffered to remain in the flesh, or if they are broken in taking out, they occasion unpleasant sores. The native barbers extract them very dexterously with a sharp pointed instrument, with which they first remove the skin, then gradually dig till they seize the animal's head, which they fasten to a quill, round which they roll the worm, drawing out eight or nine inches daily, till the whole is extracted.

" Snakes, from the enormous rock-snake, who first breaks the bones of his prey, by coiling round it, and then swallows it whole, to the smallest of the venomous tribe, glide about in every direction. Here the cobra-capella, whose bite is in almost every instance mortal, lifts his graceful folds, and spreads his large many-coloured crest; here too lurks the small bright speckled cobra-manilla, whose fangs convey instant death.

" November 3.—The weather is now extremely pleasant; the mornings and evenings are so cool, that we can take long walks, but the middle of the day is still too hot to venture into the sunshine. The vegetable fields are in great beauty. I saw last night at least two acres covered with brinjaal, a species of solanum. The fruit is as large as a baking pear, and is excellent either stewed or broiled. The natives eat it plain boiled, or made into curry. The *bendy*, called in the West Indies *okree*, is a pretty plant, resembling a dwarf holyhock; the fruit is about the length and thickness of one's finger; it has five long cells full of round seeds. When boiled, it is soft and mucilaginous, and is

an excellent ingredient in soups, curries, and stews, though I prefer it plain boiled. All sorts of gourds and cucumbers are in great plenty, but this is early in the season for them. Several plants produce long pods, which, being cut small, are so exactly like French beans, that one cannot discover the difference, and they are plentiful all the year round, as are spinach, and a kind of cress which is boiled as greens, called in the West Indies *calliloo*. The common and sweet potatoes are excellent; but our best vegetable is the onion, for which Bombay is famous throughout the East. The peas and beans are indifferent, and the cabbage, carrots, and turnips, from European seed, are still scarce. Sallad, parsley, and other pot-herbs, are raised in baskets and boxes in cool shady places, but celery thrives well, and is blanched by placing two circular tiles round the root. Twenty years ago the potatoe was scarcely known in India, but it is now produced in such abundance, that the natives in some places make considerable use of it. Bombay is supplied chiefly with this excellent root from Guzerat, which province also furnishes us with wheat. The bread is the best I ever tasted, both for whiteness and lightness; the last quality it owes to being fermented with coco-nut toddy, no other being equal for that purpose. A little cheese is made in Guzerat, but it is hard and ill-flavoured, though the milk of the Guzerat cattle is very good, and yields excellent butter. The market of Bombay is mostly supplied with buffalo milk and butter; the latter article is insipid, and has a greenish hue, not very inviting to strangers. Our beef is tolerably good, though not fat; immediately

mediately after the rains, that of the buffalo is the best, though its appearance is unfavourable before it is dressed, and Europeans are in general strongly prejudiced against it. The mutton we get in the bazar is lean and hard, but either Bengal or Mahratta sheep, fed for six or eight weeks, furnish as good meat as one finds in the English markets. The kid is always good, and the poultry both good and abundant. The fish is excellent, but the larger kinds are not very plentiful. The *bumbelo* is like a large sand-eel; it is dried in the sun, and is usually eaten at breakfast with *kedgerie*, a dish of rice boiled with *dol* (split country peas), and coloured with turmeric. The prawns are the finest I ever saw, of an excellent flavour, and as large as craw fish; they are frequently shelled, pressed flat, and dried. The island is too small to furnish much game, but the red-legged partridge is not uncommon, and we sometimes see snipes. Among other articles of food I ought to mention frogs, which are larger here than I ever saw them, and are eaten by the Chinese and Portuguese, but not, I believe, by any of the other inhabitants of Bombay.

“The lower classes of natives drink a great deal of arrack and *bhang*, an intoxicating liquor made from hempseed; there is also a strong spirit extracted from a kind of berry which I have not seen, called Parsee brandy; it has a strong burnt taste, which I think particularly disagreeable, but of which the people are very fond.

“The other evening I followed a pretty child into a hut, where I found a native busy distilling arrack. The still is simply constructed. Round a hole in the earth a ledge of clay, four inches

high, is raised, with an opening about half a foot wide, for the purpose of feeding the fire. Upon the clay a large earthen pot is luted; to its mouth is luted the mouth of a second pot; and where they join, an earthen spout, a few inches long, is inserted, which serves to let off the spirit condensed in the upper jar, which is kept cool by a person pouring water constantly over it. When I went into the cottage, I found a woman sitting with a child in one arm, and with the other she cooled the still, pouring the water from a coco-nut shell ladle. She told me she sat at her occupation from sunrise till sunset, and scarcely changed her position. While I was talking to her, her husband came home laden with toddy for distilling. He is a *bandari*, or toddy-gatherer. On his head was the common gardener's bonnet, resembling in shape the cap seen on the statues and gems of Paris, and called, I believe, the Phrygian bonnet; and at his girdle hung the implements of his trade. It is curious to see these people climbing the straight stems of the palms. Having tied their ancles loosely together, they pass a band round the tree and round their waist, and, placing their feet to the root of the tree, they lean upon the band, and with their hands and feet climb nimbly up a tree without branches, fifty feet high, carrying with them a bill or hatchet to make fresh incisions, or to renew the old ones, and a jar to bring down the toddy, which is received in a pot tied to the tree, and emptied every twelve hours.

“Before I left the cottage, its inhabitants dressed themselves in their finest jewels, for the purpose of attending a marriage. I accompanied them a little way to join the procession,

procession, which at a distance looked like the groupes we see on antique bas-reliefs. In short, I every day find some traces of the manners and simplicity of the antique ages; but the arts and the virtues that adorned them are sunk in the years of slavery under which the devoted Hindoos have bent. These people, if they have the virtues of slaves, patience, meekness, forbearance, and gentleness, have their vices also. They are cunning, and incapable of truth; they disregard the imputations of lying and perjury, and would consider it folly not to practise them for their own interest. But,

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Easily canst thou find one miserable,
And not enforc'd oft-times to part from
truth,
If it may stand him more in stead to lie,
Say, and unsay, fawn, flatter, or abjure?
PAR. REG. B. i. l. 470.

With regard to the Europeans in Bombay, the manners of the inhabitants of a foreign colony are in general so well represented by those of a country town at home, that it is hopeless to attempt making a description of them very interesting. However, as it may be gratifying to know how little there is to satisfy curiosity, I shall endeavour to describe our colonists. On our arrival we dined with the governor, and found almost all the English of the settlement invited to meet us. There were a good many very pretty and very well dressed women, a few antient belles, and at least three men for every woman. When dinner was announced, I, as the stranger, though an unmarried woman, was handed by the governor into a magnificent dining-room, formerly the chapel of the Jesuits college, at one end of which a tole-

rable band was stationed to play during dinner. We sat down to table about eight o'clock, in number about fifty, so that conversation, unless with one's next neighbour, was out of the question. After dinner, I was surprised that the ladies sat so long at the table. At length, after every body had exhibited repeated symptoms of weariness, one of the ladies led the way into the saloon, and then I discovered that, as the stranger, I was expected to move first. Does not this seem a little barbarous? I found our fair companions, like the ladies of all the country towns I know, underbred and over-dressed, and, with the exception of one or two, very ignorant and very grossière. The men are, in general, what a Hindoo would call of a higher cast than the women; and I generally find the merchants the most rational companions. Having, at a very early age, to depend on their own mental exertions, they acquire a steadiness and sagacity which prepare their minds for the acquisition of a variety of information, to which their commercial intercourse leads.

"The civil servants to government being, in Bombay, for the most part young men, are so taken up with their own imaginary importance, that they disdain to learn, and have nothing to teach. Among the military I have met with many well-informed and gentleman-like persons, but still the great number of men, and the small number of rational companions, make a deplorable prospect to one who anticipates a long residence here.

"The parties in Bombay are the most dull and uncomfortable meetings one can imagine. Forty or fifty persons assemble at seven o'clock,

o'clock, and stare at one another till dinner is announced, when the ladies are handed to table, according to the strictest rules of precedence, by a gentleman of a rank corresponding to their own. At table there can be no general conversation, but the different couples who have been paired off, and who, on account of their rank, invariably sit together at every great dinner, amuse themselves with remarks on the company, as satirical as their wit will allow; and woe be to the stranger, whose ears are certain of being regaled with the catalogue of his supposed imperfections and misfortunes, and who has the chance of learning more of his own history than in all probability he ever knew before. After dinner the same topics continue to occupy the ladies, with the addition of lace, jewels, intrigues, and the latest fashions; or, if there be any newly-arrived young women, the making and breaking matches for them furnish employment for the ladies of the colony till the arrival of the next cargo. Such is the company at an English Bombay feast. The repast itself is as costly as possible, and in such profusion that no part of the table-cloth remains uncovered. But the dinner is scarcely touched, as every person eats a hearty meal called tiffin, at two o'clock, at home. Each guest brings his own servant, sometimes two or three; these are either Parsees or Mussulmans. It appears singular to a stranger to see behind every white man's chair a dark, long bearded, turbaned gentleman, who usually stands so close to his master, as to make no trifling addition to the heat of the apartment; indeed, were it not for the *panka*, (a large frame of wood covered with cloth), which is sus-

pending over every table, and kept constantly swinging, in order to freshen the air, it would scarcely be possible to sit out the melancholy ceremony of an Indian dinner.

"On leaving the eating-room, one generally sees or hears, in some place near the door, the cleaning of dishes, and the squabbling of cooks for their perquisites. If they are within sight, one perceives a couple of dirty Portuguese (black men who eat pork and wear breeches) directing the operations of half a dozen still dirtier Pariahs, who are scraping dishes and plates with their hands, and then, with the same unwashed paws, putting aside the next day's tiffin for their master's table.

"The equipage that conveys one from a party, if one does not use a palankeen, is curious. The light and elegant figure of the Arab horses is a strong contrast with the heavy carriages and clumsy harness generally seen here. The coachman is always a whiskered Parsee, with a gay coloured turban, and a muslin or chintz gown, and there are generally two *massalgees*, or torch-bearers, and sometimes two horse-keepers, to run before one. On getting home, one finds a *seapoy* or *peon* walking round the open virandas of the house as a guard. We have four of these servants, two of whom remain in the house for twenty-four hours, when they are relieved by the two others. These men carry messages, go to market, and attend to the removal of goods or furniture, but will carry nothing themselves heavier than a small book. The female servants are Portuguese, and they only act as ladies-maids, all household work being done by men, as well as the needle-work of the family.

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“ The *derdjees*, or tailors, in Bombay, are Hindoos of a respectable caste, who wear the *zenaar*. My *derdjee*, a tall good-looking young man, wears a fine worked muslin gown, and a red or purple turban bordered with gold. He works and cuts out beautifully, making as much use of his own toes as of his fingers in the last operation. His wages are fourteen rupees a-month, for which he works eight hours a-day; inferior workmen receive from eight to twelve rupees. Besides the *hamauls* for the palankeens, we have some for household-work; they make the beds, sweep and clean the rooms and furniture, and fetch water; on any emergency they help the palankeen-bearers, and receive assistance from them in return. For the meaner offices we have a *Hallalcor* or *Chandela*, (one of the most wretched *Pariahs*), who attends twice a-day. Two *Massalgees* clean and light the lamps and candles, and carry the torches before us at night. One of these is a *Pariah*, so that he can clean knives, remove bones and rubbish, which his fellow-servant *Nersu*, who is of a good caste, will not do. *Nersu* fetches bread and flour, carries messages, and even parcels, provided they be not large enough to make him appear like a *kooli* or porter, and takes the greatest share of preparing the lamps, which are finger-glasses or tumblers half filled with water, on which they pour the coco-nut oil, always calculating it exactly to the number of hours the lamp has to burn; the wick is made of cotton twisted round a splinter of bamboo. The native masons, carpenters, and blacksmiths are remarkably neat and dexterous in their several trades. There is plenty of stone on the island for building,

1813.

but a good deal of brick is used. All the lime here is made from shells; it is called *chunam*, of which there are many kinds, one of which the natives eat with the *betal-nut*. They are very particular in gathering the shells, no person taking two different sorts; they are burnt separately, and it is said that the *chunam* varies according to the shell it is made from.

“ The Indian carpenter's tools are so coarse, and the native wood is so hard, that one would wonder that the work was ever performed. Almost every thing is done with a chisel and an axe. The gimlet is a long piece of iron wire with a flat point, fixed into a wooden handle consisting of two parts, the upper one of which is held in one hand, while the other is turned by a bow, whose string is twisted twice round it. The plane is small, but similar to that of Europe, excepting that it has a cross stick in the front, which serves as a handle for another workman, two being generally employed at one plane. As the comforts of a carpenter's bench are unknown, when a Hindoo wants to plane his work, he sits on the ground, with his partner opposite to him, steadying the timber with their toes, and both plane together. I have seen two of them working in this manner on a bit of wood a foot square, with a plane three inches long. Even the blacksmiths sit down to do their work. They dig a hole eighteen inches or two feet deep, in the centre of which they place the anvil, so that they can sit by it with their legs in the hole. A native of India does not get through so much work as an European; but the multitude of hands, and the consequent cheapness of labour, supply the place of the industry of Europe,

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Europe, and in most cases that of its machinery also. I saw the main-mast of the *Minden*, a weight little less than twenty tons, lifted and moved a considerable distance by the *koolis* or porters. They carried it in slings fixed to bamboos, which they placed on their heads cross-wise, with one arm over the bamboo, and the other on the shoulder of the man immediately before; in front of the whole marched one to guide and to clear the way, for, when they have once begun to move, the weight on the head prevents them from seeing what is before them.

“In Bombay there are a good many *Banyans*, or travelling merchants, who come mostly from *Guzerat*, and roam about the country with muslins, cotton-cloth, and shawls to sell. On opening one of their bales, I was surprised to find at least half of its contents of British manufacture, and such articles were much cheaper than those of equal fineness from Bengal and *Madras*. Excepting a particular kind of chintz made at *Poonah*, and painted with gold and silver, there are no fine cotton-cloths made on this side of the peninsula; yet still it seems strange, that cotton carried to England, manufactured, and returned to this country, should undersell the fabrics of India, where labour is so cheap. But I believe this is owing partly to the uncertainty and difficulty of carriage here, although the use of machinery at home must be the main cause. The shawls are brought here direct from *Cashmeer*, by the native merchants of that country, so that we sometimes get them cheap and beautiful. The *Banyans* ought to be *Hindoos*, though I have known *Mussulmans* adopt the name,

with the profession; their distinguishing turban is so formed as to present the shape of a rhinoceros' horn in front, and it is generally red.

“The *Borahs* are an inferior set of travelling merchants. The inside of a *Borah's* box is like that of an English country shop, spelling-books, prayer-books, lavender-water, eau de luce, soap, tapes, scissars, knives, needles, and thread, make but a small part of the variety it contains. These people are *Mussulmans*, very poor, and reputed thieves. The profits on their trade must be very small; but the *Banyans* are often rich, and most of them keep a shop in the bazar, leaving one partner to attend it, while the other goes his rounds, attended by two or three *koolis*, with their loads on their heads.

“It reminds one of the *Arabian Nights* Entertainments, to go through the bazar of an evening. The whole fronts of the shops are taken down and converted into benches, on which the goods are disposed, and each shop is lighted with at least two lamps. Here you see grain of every description heaped up in earthen jars; there, sweetmeats of all sorts and shapes, disposed in piles on benches, or hung in festoons about the top and sides of the shop, which is commonly lined with chintz or dyed cotton. Farther on, fruits and vegetables are laid out to the best advantage; then you come to the *paung*, or betel leaf, nut, and *chunam*, ready for chewing, or the separate materials; beyond are shops for perfumes, linens, oils, toys, brass, and earthen wares, all set out in order, and the owner sitting bolt upright in the middle of his sweetmeats or grain, waiting for custom. The shops of the *schroffs*,
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or bankers, are numerous in the bazar; you see the master sitting in the middle of his money-table, surrounded by piles of copper and silver money, with scales for weighing the rupees and other coins presented for change. But it is the barber's shop that is always most crowded, being, particularly at night, the great resort for gossip and news, on which account the natives call it *gup shop*; the barbers themselves seem to enjoy a prescriptive right to be lively, witty, and good story-tellers. I have seen some excellent buffoons among them, and a slap given to a bald new-shaven pate, in the proper part of a story, has set half a bazar in a roar. The barbers keep every body's holidays, — Hindoos, Jews, Mussulmans, Armenians, Portuguese, and English,—and reap a good harvest at each by their comic way of begging.

“On first coming here, one would imagine that none of the people ever slept at night; for, besides that the coppersmiths and blacksmiths generally work all night, and sleep all day, on account of the heat, there are processions going about from sunset till sunrise, with *tom-toms*, (small drums,) kettle-drums, citarrs, vins, pipes, and a kind of large brazen trumpet, which requires two people to carry it, making altogether the most horrible din I ever heard. These processions, with the picturesque dresses of the natives, and their graceful attitudes, the torches carried by children, and the little double pipe blown by boys, whose wildness might make them pass for satyrs, put one strongly in mind of the antient Bacchanals. It is usually on account of marriages that these nocturnal feasts are held. When they

are in honour of a god they take place in the day, when the deity is carried on a litter in triumph, with banners before and behind, and priests carrying flowers, and milk and rice, while hardly any one joins the procession without an offering. All this looks very well at a distance, but, on coming near, one is shocked at the meanness and inelegance of the god, and at the filth and wretchedness of his votaries.

“With one procession, however, I was much pleased; it took place a month ago, on the breaking up of the monsoon, when the sea became open for navigation. It is called the coco-nut feast, and is, I believe, peculiar to this coast. About an hour before sunset, an immense concourse of people assembled on the esplanade, where booths were erected, with all kinds of commodities for sale. All the rich natives appeared in their carriages, and the display of pearls and jewels was astonishing. At sunset, one of the chief Bramins advanced towards the sea, and going out a little way upon a ledge of rock, he launched a gilt coco-nut, in token that the sea was now become navigable; immediately thousands of coco-nuts were seen swimming in the bay; for every priest and every master of a family was eager to make his offering. The evening closed, as usual, with music, dancing, and exhibitions of tumblers, jugglers, and tame snakes. The tumblers are usually from Hyderabad, the jugglers from Madras, and the exhibitions of snakes are common in every part of India. The agility and strength of the tumblers, particularly the women, surpassed every thing I ever saw; but the sight is rather curious than pleasant. The tame snakes are mostly cobra-capellas;

at the sound of a small pipe they rise on their tails, and spread their hoods, advance, retreat, hiss, and pretend to bite, at the word of command. The keepers wish it to be believed that they have the power of charming this animal, and preventing the bad effects of its bite; but I looked into the mouths of several, and found the teeth all gone, and the gums much lacerated. The method sometimes used to extract the teeth, is to throw a piece of red cloth to the snake, who bites it furiously; the keeper then

takes him by the head, and holding his jaws forcibly together, tears out the cloth, and with it the teeth. The cobra-capella is from six to twelve feet long; it is held in great veneration by the natives, who call it a high caste snake, and do not willingly suffer it to be destroyed. There is a yearly feast and procession in honour of the snakes, when offerings of milk, rice, and sugar are made to them, and money given to the priests, who, on these occasions, build rustic temples of bamboos and reeds in the fields."

DESCRIPTION OF COLUMBO.

[From the same.]

"I am writing in a bungalow lent us by a friend, on the margin of the beautiful lake of Columbo. It is divided into basins by projecting points, and interspersed with islands; its banks are dotted with villas, and fringed with as great a variety of trees as you see in England; it is only where, on some steep bank, the slender betel lifts its graceful trunk, that we are reminded of being in the East Indies.

"We left Pointe de Galle on the nineteenth. Our party consisted of ourselves and three friends, one of whom we accompanied from Bombay, and the other two, Mr. and Mrs. ———, are inhabitants of Columbo, upon whom the Maha Modeliar always attends on their journeys; and the whole road from Pointe de Galle to Columbo was decorated in the same manner as the rest-houses. The dressing the road for persons of consequence in the

government, is a tribute from the fishermen of this coast, and so is the providing lights at night in the manner described in coming from Bellegam. Under the Dutch government, the inhabitants of the villages were required to furnish provisions, and koolis to carry both the palankeens and baggage of travellers without hire; but the English pay punctually for every thing of this kind. The dressing the road and rest-houses, as it is seldom required, and is performed chiefly by the women and children, is no heavy burden, and is merely exacted as a mark of respect to the officers of government. Our first stage was from Pointe de Galle to Heccadua, a considerable village, near which there is a broad river, which we crossed on a stage erected on three small boats, with a canopy of white cotton ornamented with leaves and flowers. We spent the heat of the day under the shade of the

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the young coco-nut wood on the beach at Heccadua. In the afternoon we proceeded to Ambolamgodda, and stopped about half a mile from it to look at a magnificent lake, formed by a large river which descends from the Candian country. The Candians frequently come down this river to barter betelnut, rice, and precious stones, for salt and some other necessities,—a traffic that no jealousy of their government can prevent, for, as the English possess the whole of the coast of Ceylon, they have no salt but what they obtain in this manner. There is a long wooden bridge over the stream between the lake and the sea, on which we were met by all the dancing men and musical instruments of the village, to which they conducted us dancing and playing before us all the way. At the entrance of Ambolamgodda we found what I suppose is the militia of the place drawn up to receive us. Three or four old bayonets stuck upon sticks, as many old bearspears, old pikes, and weapons without names, composed the rugged armour of the ragged crew; and a Madras bed-cover, fluttering on a pole, served for a standard. At the head of this band marched the village Modeliar, who led us to the rest-house, where, after dressing ourselves, we sat down to an excellent dinner of the fish of the coast, part of a wild hog, of which there are great numbers in the island, and other good things; but as I do not mean to record our daily bill of fare, I shall mention at once all the provisions that may be had without going out of Ceylon. The coast abounds with a variety of good fish; domestic quadrupeds require feeding at great expense, owing to the scarcity of fodder, but the poultry

is excellent, and the woods occasionally furnish wild hogs, venison, and jungle-fowl, besides wild ducks and teal. The fruits are the best I have seen in India of their kind; they are, the pine-apple, the pamplemousse, or shaddock, the plantain, and the orange. The coco-nuts are remarkably good, particularly a large kind of a golden colour, called the Rajah's coco-nut. The common people eat great quantities of the Jack-fruit, which they slice and curry while unripe; I, of course, prefer them ripe, but they require to be nicely prepared and steeped in salt water, for the eatable part, when ripe, is bedded in a slimy substance, the smell of which is intolerable. The bread here is extremely good, and the butter made in private houses is only inferior to that in England. The supply of vegetables is very scanty; potatoes and onions are imported from Bombay; and sometimes, but very rarely, cabbages and peas are brought from Bengal.

“When I went to my room at night, I found a lamp, of probably a more antient form than any antique; a solid lump of wood, with a long stick inserted into it, supported half a coco-nut shell, which contained the oil and the wick. The hand of art only was wanting to convert this rude lamp into an elegant piece of furniture; for the log was an unplanned piece of ebony, the stick a fresh bamboo, and the shell itself, whose form as a lamp is beautiful, takes a fine polish

“The next morning after breakfast we went to Cossogodda, a small village, the only stage where we were not on the sea shore. As we went through the wood, I saw one of the large baboons, called here Wanderows, on the top of a coco-nut

nut tree, where he was gathering nuts, with which he ran along the tops of the trees with surprising agility. I at first took him for a man, but I discovered my mistake, when he peeped at my palankeen through the leaves, by the large grey ruff he has round his face. From Cossgodda we proceeded to Bentot, where there are the remains of a Dutch fort and town. It is on the side of a very beautiful river, which we crossed in the same manner as we did that near Heccadua. Before breakfast the next morning, Captain ——— and I walked round the neighbouring fields, and were delighted with the beauty of the scenery. There is a little promontory jutting out into the sea, covered with flowers and shrubs, and charmingly shaded; there we sat and watched two small vessels as they sailed at a distance, while the murmurs of the ocean were but now and then hushed enough to allow us to hear the songs of the fishermen on the beach. I cannot sometimes help comparing the different ways in which the same objects affect minds accustomed to different trains of association. The low rocks on the shore, which cause a continual boiling of the water round them, and the stupendous clouds that roll over the main, changing its hue to every various tint as they roll, I have always admired as among the most interesting circumstances of a sea view; but my companion, though fully sensible of their beauty, feels at the sight of these objects the secret horror that the forerunners of storms and shipwrecks are calculated to inspire.

“ We left Bentot after breakfast, and arrived at Barbareen about two o'clock, where we found that the

provident Modeliar had erected a beautiful rest-house for us, and had prepared an excellent collation. There is a bold projecting rock, nearly insulated, on the top of which is a Mussulman saint's tomb,—a mean little building, overshadowed by four or five coco-nut trees. Here the Modeliar had built our bungalow of bamboos, covered with cotton cloth, and decorated with leaves, flowers, and bunches of coco-nut by way of capitals to the pillars; and across the chasm which separates it from the village, a temporary bridge was thrown, covered with cotton, and decorated like the bungalow. At the foot of the promontory, the fishermen sometimes lay up their boats and spread their nets; and the whole scene was so picturesque that I made a sketch of it, after which I joined the party in the rest-house, and enjoyed the freshness of the breeze, which ruffled the open sea, but left the inner bay smooth and clear as a mirror.

“ Barbareen is a Mussulman village, and the Modeliar is also a Mussulman; the inhabitants are chiefly artizans, who work in all kinds of metals; we saw several swords and dirks, with their scabbards, of very good workmanship. The next stage to Barbareen is Caltura, where there is an old Dutch fort, commanding a most beautiful view. A broad river flows from the eastern forests, which extend almost as far as the eye can reach, where they are lost, together with the distant mountains, in the horizon. Westward the river empties itself into the ocean, amidst rocks and groves, where the fishermen shelter their boats and build their huts. As I was attempting to sketch the scene, a violent storm of rain,

rain, thunder, and lightning came on, with all the grand circumstances peculiar to tropical climates, and forced us to take shelter in the rest-house, where we remained till the next morning, when we crossed the river before day-break. First our palankeens and servants went over in two or three small boats lashed together, and with them a number of people carrying lights; then all the village musicians in separate boats, having also their lights; and lastly our boat, dressed with white cotton, flowers, and leaves, and illuminated with the dried coco-nut leaves. I really never saw so gay a scene; and it was with no small regret that I reached the opposite shore, to shut myself up in my palankeen, and to listen to the monotonous song of my palankeen-bearers.

“After breakfasting in a small bungalow on the sea-shore, we reached our friend’s house on the lake of Columbo, about two o’clock, and were well pleased to find ourselves settled quietly in a comfortable bungalow, after spending so long a time in wandering, the last four days of which were passed either in travelling in a palankeen, or in a rest-house preparing for it. The distance from Point de Galle to Columbo is only seventy-two miles, and might be accomplished in little more than twenty-four hours; but it is fatiguing to travel so fast, and is attended with considerable expense, as in that case you must have more than double the number of bearers for your palankeen.

“*March 1.*—We have now been at Columbo some days; and I am so delighted with the place, and with the English society here, that if I could choose my place of residence for the rest of the time of my

absence from England, it should be Columbo. We generally drive out before breakfast in a bandy, and go sometimes through the fort, which is extremely pretty. It is immediately between the sea and the lake, and only joined to the mainland by a causeway on each side of the water; and sometimes we go through the cinnamon gardens, which lie at the opposite end of the lake. The cinnamon is naturally a tall shrub, or rather tree, but it is kept low in the gardens for the sake of the young bark, which is gathered at two different seasons, though the same plants are not cut every season. When the sticks are cut, the bark is taken off with a little instrument, which peels the whole at once; it is then laid in the sun to dry, when it rolls off itself in the manner in which we see it in the shops. Great nicety is required in laying together a sufficient number of pieces for one roll, and in sorting the different qualities, the finest spice being always at the extremity of the branch. The soil in the gardens is fine white sand. Besides the cinnamon, I saw there the cashew-nut, two kinds of datura, the ixora, and a variety of plants with the names and properties of which I am not acquainted.

“A few days ago we joined a large party in an excursion to the governor’s country-house, Mount Lavinia. It is a charming residence; it literally overhangs the sea, and has all the beauty that hill and valley, wood and rocks, with a beautiful beach and a fine open sea, can give. The interior, though not large, is very pleasant; a long gallery looks towards the sea; the rooms on the other side command some pretty hills, the sides of which form fine lawns; and in the valley
are

are palm-trees, which hide all the farm-offices, and afford shelter to a collection of animals of the deer and elk-kind, from the interior of the island, and from the opposite coast of India. Feeding by himself, we remarked an animal not less beautiful than terrible, the wild bull, whose milk-white hide is adorned with a black flowing mane.

“Here I saw specimens of several beautiful kinds of wood in the furniture of the house. The jack-wood, which, at first yellow, becomes on exposure to the air of the colour of mahogany, and is of as fine a grain; the toon, or country mahogany, which comes from Bengal; the ebony, whose black vies with the native jet of the island; the satin-wood, with its silky lustre; the calaminda, whose dark and light veins alternately shew each other to the greatest advantage; and some others of more ordinary appearance, and in more common use.

“*March 9.*—We have been highly gratified by an excursion to Negumbo, whence we went into the jungle to see the manner of taking elephants. We left Columbo early on the sixth; and after breakfasting in a pretty bungalow on the way, we reached Negumbo to dinner, where we were joined by the collector of the district, a learned and ingenious man, and Mr. Daniel the painter, whose printed views of Ceylon you must have seen.

“Negumbo has a ruinous fort situated on the sea-shore near a small lake. Like most of the old towns in Ceylon, it is very picturesque, being interspersed with trees and fruit-gardens. We slept in the rest-house; and next morning early we set off for the elephant *craal*, or

trap, which is sixteen miles from Negumbo, and within half a mile of the Candian frontier. The first eight miles the bandies conveyed us over very good roads; but the marshy ground we had to pass afterwards, obliged us to get into our palankeens, which had been sent on to await us near a talipot tree we wished to see. The talipot is a species of palm like the palmyra, when not in blossom; but when it is crowned with its flower, it is the most magnificent of vegetables. From the centre of its bushy head rises a stem of twelve or fifteen feet, which puts out on every side a number of small branches, covered with a delicate straw-coloured flower, having the appearance of one grand blossom on the top of the tall palm, whose graceful stem, like a pillar crowned with fan-like leaves, form the most beautiful support for its elegant superstructure.

“When we reached the *craal* it was near ten o'clock, and we found the collector and Mr. Daniel awaiting us in the breakfast bungalow, where the attention of the former had literally spread a feast in the wilderness. The *craal* is in the shape of a funnel, the wide part of which extends several hundred feet into the forest, leaving the trees within standing. It is composed of strong posts made of whole trunks of trees driven well into the ground, and lashed to others, placed horizontally, with strong coier ropes. To defend this wall from the fury of the elephants, small fires are lighted near it on the outside, which intimidate the animals so that they do not approach it. The trap is divided into three parts, the outer one of which is only enclosed on three sides, and communicates with the

the next by a gate made of strong poles, fastened together by ropes so as to permit it to roll up. When the elephants are once driven into the outer chamber, they are prevented from retreating by men stationed at the entrance with different kinds of weapons, but chiefly sticks, on the ends of which are bundles of lighted straw. When a sufficient number are thus collected in the outer enclosures, the hunters close in upon them, and drive them by their shouts and weapons into the second chamber, the gate of which is immediately let down, and they are there confined till it is convenient to take them out. When every thing is prepared for that purpose, the animals are driven into the third and last enclosure, which is also the smallest. One end of it terminates in a long passage, just wide enough for a single beast; and the moment one of them enters it, the hunters thrust strong poles through the interstices in the walls of the craal, and close him in so that he cannot move backwards or forwards. Two tame elephants are then stationed one at each side of the outlet, and putting in their trunks, they hold that of their wild brother till the hunters have passed several bands of rope round his neck, and fastened nooses to each of his feet. A rope is then passed through his neck bands, and those of the tame animals; the stakes in front are gradually removed; the ropes drawn tighter; and the prisoner is led out between his two guards, who press him with their whole weight, and thus lead him to the tree or the stake where he is to be fastened. If he be refractory, they beat him with their trunks till he submits; he is sometimes tied by one leg, sometimes by two; if

he be very strong and furious, he is fastened by the neck and by all his limbs. I never saw grief and indignation so passionately expressed as by one of these creatures; he groaned, tried to tear his legs from their fetters, buried his trunk in the earth, and threw dust into the air. Not even the choicest food, the plaintain tree, or the leaf of the young palm, could tempt him to eat or to forget his captivity for several hours. It sometimes happens that they starve themselves to death; but a few days generally suffices to calm their fury, and their education is immediately begun.

“The elephants here are used for drawing timber out of the jungle, and for other public works; but the greater number of those caught in Ceylon are sold to the continent of India. The elephant-keepers teach their beasts a number of tricks, such as walking upon two legs, taking up people with their trunks, tearing up trees, and picking pins or small coins out of the sand. Yet, tame as they are, they are extremely sensible to injuries. One of those we saw, though habitually gentle and obedient, formerly killed a keeper who had been cruel to him. The number and variety of stories concerning the sagacity of the elephant told by those most in the habit of seeing and observing that animal, if they do not prove the truth of each anecdote, are yet strongly presumptive of his wisdom and docility. I was told by a gentleman, that, not long ago, a considerable body of troops had to cross the Kistna, then much swoln by the rains, in doing which, one of the artillery-men who was mounted on a gun fell off in the middle of the stream, immediately before the wheel of the gun-carriage; his comrades

comrades gave him up for lost ; but an elephant attending on the artillery had seen him fall, and putting his trunk to the wheel, raised it so as to prevent its crushing the man, and then lifted him out of the water unhurt.

“ After seeing the process of taking the elephants, we walked about the jungle till our palankeen boys were sufficiently rested to carry us back to Negumbo, and amused ourselves with the gambols of swarms of red monkeys that were playing in the trees over our heads, and who seemed highly delighted with their unusual company. I saw in the forest innumerable trees and plants which were new to me, among which I was delighted to find the pitcher-plant, *Nepenthes distillatoria*, or, as it is here called, the monkey-cup. It creeps along the ground, and is mostly found in sandy soils ; the flower grows in a spike, and is as little attractive in its appearance as the common dock. The horn or cup grows at the end of the leaf, from which it is separated by a tendril of five or six inches long ; it contains, when full, about two gills of water of an excellent pure taste : whether it is dew, or a secretion from the plant, I do not know. A circular cover to the cup flies open when it is nearly at its full growth, and shuts again when it is filled with water. The country people say that, when the monkeys are in want of water, they seek for this plant and drink its contents. I imagine this to be the plant which Campbell, on the authority of Chateaubriant, introduces in his charming poem of *Gertrude*, as the “ lotus-horn ;” but it has no resemblance either to the sacred lotus of the east, or to the numerous tribe of lotuses whose flowers are papilionaceous.

All the kinds of cane, from the lofty bamboo to the creeping ratan, adorn these forests ; the pepper twines round every tree ; and the thick underwood is composed of flowering shrubs and gaudy parasite and creeping plants. As we were walking about, we found that the ground was covered with leeches, which stuck to the bare legs of the natives, and which we only kept off by great caution. Unless you choose to submit to a regular bleeding when they have once fastened themselves, you run the risk of getting disagreeable sores in taking them off. They are striped brown and yellow, and have a very wide mouth ; they answer the same purposes as the common leeches in England.

“ The moment our palankeens were ready we began our journey to Negumbo, fearing that we should scarcely get through the jungle before sunset, the night air in the woods occasioning intermittent fevers. We however left Mr. Daniel at the craal, where he intended to stay some time in search of subjects for his pencil. To defend himself from the bad effects of his sylvan life, he smokes, and lights great fires within and without his tent. On our road I saw the curious spectacle of an extensive burned forest. Many of the massy trunks had fallen down, and, by stopping the water from running off after the rains, had formed little swamps, where aquatic plants and moss had begun to grow, but the greater part were erect, bare, and bleached, with here and there a creeping plant beginning to grace their barrenness with a foreign verdure.

“ We returned yesterday to Columbo, and find with regret that we must leave it on our return to Bombay

bay to-morrow. The coast of Ceylon is generally extremely healthy, but none of our troops have been able to stand the noxious effects of a campaign in the jungle. The natives are subject to leprosy and other cutaneous diseases, and I saw many persons afflicted with the Cochin leg, or Elephantiasis; the patients walk about apparently without pain for several years, with their legs swoln to the size of their bodies, and the skin stretched and shining; but they often die in great agony at last.

“The Cingalese are ingenious workmen in gold and silver. Their

more useful manufactures are hemp, and coier rope, coarse cotton cloths for domestic consumption, ratan mats and baskets, and cane-work of all kinds. The products of the island, besides timber, elephants, and cinnamon, are hemp, coier, coco-nuts, arrack, precious stones, pearls, and drugs; among which are, Columbo-root, gamboge, and the *Datura fastuosa*, which the natives use as a cure for the spasmodic asthma, by cutting the root in small pieces, and smoking it like tobacco: the *Datura metel*, which is most plentiful about Columbo, is said to possess the said qualities.

ENVIRONS OF TUNIS.

[From BLAQUIERE'S Letters from the Mediterranean.]

“**M**ANY of the opulent natives, and nearly all the European consuls, have handsome villas and extensive gardens, which are scattered over the country, from Tunis to a delightful spot called La Marza, close to Cape Carthage, and one of the most luxuriant situations in the kingdom: it is much frequented in summer, when the visitors enjoy the double advantage of exquisite rural recreation and sea-bathing; the number of rose trees cultivated here would surprize an European; for you meet large tracts of ground covered with them, as frequent as turnip fields in England—a promenade in one of these odoriferous regions is more easily imagined than described.

“The soil round Tunis is rather sandy, with a strong loamy bottom: it produces grain, fruit, and vegetables, in the greatest abundance: the soil and climate are admirably

adapted for the growth of cotton, sugar, and many tropical productions; even coffee and indigo have been successfully tried: in fact, under any other hands but those which are now destined to be its proprietors, what would it not produce? The breed of cattle, mode of cultivating the ground, and every thing else connected with agriculture, are susceptible of infinite improvement. Bees, of which there are an amazing number, are very much neglected. Upon the commerce of this place it is hardly necessary to add any thing here, that subject being ably elucidated in the publications of Messrs. McGill and Jackson.

“It is very singular, that in a country blinded so much by superstition as this is, a spirit of religious toleration should be encouraged, even to a greater extent than at Tripoli: this forms a pleasing contrast

trast with the savage ferocity which usually distinguishes the Tunisian character; and I have been much surprized to find, that, besides the Jewish synagogues, Greek and Roman Catholic chapels are established in the centre of the town.

“ The precepts of our holy religion, and a thousand other considerations, naturally point out to the Christians resident in Tunis, that a promotion of social virtue, and other acts of mutual benevolence, would be most conducive to the common interest, while it would, at the same time, inspire Mahometans with a proper degree of respect and veneration for a community so infinitely beyond themselves in manners and civilization: but the contrary is, unhappily, the case; and I have often beheld, with surprize, that a system of calumny and slander but too often usurp the place of friendly intercourse and domestic happiness.

“ You have, doubtless, often heard of the extreme jealousy which forms so striking a feature in the national character of this country; yet prostitution is not only tolerated, but subjected to regulations established by the government; it is, however, altogether confined to the Moors, as if a Christian is found in company with a female of the Mahometan faith, they are both put to death.

“ To form any idea of the landscape which surrounds Tunis, it is necessary that you should visit the ruins of Carthage. This once celebrated capital of a great country is now only distinguished by its cisterns, the remains of some amphitheatres, and an aqueduct; the whole a melancholy emblem of the instability of human greatness. We cannot, however, help being struck

with admiration on a review of the place which was chosen as the site of this city. It was built on a high promontory, forming the western extremity of Tunis Bay, now called Cape Carthage; and, without exception, a more magnificent *coup-d'œil* cannot be conceived, than is presented to the beholder in the scene before him. The eye, wandering over extensive and highly cultivated plains, sometimes interrupted by hills that form a semicircle of more than one hundred miles, is at length gratified by a range of lofty mountains, that bound the horizon on each side. Amongst these, Zowan is the most conspicuous, and celebrated for having supplied Carthage with water: the aqueduct constructed for its conveyance was equal to any of the most stupendous works of antiquity; the remains of it have been traced for seventy miles over a very irregular and hilly country; indeed, several hundred arches are still to be seen. This is an admirable monument of human industry, an equal to which few other countries can boast.

“ The plain of Zama, remarkable for the sanguinary battle fought there between Hannibal and Scipio Africanus, which decided the fate of Carthage, is seen on the right, and is now covered with corn, and groves of olive trees.

“ That man who could survey the ruins of Carthage with indifference, or not call to mind the scenes of its past glories and misfortunes, must, indeed, be devoid of sensibility; nor is it possible, in my opinion, to witness such an instance of fallen greatness, without being irresistibly led into a train of reflection, from which an important moral and political lesson may be drawn.

drawn. Its effect would, however, be transient on an ordinary being: to render the lesson either lasting or useful to mankind, it would be necessary to place the prime minister of a great country on the highest pinnacle of Byrsa; from thence, while admiring the variegated beauties of an enchanting landscape, a natural association of ideas would make him revert to the page of history: there he would see it recorded, that a band of enterprising Phœnicians, led on by an adventurous female, had, more than 2,500 years before, established a flourishing colony on the very spot upon which he stood, now presenting nothing but a desolate and mingled heap of ruins; that, by the wisdom of her laws, and honest industry of her people, Carthage shortly rose to a lofty and envied pre-eminence amongst nations; mistress of the ocean, and soul of commerce, her ships covered the sea from the Bosphorus to the Pillars of Hercules. Alas! dissatisfied with legitimate and true greatness, a fatal thirst for foreign conquest infected her rulers; but mark the melancholy result! Commerce was abandoned, fleets and armies sent forth, Sicily, Sardinia, and a part of Spain, soon acknowledged her sway; the jealousy of Rome was roused; rivalry ensued; and, after a sanguinary, though unsuccessful, struggle, the Queen of Arts, and pride of civilization, fell at the merciless feet of un pitying conquerors!!! Such would probably be the reflections of a statesman, if transported to this awful scene; but how glorious for himself, and useful to his fellow-creatures, if he knew how to turn them to the practical benefit of his country!

“ Should the political events of

Europe, a circumstance by no means impossible, render it necessary for an European army to visit this country on any future occasion, Carthage presents itself as an excellent place for their reception;—as a military position, it possesses every advantage and may be considered as unassailable, if properly fortified. The cisterns must certainly have been either within the former citadel, or under its immediate protection; and such is their present state of preservation, that during the winter, they are generally more than half full of good water. The whole promontory is highly cultivated, and produces large crops of wheat. There are also two or three hundred pipes of good wine, made annually in the vicinity of a small town built on the outer part of the Cape. The best materials for throwing up works, are of course, to be found every where in the greatest abundance. The facility of keeping up a constant communication with the sea, is also another great consideration, and with respect to climate, and purity of atmosphere, Cape Carthage is, I believe, unequalled.

“ It may not be irrelevant to repeat, that the heights connected with the Cape, having an entire command of the works at the Goletta and its arsenal, all of these might be destroyed in four hours.

“ While so many of our countrymen have been travelling through Sicily and the Morea with such amazing avidity, they have been probably unacquainted with the attractions of this country. The number and magnificence of Roman ruins which exist throughout the regency, would be a source of amusement and historical inquiry, not unworthy of the most enlightened amongst them; and, to the valetudinarian,

dinarian, perhaps no part of Europe would be so beneficial as the mineral baths of Hamam Leef. These waters were very celebrated in antiquity, and are situated at the declivity of a mountain, close to the sea, at the southern extremity of the Bay of Tunis; their virtues in the cure of rheumatic, and indeed all chronic disorders, are wonderfully great; I have been assured by medical men established here, that the efficacy of these waters has often been proved. The few English patients who have occasionally visited the place, all concur in bearing testimony to the beauty of its situation, and the benefit they derived from a use of the waters. When more generally known, this place will, I hope, be frequented a little more than it is at present; every comfort of life is found at a most trifling expense, and in the event of being visited by many persons, there will be no difficulty in improving the house already built for their reception. There are, generally, several Tunisian families at Hamam Leef, as the inhabitants ascribe the most miraculous virtues to the spring. It issues from the base of the mountain alluded to; and without scarcely ever varying its heat, is generally equal to 118 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer. A fine spring of cold fresh water rises within a quarter of a mile east of it; the taste of the mineral is not unlike that of Glauber's salts, but by no means so nauseating; a pint is sufficient to produce an effect, and it frequently operates as a vomit. Taking leave of Tunis, I shall now attempt to describe the coast eastward of Cape Bon.

“Galipia, (the Clupea of the Romans,) is the first town you come to; it is fifteen miles from

the Cape, contains about 4,000 inhabitants, and is defended by a castle, built on a very strong military position, which commands the beach. The land on this part of the coast is tolerably well cultivated, and produces considerable quantities of corn and oil. The anchorage of Galipia is only sheltered from west and north-west winds. Leaving this town, and passing several inconsiderable villages, you arrive at Hamamett, in the Gulf of that name. This place contains 8,000 inhabitants, and carries on a considerable trade in corn, wool, and oil, with Tunis. The Gulf is but little frequented, and as little known to navigators as any other part of Barbary, not having ever been properly surveyed by an English navigator. The seamen of Tunis say that it abounds in fish of various kind; and they assert, that there are very good anchoring places in several parts of it.

“The next town eastward is Susa, famous for its exports of wool and olive oil: the latter is more abundant in the vicinity of this place than in any other part of the regency, and when properly prepared, is considered as equal to that of Lucca. The inhabitants are computed at eight or ten thousand, and are rather industrious than otherwise. The bay of Susa is a good summer anchorage, but exposed, during winter, to the north-east gales. With respect to the defences of this town, like all the rest which I have mentioned, they are falling to pieces. The country about Susa is extremely beautiful and well cultivated. Thirty miles in the interior, at a place called Elgemme, there is a colossal amphitheatre in a very high state of preservation; several fine statues, and

and other relics of antiquity, have been found near this place.

“ Twenty miles east of Susa is the populous town of Monasteer; this place carries on a trade similar to that of Susa, and contains a population of nearly 12,000 souls. The manufacture of coarse cloths and the bernouse is considerable here. The roadstead is more calculated for the reception of shipping than Susa or Sfax, being protected by a long reef of rocks, called the Cog-niliri, which protects it from the easterly winds; the position is strong, but very badly fortified. Sfax is also a town of considerable trade, and contains about 6,000 inhabitants. It has a communication with the city of Cairouan, already mentioned, and, as at the two above-named places, a commercial intercourse is carried on with Malta. I omitted to mention the town of Africa, which is half way between Sfax and Susa; and a place of considerable opulence: indeed, the whole of this coast is covered with towns and villages, and presents to the traveller a scene of considerable animation.

“ The Gulf of Cables, or Syrtis Minor of antiquity, appears to be as little known to the navigators of this country and to ourselves, as that of Hamamett. Commencing at Sfax, it forms a semicircle 80 miles in extent, having a number of towns, of which Cables is the principal. This place contains at least 30,000 souls, and the mountains in its vicinity are famous for the warlike and ferocious disposition of the inhabitants. It is said that the Sheik of this province can bring into the field 20,000 cavalry; horses being very numerous, and of a superior quality. The commerce of

Cables with Cairouan and Tunis is very considerable.

“ The island of Jerbi, which forms the eastern boundary of the regency of Tunis, is only separated from the continent by a narrow channel, not navigable. The inhabitants, amounting to more than 30,000, are considered as by far the most industrious and well disposed under his highness's government. The manufactures of shawls, linen, and woollen cloths, have prospered here uncommonly, and are generally esteemed as the best in all Barbary. Its communication with the interior has also added much to its opulence. Jerbi has long been a bone of contention between Algiers and Tunis: the attack made by the squadron of the former state, in May last, would have most probably succeeded, had not the Tunisian squadron come to its relief. The naval contest to which that rencontre gave rise, having ended in the total discomfiture of the latter, and the death of their best admiral, the Bey, consistent with his usual policy, has now given orders to fortify the town, which was before left in a very defenceless state; but, it is much doubted, whether their works are likely to insure its future security. Large quantities of live stock are occasionally sent to Malta from this island, together with several other articles of commerce. The anchorage of Jerbi is very good during the summer, but exposed in the winter months.

“ I have now to notice a small group of islands called the Querquini: they lay between Sfax and Monasteer, and are separated from the main land by a channel three miles wide, navigable for large merchant vessels. The reason for mentioning

tioning these islands, more particularly than I should otherwise have done, arises from a hope that they may be, on some future day, rendered eminently useful to Sicily and Malta. There is a large bank extending from them to Lampadosa, which abounds in fish of every kind; and this may at any time be converted into a most profitable and productive fishery. The island of Lampadosa from its proximity to Malta, would be a very convenient rendezvous for the boats employed on this undertaking, and no difficulty whatever will attend the obtaining necessary licences from the Bey of Tunis. The monopoly, scarcity, and numerous frauds, to which the markets of Sicily and Malta have long been exposed, are well-known sources of complaint, and must sooner or later render a recourse to the above place a most desirable, and, perhaps, necessary measure. The utility of such an establishment scarcely requires an argument: the population of your island, from many causes, is increasing daily; and the large demands continually made by the army and navy, together with the immense influx of strangers, are subjects which require serious consideration: would it not, therefore, be wise and salutary to recommend, and even encourage, an undertaking, which, while it increased the public comfort, and gave a stimulus to industry, would most materially diminish the price of animal food? The expense attending a fishery of this nature, cannot operate as an obstruction to its establishment, as the returns will be immediate and successive; nor can I entertain a doubt, but that there are persons in Malta, who would most willingly advance the necessary sums. As to

Lampadosa, it possesses all the advantages requisite to make it a safe and commodious rendezvous for the fishery: and on the Querquini, an asylum could be insured in the event of bad weather. A more minute description of the above named island will be found in its proper place.

“ In the former part of these letters I mentioned the impossibility of forming a correct estimate of the population of the regency, but those who have indulged in any speculation as to the probable extent of population, usually estimate it at between four and five millions: the impossibility of making an exact enumeration renders this a matter of pure conjecture, for it may be much more, and perhaps even less; the wandering disposition of the Arabs, and secluded manner of living prescribed to other people, render it even difficult for Europeans to form a correct opinion of what number of souls the different towns contain. As in Tripoli, the inhabitants of Tunis consist of Moors, Turks, Arabs, and Jews: of these the Moors and Arabs form the great bulk of the nation, while the other two classes are comparatively trifling. It is important to observe, that a settled hatred exists all over Barbary between the Arab tribes, and Moors who govern; in fact, their interests are in the greatest opposition to each other,—and the former, considering themselves as the natural proprietors of the soil, and stung by the many cruelties committed on them, would gladly embrace the cause of any foreign power, which might be disposed to offer them a preponderance of which they are now deprived. These poor people, even in their present oppressed condition, entertain a strong

strong love of liberty; their hospitality is proverbial, both to each other and to christians of every description who go amongst them. I have also been frequently surprized to find that they make a striking distinction between the national character of the French and ourselves; esteeming the former as enemies, while, on the contrary, the name of an Englishman is always hailed with the utmost respect. The Arabs have no idea of superiority in any other European nations. Their arms, dress, and other customs differ very little from those of Tripoly and Algiers.

“ The animal and vegetable tribes, throughout Africa, are but very insufficiently described by European naturalists; and I have no doubt that considerable discoveries will yet be made here in these important branches of science. It is rather singular that we should be so generally unacquainted with the horse of the desert: the attributes of this animal are noticed at length in Mr. Jackson's Travels. The circumstances he relates, although so very extraordinary, have been in part confirmed to myself, as I have, since the perusal of his remarks, made numerous inquiries upon the subject, and been informed that there is actually, in the country of Dates, a race of horses, whose swiftness and rapidity of travelling, nearly equal that which he describes. A man of the first rank in Tunis has assured me, that a journey performed in three days by one of the above animals, was only gone through in eight by one of the common Tunisian breed.

“ The camel is also endowed with extraordinary qualities; its sagacity, strength, and capacity of abstaining from water for so long a

time, would, doubtless, make this animal a most useful acquisition in many countries of Europe; when occasionally transported, it has been found to answer the most useful purposes, particularly at Malta, where there are several employed at the corn mills.

“ The dromedary is very rarely seen at Tunis, nor do I believe there are any great number in the regency, being confined principally to the country of Dates. This is, indeed, a most extraordinary animal, in point of swiftness, and said even to exceed the horse of the desert. Such is their amazing velocity, when directed by a good Arab rider, that the swiftest horse cannot keep pace with them for half an hour. Although the story of their continuing in a state of apparent insensibility for several days after their birth, is not generally credited in Europe, the singular fact has been mentioned to me repeatedly here. When that torpor lasts ten days, their value is thereby enhanced, and they are called, *Aâshâri*, signifying ten. When travelling in the desert, the Arabs positively assert that an *Aâshâri* will continue in a hard trot for the space of twenty-four hours without requiring the smallest sustenance.

“ The almost innumerable and splendid remains of antiquity scattered throughout the kingdom, sufficiently attest the immense population of this state while colonized by Rome. It is universally allowed, that not more than one-fifth remains at the present day, and such are the laws and institution of the government, that it is daily diminishing, without the smallest probability of a favourable change.

“ The prejudices hitherto entertained by these people against the

discovery or preservation of antique gems and statues have subsided very much on the part of government; indeed, the Bedouins having discovered that Europeans buy such things with avidity, never lose any opportunity of conveying whatever they find, secretly to Tunis, for the purpose of making a bargain with some of the consuls; in this way several very respectable collections of medals, gems, bronzes, and marbles, have already been formed here, besides many fine specimens sent to France, where things of that description are infinitely more appreciated than in any other part of the world. But the most important discovery made in this country, was a few years ago, amongst the ruins of Utica, where some labourers, in digging up a quantity of stones for completing the works of the Goletta, found a number of beautiful statues, some mutilated, and others in the highest state of preservation; of the latter I observed a remarkably fine colossal whole length of Tiberius, another of Augustus not quite so well preserved, and the bodies of four female figures, two of which are exquisite specimens of Grecian sculpture. The Tiberius is a highly interesting statue, both on account of its preservation and fine style of execution. These reliques, strange as it may appear, have been in possession of the minister of the marine, Mohammed Coggia, for nearly three years, without any effort being made to rescue them from such a place, until very lately, when Mr. Fagan, our consul general at Palermo, and a steady friend of the arts, has attempted to purchase them. Should another proposition of that gentleman be acceded to, antiquarians will, at some future period, be gratified with

many of the hidden treasures of Africa. This relates to the permission to excavate, which the Bey will grant, if the request is made by his Majesty's government; and such an object is certainly not unworthy their intention; indeed, many people, well acquainted with this country, have often told me, that if due encouragement was given to the researches for antiquities in Africa, a collection equal to any in Europe might soon be accumulated, and the prejudice of the Moors, of whatever description, be then almost vanquished by a seasonable bribe.

“ In a country teeming with every blessing which Providence can bestow to promote the happiness of society, it is truly melancholy to reflect, that the caprice and ignorance of a few continue to keep it in such a state of degradation, and, if ever the arm of conquest could be justified, or usefully exerted, it would surely be in the regeneration of such a people.

“ The religion established throughout the regency is of course Mahometanism. but attended by that bigotry and irrational prejudice of which it is susceptible. An unqualified hatred of Christians, notwithstanding the tolerance noticed, a contempt for the arts and sciences, together with an apparent determination to reject future advancement towards civilization, are the principles inculcated by this destructive profession of faith.

“ The aversion of these people towards Europeans is indeed carried to a most ridiculous pitch of affectation, particularly in the studious way they endeavour to avoid any of our habits, manners, or customs. Although this subject may have already been noticed, perhaps a short

sketch

sketch of these singularities will not be unacceptable in this place. Mahometans sit, eat, and sleep on the ground; glasses, plates, knives, forks, spoons, and all the other apparatus of an European table are unknown amongst them; they eat with their fingers, and never have more than one dish set before them at a time: water and coffee ought, according to the prescribed rule, to be their only beverage; the latter is drank almost in a boiling state very strong and without sugar; they write from right to left, and mount their horses on the right; and their bridles, saddles, spurs, and method of sitting on horseback, are altogether different from ours. Their mode of dress, partiality to long beards, shaving the head and keeping it always covered, are well known; and their brutal caprice with regard to the women is still more singular, without enumerating the style of architecture, furniture, and various other circumstances in which they differ so widely from christians. Deprived of theatres, balls, and private parties, their chief occupations are those of eating, smoking, and sleeping; they never walk except from necessity, probably, because, like us, they are obliged to do so on their feet. It will doubtless be a long time and attended with some difficulty before so large a portion of the species are induced to adopt more rational customs; but it would be melancholy indeed to relinquish the hope, that civilization will at some future period of the world, reach this country also, and triumph over ignorance and barbarism.

“ With respect to the government, it is despotism, of the worst sort, and in the hands, generally, of persons who make the most im-

proper uses of their power; consequently, we need not be surprized if patriotism and regard for the country should be totally extinguished. Indeed, the only ties which bind the subject here, are those which naturally attach him to his family and friends.

“ In drawing the general character of his Highness's subjects, little remains to be said. The religious, civil, and political institutions of his country, oppress the Tunissian's mind, and influence his general conduct so powerfully, that he can only be considered as a slave, subject to the will of many tyrannical masters. If a change, calculated to enlighten and give the blessings of liberty to them, should ever take place, we shall then, doubtless, have occasion to admire the physical and moral attributes of these people as much as those of other countries where these advantages are enjoyed. An abstemious mode of living, and the enjoyment of the finest climate on earth, have endowed the natives with an athletic and hardy constitution: they live to a great age, and the bodily evils under which they now suffer, arise most frequently from habitual indolence and improper treatment of diseases. The latter science is perhaps less known in Barbary than any other part of the world; a hot iron, as at Tripoly, applied to different parts of the body, is considered as the sovereign remedy in every indisposition; of anatomy, as a science, they are totally ignorant.

“ It would be an injustice were I to pass over, in silence, that sex which, in every country forms the delight and happiness of society; for nothing can be more truly deplorable or likely to excite the sympathy of an European, than the un-

happy state of servitude to which the women are reduced here, excluded from social intercourse with the world, and their nearest relatives, never permitted to appear in public, and continually subject to the brutal jealousy of a capricious husband. These are but a few of the miseries which attend the life of these unfortunate victims.

“ I have every reason to believe

that they are not deficient either in personal charms, or in a most pleasing simplicity of manner, which all the trammels of their education have not eradicated ; it is also well ascertained that their dislike towards christians is by no means so rooted as might naturally be expected from the precepts and example engendered by education.

DESCRIPTION AND CUSTOMS OF NAPLES.

[From Mr. *Eustace's Travels.*]

“ **N**APLES occupies the site of both Palæopolis and Neapolis in ancient times, though it inherits the name of the latter. It is of Grecian origin, and is first mentioned by Livy as having in conjunction with Palæopolis joined the Samnites in a confederacy against the Romans. Palæopolis was taken two years after, and Naples must have shared its fate. The latter seems indeed to have been of little consideration at that time, though it continued to increase rapidly, and in the course of not many years eclipsed the splendor, usurped the territory, and gradually obliterated the very name of the former. It seems to have attached itself closely to the Roman interest in little more than a century from the abovementioned period, and to have acquired under the protection of the Roman republic no small degree of prosperity and importance. It remained faithful to its allies even after the carnage of Cannæ and the revolt of the Campanians, and such was the strength of its ramparts that Hannibal himself shrunk from the difficulties of an attack. The generous offer

which they had previously made to the Roman senate must naturally inspire a very favourable idea of the opulence, and which is infinitely more honourable, of the magnanimity of this city. This attachment to the Roman cause excited the resentment of the Carthaginian, who ravaged the Neapolitan territory with more than his usual ferocity.

“ From this period little or no mention is made of Naples for a long series of years, during which it seems to have enjoyed in undisturbed tranquillity its original laws and language, and all the advantages of its fertile soil, and unrivalled situation. Its coasts during this interval became the winter retreat of the luxurious Romans, and there were few among the illustrious characters which distinguished the fall of the republic and the birth of the monarchy, who had not a villa on its shores, or amid the romantic recesses of its mountains. The presence of Horace, Virgil, and his imitator Silius Italicus, and their fond attachment to its delightful scenery were lasting and honourable distinctions;

distinctions; while the foul indulgencies of Tiberius, and the wild and cruel freaks of Caligula were its scandal and its scourge. The first recorded eruption of Vesuvius interrupted its enjoyments and wasted its coasts, and the civil wars and barbaric incursions that succeeded each other so rapidly during the ensuing centuries, involved it in the general calamities of Italy and the empire. However it seems to have suffered less than most other cities during this disastrous era, as it retained longer its legitimate sovereign, the Emperor of Constantinople, and with him its language and many of its ancient laws, and by his power, or rather by the veneration still attached to his name, was not unfrequently protected from the ravages and insults of contending barbarians.

“ When the eastern empire sunk into a state of irretrievable weakness and insignificance, Naples was threatened, harassed and plundered successively by the Lombards, the Saracens and the Normans, who in their turn became the prey of the Germans, the French and the Spaniards. The latter at length remained its acknowledged masters, governed it for many years by viceroy, and at length gave it a king in the person of the present sovereign Charles IV. Of all these different tribes many traces may be discovered in the language, manners and appearance of its inhabitants. Its original language, Greek, remained the prevailing dialect long after its submission to the power of Rome, as appears from various circumstances, but particularly from that of Greek manuscripts only being discovered at Herculaneum. It may indeed be doubted whether pure Latin ever was the vulgar language at Naples; but at present

there are more Greek words intermingled with the common dialect than are to be found in any other part of Italy. French pronunciation has communicated some share of its infection, and Saracenic left considerable alloy behind. No vestiges remain of the ancient beauty or magnificence of this city. Its temples, its theatres, its basilicæ have been levelled by earthquakes, or destroyed by barbarians. Its modern edifices, whether churches or palaces, are less remarkable for their taste than for their magnitude and riches. It is however highly probable that Naples is at present more opulent, more populous, and in every respect more flourishing than she has ever before been, even in the most brilliant periods of her history.

“ Naples, seated in the bosom of a capacious haven, spreads her greatness and her population along its shore, and covers its shelving coasts and bordering mountains with her villas, her gardens and her retreats. Containing within her own walls more than four hundred thousand inhabitants, she sees one hundred thousand more enliven her suburbs, that stretch in a magnificent and most extensive sweep from Portici to the promontory of Misenum, and fill a spacious line of sixteen miles along the shore with life and activity. In size and number of inhabitants she ranks as the third city in Europe, and from her situation and superb show may justly be considered as the Queen of the Mediterranean. The internal appearance of Naples is in general pleasing; the edifices are lofty and solid; the streets as wide as in any continental city; the Strada Toledo is a mile in length, and with the quay, which is very extensive and well-built, forms the grand and distinguishing features of the

the city. In fact the Chiaia, with the royal garden, Mergellina and Sta. Lucia, which spread along the coast for so considerable a space, and present such an immense line of lofty edifices, are sufficient to give an appearance of grandeur to any city. As for architectural magnificence, Naples possesses a very small share, as the prevailing taste, if a series of absurd fashions deserve that appellation, has always been bad. Moresco, Spanish, and bad Roman, corrupted and intermingled together, destroy all appearance of unity and symmetry, and form a monstrous jumble of discordance. The magnificence therefore of the churches and palaces consists first in their magnitude, and then in paintings, marbles, and decorations in general, which however are seldom disposed with taste or judgment, and when best disposed are scattered around with a profusion that destroys the effect.

“To describe the public edifices of Naples would be to compose a guide. I shall therefore content myself with a few observations on some remarkable objects in them, or connected with them. Several churches are supposed to occupy the sites of ancient temples, the names and memory of which have been preserved by this circumstance. Thus the cathedral is said to stand on the substructions of a temple of Apollo; that of the Santi Apostoli rises on the ruins of a temple of Mercury. St. Maria Maggiore was originally a temple of Diana, erected over the temple of Antinous, &c. Of these churches some are adorned with the pillars and marbles of the temples to which they have succeeded. Thus the cathedral is supported by more than a hundred columns of granite which belonged to the edifice over which it is erect-

ed, as did the forty or more pillars that decorated the treasury, or rather the chapel of Januarius. The church itself was built by an Angevin prince, and when shattered, or rather destroyed by earthquakes, rebuilt by a Spanish sovereign. It is Gothic, but strangely disfigured by ornaments and reparations in different styles. In the subterraneous chapel under the choir is deposited the body of St. Januarius. His supposed blood is kept in a vial in the Tesoro, and is considered as the most valuable of its deposits, and indeed the glory and ornament of the cathedral and of the city itself. Into the truth of this supposition little inquiry is made, the fact is supposed to guarantee itself, and in this respect the Neapolitans seem to have adopted the maxim of the ancient Germans, *‘sanctius ac reverentius de Diis credere quam scire.’* The blood of St. Stephen in the church of St. Gaudioso belonging to the Benedictine Nuns, is said to liquify in the same manner, but only once a-year on the festival of the martyr.

“The Santi Apostoli is in its origin perhaps the most ancient church in Naples, and was, if we may credit tradition, erected by Constantine upon the ruins of a temple of Mercury; it has however been rebuilt partially more than once, and finally with great magnificence. The church of St. Paul occupies the site of a temple of Castor and Pollux; the front of this temple, consisting of eight Corinthian pillars, was destroyed by the earthquake of 1688. Two only were restored, and now form part of the frontispiece of the church. The interior is spacious, well proportioned, and finely incrustated with marble. The chancel is very extensive, and all supported by antique pillars;

pillars; it is supposed to stand over the theatre where Nero first disgraced himself by appearing as a public singer: some vestiges of this theatre may still be traced by an observing antiquary. The church of St. Filippo Neri is remarkable for the number of ancient pillars that support its triple row of aisles on both sides of the nave. St. Lorenzo, belonging to a convent founded by Charles of Anjou, is a monument of the hatred which French princes have at all times borne to liberty and popular representation. It stands on the site of the Basilica Augusta, a noble and magnificent hall, which at the period of their first entrance into Naples was the place of public assembly where the senate and people of Naples met in council. Charles suppressed the assemblies, demolished the hall, and in the year 1266 erected the church which now occupies its place. The establishment of a free and just government would have been a work more agreeable to the will, and more conformable to the attributes, of the common Father of all, than the erection of a temple on the ruins of public property, and in defiance of justice. Of all the Neapolitan churches, that of De Spirito Santo in the Strada Toledo is the most worthy of notice in my opinion, because the purest and simplest in architecture. The exterior is indifferent, or rather never finished, or at least decorated. The interior is large, well proportioned, adorned with Corinthian pilasters, and a regular entablature and cornice. It is well lighted, perhaps indeed too much so, on account of the whiteness of its walls and vault. It is not however entirely exempt from the usual defect, a superabundance

of ornaments, and it wants a softer and mellower colour to please the eye.

“The chapel of St. John the Evangelist was erected by the celebrated Pontanus, and is remarkable for the Latin sentences, moral and political, engraved on marble near its entrance and on its front. They are misplaced, and ostentatious though solid, and in language not inelegant. The epitaph composed by Pontanus himself has the merit of originality, but his best and most durable epitaph is the tribute paid to him by Sannazarius.

“In the cloister of the canons, regularly attached to the parochial church of St. Agnello, stands the tomb of the poet Marini, ornamented with a bronze statue; the whole erected at the request of the celebrated Manso, the friend of Tasso and of Milton, who left by will a sum of money to defray the expense.

“The sepulchral chapel of the family San Severo deserves to be mentioned, not so much on account of its architecture, or even decorations, or the order with which the monuments are disposed (though all these are worthy of notice) as on account of three particular statues, two of which display the patient skill, the third the genius of the sculptor. The first is a representation of Modesty (Pudor) covered from head to foot with a veil; but so delicate, so apparently transparent is the veil, that through its texture the spectator fancies he can trace not only the general outlines of the figure, but the very features and expression of the countenance. Mons. De Lelande observes, that the ancients never veiled the whole countenance of their statues, and seems to hint that the art of making
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the form appear as it were through the foldings is a modern improvement. However there are antique statues even to the north of the Alps in which the same effect is visible, and every scholar who has visited the gallery at Dresden will immediately recollect some female figures, *Vestals* I think, where the knee, the arm, the breast, appears as if visible through the beautiful drapery thrown over them. It must however be acknowledged, that in the art of producing this illusion the moderns equal the ancients; and of their skill in this respect no better instances can be produced than the above-mentioned statue, a most beautiful one of St. Cecilia in Rome, and a third in the chapel which I am now describing. It represents our Saviour extended in the sepulchre, it is covered like the preceding with a veil, and like it exhibits the form which it infolds, with all its features majestic and almost divine even in death. This is, indeed, an exquisite piece of workmanship; it displays not only as much art and patience as that of Modesty, but the very soul, the genius, the sublime conceptions of the sculptor. It is generally attributed to Corradini, as is the latter, and suffices alone to establish his reputation, and rank him among the first of artists. But the Neapolitans who are a little jealous of the merit of strangers, ascribed it and the two others to Giuseppe San Martino their countryman, whom they represent as the best sculptor of the times. The attention of strangers is generally directed to another statue or groupe in the same chapel, representing a man entangled in a net, and endeavouring with the aid of a genius to disengage himself. It is called *Il Disinganato*, and is sup-

posed to represent under this allegorical symbol the conversion of one of the princes of the family to which the chapel belongs. The allegory is forced, and the execution of the work shews only the patience and nicety with which the sculptor managed the chissel.

“To this catalogue one church more must be added, though it is in many respects inferior to most in Naples, in size, materials and decorations. But it has a more powerful claim to our attention than either marble or architecture can give it; it has the genius of Sannazarius to recommend it, and its name is interwoven with the title of one of the most beautiful poems which have appeared in the Latin language, since the revival of letters. The church is called from the poem *Del Parto*; it was erected, with the little convent annexed to it, on the site of his favourite *Villa Mergyllina*, and endowed by the poet. It took its name from the quarter in which it stood, still called *Mergyllina*, occupying the brow and side of a hill that slopes gently to the bay. Its situation is delicious, and the view from it as extensive as varied, and as beautiful as the eye of a poet in fine phrenzy rolling can contemplate. Its value was moreover enhanced by the dignity of the donor, and in the eyes of the poet, without doubt, the smiles of the royal patron added new lustre to the native beauties of the scenery. He accordingly frequently alludes to his beloved retreat of *Mergyllina* in his different poems, and devotes one entire ode to its charms. This villa was destroyed by the Prince of Orange, who commanded the garrison during the celebrated siege of Naples by the French. Whether this act of destruction was necessary or

or not, it is impossible for us to determine, but it is not probable that it was, or could be intended as a personal injury. However the indignant poet resented it as such, and conceived an unrelenting hatred towards that general. On the ruins of the villa the church of which we now speak was erected, and dedicated *Virgini parienti* or *De Partu*. It is neither large, nor remarkable for its architecture or ornaments. The sole object of curiosity in it is the tomb of the founder, adorned with statues and basso relievos, representing the subject of his poems; the materials are rich, and the execution good, but the figures representing pagan divinities, satyrs, and nymphs, are ornaments ill-adapted to the tomb of a christian poet, and strangely misplaced in a christian church. It is impossible however not to smile at the awkward attempt of the good fathers to remedy this incongruity, by inscribing the name of David under the statue of Apollo, and that of Judith under Minerva. The epitaph was composed by Bembo.

Da sacro cineri flores. Hic ille Maroni
Sincerus musa proximus ut tumulo

“In one of the little chapels there is a picture of St. Michael trampling on Satan. It is observable that the latter is represented with the face of a beautiful female, and the reason given is whimsical enough. The countenance of the devil is a picture of a very beautiful lady, who unfortunately fell in love with Diomedes Caraffa, Bishop of Ariano, who to shew his abhorrence of her sacrilegious passion, when fitting up this chapel for his mausoleum, ordered the painter to degrade her into the infernal spirit, and place

her prostrate under the spear of the arch-angel. For the satisfaction of the ladies I must add, that this ungallant prelate has not been canonized. A Last Supper in another chapel is supposed to be a masterpiece, though the name of the painter is not known.

“I must observe, in closing these few cursory observations on the churches of Naples, that notwithstanding the bad taste which prevails very generally in the architecture and decorations of these edifices, the traveller will find in most of them something that merits observation. In paintings in particular, the Neapolitan churches are very rich, and there are few among them that cannot boast of one or more exquisite specimens of this art.

“But if the churches do no credit to the taste of the Neapolitans, the hospitals reflect much honour on their charity. These establishments are very numerous, and adapted to every species of distress to which man is subject in mind or body. Many of them are richly endowed, and all clean, well attended, and well regulated. One circumstance almost peculiar to Italian hospitals and charitable foundations, contributes essentially to their splendour and prosperity: it is, that they are not only attended by persons who devote themselves entirely and without any interested views to the relief of suffering humanity, but that they are governed and inspected not nominally, but really, by persons of the first rank and education, who manage the interests of the establishments with a prudence and assiduity which they seldom perhaps display in their own domestic economy. Besides to almost every hospital is attached one, and sometimes

times more confraternities, or pious associations, formed for the purpose of relieving some particular species of distress, or averting or remedying some evil. These confraternities, though founded upon the basis of equality, and of course open to all ranks, generally contain a very considerable proportion of noble persons, who make it a point to fulfil the duties of the association with an exactness as honourable to themselves, as it is exemplary and beneficial to the public. These persons visit the respective hospitals almost daily, inquire into the situation and circumstances of every patient, and oftentimes attend on them personally, and render them the most humble services. They perform these duties in disguise, and generally in the dress or uniform worn by the confraternity, for the express purpose of diverting public attention from the individuals, and fixing it on the object only of the association. Instead of description, which would be here misplaced, I shall insert a few observations.

“Of charitable foundations in Naples, the number is above sixty. Of these seven are hospitals properly so called; thirty at least are conservatories or receptacles for helpless orphans, foundlings, &c.; five are banks for the relief of such industrious poor as are distressed by the occasional want of small sums of money: the others are either schools or confraternities. The incomes of most of these establishments, particularly of the hospitals, are in general very considerable, but seldom equal to the expenditure. The annual deficiency, how great soever it may be, is abundantly supplied by donations, most of which come from unknown benefactors.

“The two principal hospitals are

that called *Degli Incurabili*, which notwithstanding its title is open to sick persons of all descriptions, and constantly relieves more than eighteen hundred; and that of *Della Sma. Annunziata*, which is immensely rich, and destined to receive foundlings, penitent females, &c. and is said sometimes to harbour two thousand. To each belong in the first place a villa, and in the second a cemetery. The villa of the first is situated at *Torre del Greco*, and is destined for the benefit of convalescents, and such as labour under distempers that require free air and exercise. A similar rural retreat ought to belong to every great hospital established in large cities, where half the distempers to which the poorer class are liable, arise from constant confinement, and the want of pure air. The cemetery is in a different way, of at least equal advantage to public health. It was apprehended, and not without reason, that so many bodies as must be carried out from an hospital, especially in unhealthy seasons, might, if deposited in any church or church-yard within the city, infect the air and produce or propagate contagious diseases. To prevent such evils, the sum of forty-eight thousand five hundred ducats, raised by voluntary contribution, was laid out in purchasing and fitting up for the purpose a field about half a mile from the walls of the city, on a rising ground. A little neat church is annexed to it, with apartments for the officiating clergy and the persons attached to the service of the cemetery, and the road that winds up the hill to it is lined with cypresses. The burial ground is divided into three hundred and sixty-six large and deep vaults, one of which is opened every day in the

year, and the bodies to be interred deposited in order. These vaults are covered with flags of lava that fit exactly, and completely close every aperture. The bodies are carried out at night time, by persons appointed for the purpose, and every precaution taken to prevent even the slightest chance of infection. All is done gratis, and the expenses requisite supplied by public charity. It is to be regretted that this method of burying the dead has not been adopted in every hospital and parish in Naples, and indeed in every town and city, not in Italy only, but all over Europe. It is really lamentable that a practice so disgusting, not to say so pernicious as that of heaping up putrid carcases in churches where the air is necessarily confined, and in church-yards in cities, where it cannot have a free circulation, should be so long and so obstinately retained. It would be difficult to discover one single argument drawn either from the principles of religion or the dictates of reason in its favour, while its inconveniences and mischiefs are visible and almost tangible.

“ In the early ages of christianity the honour of being deposited in the church was reserved to martyrs, and the Emperor Constantine himself only requested to be allowed to lie in the porch of the Basilica of the apostles, which he himself had erected in Constantinople. Hence the eloquent Chrysostom when speaking of the triumph of Christianity, exultingly observes, that the Cæsars subdued by the humble fishermen whom they had persecuted, now appeared as suppliants before them, and gloried in occupying the place of porters at the doors of their sepulchres. Bishops and

priests distinguished by their learning, zeal and sanctity, were gradually permitted to share the honours of the martyrs, and to repose with them in the sanctuary itself. A pious wish to be deposited in the neighbourhood of such holy persons, and to rest under the shadow of the altars among some, and an absurd love of distinction even beyond the grave among others, to which may be added, I fear, the avarice of the clergy, who by making such a distinction expensive, rendered it enviable, by degrees broke through all the wholesome restrictions of antiquity, and at length converted the noblest of public edifices, the Basilicæ, the temples of the eternal, the seats of holiness and purity, into so many dormitories of the dead, receptacles of putridity, and rendered them vast infected charnel houses.

“ Notwithstanding the decrees of synods and the representations of the faculty, notwithstanding the dictates of reason and the interests of health, this abuse went on increasing and continued for ages in force and fashion. The first attempt I believe to check, or rather to remove it entirely, was made by the Emperor Joseph, who prohibited by edict the interment of bodies not in churches only, but even in towns and their suburbs. This edict still prevails in the Low Countries, and if I mistake not in the Austrian territories in general, though certain offensive clauses gave at first, it is said, considerable scandal, and suspended for some time its full effect. The Emperor who in his zeal for reformation, often forgot that opinion will not always bend even to power, conceived it seems that the sooner the carcase is reduced to dust the better, and therefore proscribed the use of coffins, as calculated to pro-
long

long the state of putrefaction, and ordered lime to be strewed over the corpse to accelerate its dissolution. This regulation gave, as may be supposed, very general offence, not only because unusual and contrary to the natural feelings, or, which is nearly the same thing, to the universal practice of mankind, but because very opposite in appearance to that tenderness and respect even for the ruins of the human form, which, if not enforced by the precepts, has at all times been inspired by the genius of christianity. Not perhaps without reason. That divine religion is ever intent on the grand object of raising, aggrandizing, and perfecting our nature; while it teaches us to consider ourselves as destined to act in a much higher and more glorious sphere than our present state, it naturally prompts us to look with some degree of veneration even on our bodies, which, though doomed to death and putrefaction, shall yet one day shake off the dust of the tomb, and though corruptible put on incorruption, and though mortal put on immortality. The offensive clause was therefore very wisely suppressed, and the useful and laudable provisions of the decree carried very generally into execution.

“ Some regulation of the same kind was I think made in France, but not so extensive. To bury in churches was prohibited, but vaults were allowed, provided they did not open into the church, or into any covered court or building. This was a partial remedy to the evil, but still better than none, and it cannot but appear surprising that the example of two such preponderant powers as France and Austria should not have been more generally imitated. It is still more astonish-

ing that in a country governed by public reason, and guided by public interest as England is, (excepting in a few instances when the influence of the court or the spirit of party may accidentally bias the legislature) no attempts have been made to put an end to a practice so absurd and prejudicial; especially as this practice is more evidently dangerous in protestant than in catholic countries, as in the former churches in general are only opened for a few hours on one day in the week; while in the latter they are never shut, and have the additional advantage of being fumigated with incense and sprinkled with holy water. It cannot but appear strange that a people so dull and unenlightened as the Turks should in this respect shew more sense and even more taste than nations in every other respect their superiors. Their cemeteries are in general out of the precincts of their cities, most commonly on a rising ground, and always planted with cedars, cypresses, and odoriferous shrubs, whose deep verdure and graceful forms bending to every breeze give a melancholy beauty to the place, and excite sentiments very congenial to its destination. I have seen some christian cemeteries (as at Bruxelles for instance) situated and laid out in the same advantageous and picturesque manner, with some additional precautions in the division so as to preclude the possibility of heaping bodies on each other, or crowding them indecently together in a small space. But even this arrangement is open to improvements, and it is to be hoped that such improvements will ere long be made by the wisdom of a British legislature.

“ To return to our subject. One remark more upon the Neapolitan hospitals.

hospitals, and I drop the subject. When a patient has recovered his health and strength, and is about to return to his usual occupations, he receives from the establishment a sum of money sufficient to compensate for the loss of time and labour unavoidable during his illness; a most benevolent custom, and highly worthy of imitation. A long illness or dangerous accident deprives a poor labourer or artizan so long of his ordinary wages, and throws him so far back in his little economy, that he cannot without great difficulty recover himself and regain a state of comfort. From this inconvenience the small sum granted by the charity of the hospital relieves him, and restores him to his trade in health, strength, and spirits.

“The Conservatorii are schools opened for poor children of both sexes, where they are educated, fed, and taught some handicraft or other. Some are in the nature of working houses, and employ a prodigious number of indigent persons of both sexes in separate buildings, while others are devoted entirely to children educated principally for music. These latter institutions have produced some, or rather most of the great performers and masters of the art, who have figured in the churches or on the stages of the different capitals of Europe for the last hundred years. Paesielli, Caffarelli, and Pergolese were formed in these seminaries. And indeed Naples is to Italy, what Italy is to the world at large, the great school of music, where that fascinating art is cultivated with the greatest ardour; an ardour oftentimes carried to an extreme, and productive of consequences highly mischievous and degrading to humanity. It is true that the castration of boys is rigor-

ously prohibited by the laws both of church and state; but as long as the fashionable classes in London and Paris think proper to encourage and reward by enormous wages such performers, so long venal parents in Naples will find means to evade the laws, and still continue to sacrifice their unfortunate children to the hopes or rather the certainty of profit. But this practice is on the decline even here, and in justice to the Neapolitans I must observe, that if we may believe them, the operation alluded to is not permitted, nor indeed ever practised in their schools, but that unhappy children in that condition, when sent from other places are not excluded.

“Of the numberless confraternities I shall only specify such as have some unusual and very singular object: such is that whose motto is *Succurre Miseris*, the members of which make it their duty to visit condemned criminals, prepare them for death, accompany them to execution, and give them a decent burial. They carry their charitable attentions still farther, and provide for the widows and children of these unhappy wretches. This society was originally composed of some of the first nobility of the city, but the tyrant Philip, influenced it seems by motives of political suspicion, forbade the nobles to enter into such associations, and in particular confined the one we are speaking of to the clergy.

“The congregation De S. Ivone consists of lawyers, who undertake to plead the causes of the poor gratis, and furnish all the expences necessary to carry their suits through the courts with effect. To be entitled to the assistance and support of this association, no recommendation

tion or introduction is required; the person applying has only to prove his poverty, and give in a full and fair statement of his case.

“ Congregazione della Crose, composed principally of nobility to relieve the poor, and imprisoned, and particularly to bury the bodies of such distressed and forsaken persons when dead.

“ The congregation Della Sta. Trinita dei Pellegrini is destined, as its name imports, more particularly for the relief of strangers, and is composed of persons of all classes, who meet in its assemblies and fulfil its duties without distinction. It is governed by five persons, one of whom presides, and is generally a prelate or high officer of state; the others are, a nobleman, a citizen, a lawyer, and an artisan. All the members attend the hospital in rotation, each for a week, during which they receive strangers, wash their feet, attend them at table, and serve them with the humility, and with more than the assiduity of menials.

“ The congregation of nobles for the relief of the bashful poor. The object of this association is to discover and relieve such industrious persons as are reduced to poverty by misfortune, and have too much spirit, or too much modesty, to solicit public assistance. The members of this association, it is said, discharge its benevolent duties with a zeal, a sagacity, and, what is still more necessary for the accomplishment of their object, with a delicacy and kindness truly admirable. All these confraternities have halls, churches, and hospitals, more or less grand and extensive as their object may require, or their means allow. I need not enlarge further upon this subject, as the institutions

already mentioned are sufficient to give the readers an idea of these confraternities, and to shew at the same time the extent and activity of Neapolitan benevolence. Much has been said, and, though exaggerations are not uncommon on this subject, much more may be said against the voluptuousness and debauchery of the inhabitants of this city; yet it must at the same time be confessed, that in the first and most useful of virtues, the grand characteristic quality of the christian, charity, she surpasses many, and yields to no city in the universe.

“ Of the royal palaces, and those of the nobility, the same may be said as of the churches; that the style of architecture is not pure, nor of course majestic; that they are in general too much encumbered with ornaments, though in many, the apartments are on a grand scale, and ornamented with many fine paintings. In the garden of one, the Palazzo Berrio, is a groupe representing Venus and Adonis by Canova, of exquisite workmanship and beauty. The collection of pictures formerly at the Capo di Monte had been removed on the approach of the French, and not replaced. This edifice is a royal palace of great extent, and in a delightful situation, commanding a fine view of the town, and the bay with all its islands and surrounding scenery. It was never finished, and is not inhabited. Its vast apartments were employed as picture galleries, and the collection is numerous and rich in masterpieces. But as the access to this palace is inconvenient on account of its elevation, it is the intention of government to transport the whole to the Studii or University, a very spacious edifice, where is already a noble collection of statues. Among these

these the celebrated Hercules by Glycon, is the most remarkable. All these statues and monuments once adorned the Farnesian palace in Rome, and were transported thence by the King of Naples, who succeeded to the rich inheritance of the Farnesian family. The library of the Studii contains more than fifty thousand volumes, and some valuable manuscripts. Neither this library nor the collection of statues suffered much from the rapacity of the French during their late invasion. This establishment is planned on a vast scale, and intended to contain all the royal museums and libraries, and to comprise all the instruments and apparatus of all the arts and sciences. In fact, Naples is very well supplied with all the means of instruction as far as depends upon public establishments. It has four public libraries, the University which I have just mentioned, and six colleges, besides schools and conservatorii beyond number. The advantages arising from so many literary establishments are accordingly very perceptible, and the number of learned men produced by Naples is equal perhaps to that of any city of the same population. Some Neapolitan authors carry their pretensions so far as to place the number and merit of their writers upon a level with those of Paris, and from the list of publications which they produce, an impartial man would find it difficult to decide against them. Their Parisian rivals object, that even the names of their authors, not to say their works, have scarcely passed the Alps, and are not known beyond the narrow circle of academicians even in Italy, while the names of Voltaire, Marmontel, &c. are celebrated in every capital of Europe, and their works perused in every circle. To this

observation the Neapolitans reply, that the superior fame of French authors is owing to the prevalence of the French language, and that that prevalence is certainly not to be ascribed either to its intrinsic merit, or to the superior excellence of its literature, but to the preponderance of French power. Thus, say they, French dress has been generally adopted at courts, and was during a considerable part of the last century the dress of Europe, but nobody surely can be so absurd as to pretend that it owed its universality either to its gracefulness or its convenience. The literature therefore, like the fashions of France, was recommended first by power and afterwards by custom; and when we add to the merits of the former a great deal of intrigue, of trick, and of noise, we shall discover the real causes of its ill-acquired superiority. In truth, Frenchmen of every description are never wanting in the praises of every thing French, and whatever their differences in other respects may be, all agree in asserting their national pretensions to universal superiority. The Italians are more modest, because they have more solidity; they write to please their own taste and that of those who choose to read them; they employ no journals to puff off their compositions, send no emissaries to spread their fame over distant countries, and pay no agents in foreign courts. They leave their language and their works to their own intrinsic merit, and rest their claim to glory on the undisputed excellence of their predecessors. As for the present reputation of French literature, our Neapolitans consider it as the fashion of the day, the delirium of the times, and doubt not, that it will ere long subside in contempt and indifference. Such indeed has been

been the fate of that absurd fondness for French dress which disgraced our ancestors; and as we now smile at their want of taste in giving the preference to garments so stiff, graceless, and unnatural; so our descendants may possibly contemplate with equal ridicule and surprise, the preposterous partiality which the present day has shewn to the frippery and tinsel of French literature. In justice to the Neapolitans it must be admitted, that the progress of French literature has been considerably advanced by the spirit and intrigues of the philosophic party. The French language was the medium by which they were to disseminate their opinions; no expence therefore was spared, no exertion wanting to extend its use and influence. Teachers were hired and sent to the most distant towns, to disseminate its principles and facilitate its acquisition. Attempts were made to undermine, at least secretly to lessen the respect paid to the ancient languages, particularly Latin; and the Gallic idiom with its lumber of auxiliaries, its nasal dissonance, and truncated syllables was compared, nay almost preferred, to the simplicity, harmony, and fulness of that divine dialect. But independent of language, the Neapolitans certainly have the advantage in point of science and of ancient literature, particularly Greek, a language much neglected in France, and indeed in most continental universities.

“ But whatever may be our opinion of the claims of our Neapolitan literati to precedence on this occasion, we must acknowledge,

that there exist in this capital a vast mass of information, a great activity of mind, and a wonderful aptitude, fostered by the serenity of the climate, to excellence in every branch of science and composition.

“ Few cities stand in less need of architectural magnificence or internal attractions than Naples; had it even fewer artificial recommendations, it would still be a most desirable residence. So beautiful is its neighbourhood! so delicious its climate! Before it spreads the sea with its bays, promontories, and islands; behind it rise mountains and rocks in every fantastic form, and always clothed with verdure; on each side swell hills and hillocks covered with groves, and gardens, and orchards blooming with fruits and flowers. Every morning a gale springing from the sea brings vigour and coolness with it, and tempers the greatest heats of summer with its freshness. Every evening a breeze blowing from the hills and sweeping all the perfumes of the country before it, fills the nightly atmosphere with fragrance.

“ It is not surprising therefore that to such a country and such a climate the appellation of Felix should have been so often given; that its sweets should be supposed to have enervated an army of barbarians; that the Romans covered its coasts with their villas, and that so many poets should have made the delicious Parthenope their theme and their retreat.

“ Nunc molles urbi ritus atque hospita musis
Otia, et exemptum curis gravioribus ævum
Sirenum dedit una, suum et memorabile nomen
Parthenope . . . *Sil. Ital. Lib. xii.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF PENNSYLVANIA.

[In a Letter from Mr. Penn to the Free Society of Traders to Pennsylvania.]

“ MY KIND FRIENDS,

THE kindness of yours by the ship Thomas and Ann doth much oblige me; for by it I perceive the interest you take in my health and reputation, and in the prosperous beginning of this province, which you are so kind as to think may much depend upon them. In return of which I have sent you a long letter, and yet containing as brief an account of myself and the affairs of this province as I have been able to make.

“ In the first place, I take notice of the news you sent me, whereby I find some persons have had so little wit, and so much malice, as to report my death; and, to mend the matter, dead a jesuit too. One might have reasonably hoped that this distance, like death, would have been a protection against spite and envy; and indeed absence, being a kind of death, ought alike to secure the name of the absent as of the dead, because they are equally unable as such to defend themselves: but they who intend mischief do not use to follow good rules to effect it. However, to the great sorrow and shame of the inventors, I am still alive and no jesuit; and, I thank God, very well. And without injustice to the authors of this, I may venture to infer, that they who wilfully and falsely report, would have been glad it had been so. But I perceive many frivolous and idle stories have been invented since my departure from England,

1813.

which perhaps at this time are no more alive than I am dead.

“ But if I have been unkindly used by some I left behind me, I found love and respect enough where I came; an universal kind welcome, every sort in their way. For, here are some of several nations, as well as divers judgments: nor were the natives wanting in this; for their kings, queens, and great men, both visited and presented me, to whom I made suitable returns.

“ For the province, the general condition of it take as followeth:

“ 1. The country itself, its soil, air, water, seasons, and produce, both natural and artificial, are not to be despised. The land containeth divers sort of earth, as sand, yellow and black, poor and rich; also gravel, both loamy and dusty; and in some places a fast fat earth, like that of our best vales in England, especially by inland brooks and rivers; God in his wisdom having ordered it so, that the advantages of the country are divided; the back lands being generally three to one richer than those that lie by navigable rivers. We have much of another soil, and that is a black hazel mould upon a stony or rocky bottom.

“ 2. The air is sweet and clear, and the heavens serene, like the south parts of France, rarely overcast; and as the woods come by numbers of people to be more cleared, that itself will refine.

“ 3. The waters are generally

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good;

good; for the rivers and brooks have mostly gravel and stony bottoms, and in number hardly credible. We have also mineral waters, which operate in the same manner with those of Barnet and North Hall, not two miles from Philadelphia.

“ 4. For the seasons of the year, having by God’s goodness now lived over the coldest and hottest that the oldest liver in the province can remember, I can say something to an English understanding.

“ First of the fall, for then I came in, I found it from the twenty-fourth of October to the beginning of December, as we have it usually in England in September, or rather like an English mild spring. From December to the beginning of the month called March we had sharp frosty weather; not foul, thick, black weather, as our north-east winds bring with them in England, but a sky as clear as in the summer, and the air dry, cold, piercing and hungry; yet I remember not that I wore more clothes than in England. The reason of this cold is given from the great lakes, which are fed by the fountains of Canada. The winter before was as mild, scarce any ice at all, while this for a few days froze up our great river Delaware. From that month to the month called June we enjoyed a sweet spring; no gusts, but gentle showers and a fine sky. Yet this I observe, that the winds here, as there, are more inconstant, spring and fall, upon that turn of nature, than in summer or winter. From thence to this present month, August, which endeth the summer, commonly speaking, we have had extraordinary heats, yet mitigated sometimes by cool breezes. The wind that ruleth the summer season is the south-west;

but spring, fall, and winter, it is rare to want the north-western seven days together. And whatever mists, fogs, or vapours foul the heavens by easterly or southerly winds, in two hours time are blown away; the one is followed by the other; a remedy that seems to have a peculiar providence in it to the inhabitants, the multitude of trees yet standing being liable to retain mists and vapours, and yet not one quarter so thick as I expected.

“ 5. The natural produce of the country, of vegetables, is trees, fruits, plants, flowers. The trees of most note are the black walnut, cedar, cypress, chesnut, poplar, gum-wood, hickory, sassafras, ash, beech, and oak of divers sorts, and red, white, and black; Spanish chesnut, and swamp, the most durable of all; of all which there is plenty for the use of man.

“ The fruits I find in the woods are the white and black mulberry, chesnut, walnut, plums, strawberries, cranberries, hurtleberries, and grapes of divers sorts. The great red grape now ripe, called by ignorance the fox grape, because of the relish it hath with unskilful palates, is in itself an extraordinary grape; and by art doubtless, may be cultivated to an excellent wine, if not so sweet, yet little inferior to the Frontiniac, as it is not unlike it in taste, ruddiness set aside; which, in such things, as well as mankind, differs the case much. There is a white kind of muscadel, and a little black grape, like the cluster grape of England, not yet so ripe as the other,—but, they tell me, when ripe, sweeter, and that they only want skilful vinerons to make good use of them. I intend to venture on it with my Frenchman this season, who shows some knowledge in those things. Here are also peaches very good

and in great quantities, not an Indian plantation without them,—but whether naturally here at first I know not. However, one may have them by bushels for little. They make a pleasant drink, and I think not inferior to any peach you have in England, except the true Newington. It is disputable with me, whether it be best to fall to fining the fruits of the country, especially the grape, by the care and skill of art, or send for foreign stems and sets already good and approved. It seems most reasonable to believe, that not only a thing groweth best where it naturally grows, but will hardly be equalled by another species of the same kind, that doth not naturally grow there. But to solve the doubt, I intend, if God give me life, to try both, and hope the consequence will be as good wine as any European countries of the same latitude do yield.

“ 6. The artificial produce of the country is wheat, barley, oats, rye, peas, beans, squashes, pumkins, water-melons, musk-melons, and all herbs and roots that our gardens in England usually bring forth.

“ 7. Of living creatures, fish, fowl, and the beasts of the wood, there are divers sorts, some for food and profit, and some for profit only; for food as well as profit the elk, as big as a small ox; deer, bigger than ours; beaver, raccoon, rabbits, squirrels; and some eat young bear and commend it. Of fowl of the land there is the turkey (forty and fifty pounds weight) which is very great, pheasants, heath-birds, pigeons, and partridges in abundance. Of the water, the swan, goose white and gray; brands, ducks, teal, also the snipe and curloe, and that in great numbers; but the duck and teal excel, nor so good have I ever

eaten in other countries. Of fish there is the sturgeon, herring, rock, shad, cats-head, sheeps-head, eel, smelt, perch, roach; and in inland rivers trout, some say salmon, above the falls. Of shell fish, we have oysters, crabs, cockles, conchs, and muscles; some oysters six inches long, and one sort of cockles as big as the stewing oysters; they make a rich broth. The creatures for profit only, by skin or fur, and which are natural to these parts, are the wild cat, panther, otter, wolf, fox, fisher, minx, musk-rat; and of the water, the whale for oil, of which we have good store; and two companies of whalers, whose boats are built, will soon begin their work; which hath the appearance of considerable improvement: to say nothing of our reasonable hopes of good cod in the bay.

“ 8. We have no want of horses, and some are very good, and shapely enough. Two ships have been freighted to Barbadoes, with horses and pipe staves, since my coming in. Here is also plenty of cow-cattle and some sheep. The people plough mostly with oxen.

“ 9. There are divers plants, which not only the Indians tell us, but we have had occasion to prove, by swellings, burnings, and cuts, that they are of great virtue, suddenly curing the patient; and for smell, I have observed several, especially one, the wild myrtle; the other I know not what to call, but they are most fragrant.

“ 10. The woods are adorned with lovely flowers for colour, greatness, figure, and variety. I have seen the gardens of London best stored with that sort of beauty, but think they may be improved by our woods. I have sent a few to a person of quality this year for a trial.

Thus much of the country: next, of the natives, or aborigines.

“ 11. The natives I shall consider in their persons, language, manners, religion, and government, with my sense of their original. For their persons they are generally tall, straight, well built, and of singular proportion; they tread strong and clever, and mostly walk with a lofty chin. Of complexion black, but by design, as the gipsies in England. They grease themselves with bears fat clarified; and using no defence against sun and weather, their skins must needs be swarthy. Their eye is little and black, not unlike a straight-looking Jew. The thick lip and flat nose, so frequent with the East Indians and blacks, are not common to them; for I have seen as comely European-like faces among them, of both sexes, as on your side the sea; and truly an Italian complexion hath not much more of the white; and the noses of several of them have as much of the Roman.

“ 12. Their language is lofty, yet narrow; but, like the Hebrew in signification, full. Like short-hand in writing, one word serveth in the place of three, and the rest are supplied by the understanding of the hearer; imperfect in their tenses, wanting in their moods, participles, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections. I have made it my business to understand it, that I might not want an interpreter on any occasion; and I must say that I know not a language spoken in Europe, that hath words of more sweetness or greatness, in accent and emphasis, than theirs: for instance, Octocockon, Rancocas, Oricton, Shak, Marian, Poquesien, all which are names of places and have grandeur in them. Of words of sweetness, anna is

mother, issimus a brother, neateap friend, usqueoret very good, pane bread, metsa eat, matta no; hatta to have, payo to come; Sepassen, Passijon, the names of places; Tamane, Secane, Menanse, Secatareus, are the names of persons. If one ask them for any thing they have not, they will answer Matta ne hatta, which to translate is ‘ Not I have,’ instead of ‘ I have not.’

“ 13. Of their customs and manners there is much to be said. I will begin with children. So soon as they are born they wash them in water, and while very young, and in cold weather to choose, they plunge them in the rivers to harden and embolden them. Having lapt them in a clout, they lay them on a straight thin board a little more than the length and breadth of the child, and swaddle it fast upon the board to it straight; wherefore all Indians have flat heads; and thus they carry them at their backs. The children will go very young, at nine months commonly. They wear only a small clout round their waist till they are big. If boys, they go a-fishing till ripe for the woods, which is about fifteen. Then they hunt; and having given some proofs of their manhood by a good return of skins, they may marry: else it is a shame to think of a wife. The girls stay with their mothers, and help to hoe the ground, plant corn, and carry burthens; and they do well to use them to that, while young, which they must do when they are old; for the wives are the true servants of the husbands: otherwise the men are very affectionate to them.

“ 14. When the young women are fit for marriage, they wear something upon their heads for an advertisement, but so as their faces

are

are hardly to be seen but when they please. The age they marry at, if women, is about thirteen and fourteen; if men, seventeen and eighteen. They are rarely older.

“ 15. Their houses are mats or barks of trees, set on poles in the fashion of an English barn, but out of the power of the winds, for they are hardly higher than a man. They lie on reeds or grass. In travel they lodge in the woods about a great fire, with the mantle of duffils they wear by day wrapt about them, and a few boughs stuck round them.

“ 16. Their diet is maize or Indian corn divers ways prepared, sometimes roasted in the ashes, sometimes beaten and boiled with water, which they call homine. They also make cakes not unpleasant to eat. They have likewise several sorts of beans and pease that are good nourishment; and the woods and rivers are their larder.

“ 17. If an European comes to see them, or calls for lodging at their house or wig-wam, they give him the best place and first cut. If they come to visit us, they salute us with an Itah, which is as much as to say ‘ Good be to you!’ and set them down, which is mostly on the ground, close to their heels, their legs upright: it may be they speak not a word, but observe all passages. If you give them any thing to eat or drink, well, for they will not ask; and be it little or much, if it be with kindness, they are well pleased: else they go away sullen, but say nothing.

“ 18. They are great concealers of their own resentments, brought to it, I believe, by the revenge that hath been practised among them. In either of these they are not exceeded by the Italians. A tragical

instance fell out since I came into the country. A king's daughter, thinking herself slighted by her husband in suffering another woman to lie down between them, rose up, went out, plucked a root out of the ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately died; and for which last week he made an offering to her kindred for atonement and liberty of marriage, as two others did to the kindred of their wives, who died a natural death: for, till widowers have done so, they must not marry again. Some of the young women are said to take undue liberty before marriage for a portion; but, when married, chaste. When with child they know their husbands no more till delivered, and during their month they touch no meat they eat but with a stick, lest they should defile it; nor do their husbands frequent them till that time be expired.

“ 19. But in liberality they excel. Nothing is too good for their friend. Give them a fine gun, coat, or other thing, it may pass twenty hands before it sticks: light of heart, strong affections, but soon spent: the most merry creatures that live; they feast and dance perpetually; they never have much, nor want much. Wealth circulateth like the blood. All parts partake; and though none shall want what another hath, yet exact observers of property. Some kings have sold, others presented me with several parcels of land. The pay or presents I made them were not hoarded by the particular owners; but the neighbouring kings and their clans being present when the goods were brought out, the parties chiefly concerned consulted what, and to whom, they should give them. To every king then, by the hands of a person for that work appointed,

pointed, is a proportion sent, so sorted and folded, and with that gravity which is admirable. Then that king subdivideth it in like manner among his dependents, they hardly leaving themselves an equal share with one of their subjects: and be it on such occasions as festivals, or at their common meals, the kings distribute, and to themselves last. They care for little, because they want but little; and the reason is, a little contents them. In this they are sufficiently revenged on us. If they are ignorant of our pleasures, they are also free from our pains. They are not disquieted with bills of lading and exchange, nor perplexed with chancery suits and exchequer reckonings. We sweat and toil to live. Their pleasure feeds them; I mean their hunting, fishing, and fowling, and this table is spread every where. They eat twice a day, morning and evening. Their seats and table are the ground. Since the Europeans came into these parts, they are grown great lovers of strong liquors, rum especially; and for it exchange the richest of their skins and furs. If they are treated with liquor, they are restless till they have enough to sleep. That is their cry, 'Some more, and I will go to sleep;' but when drunk, one of the most wretched spectacles in the world.

" 20. In sickness impatient to be cured, and for it give any thing, especially for their children, to whom they are extremely natural. They drink at those times a teran or decoction of some roots in spring water; and if they eat any flesh, it must be of the female of any creature. If they die, they bury them with their apparel, be they man or woman, and the nearest of kin fling in something precious with them,

as a token of their love: their mourning is blacking of their faces, which they continue for a year. They are choice of the graves of the dead; for lest they should be lost by time, and fall to common use, they pick off the grass that grows upon them, and heap up the fallen earth with great care and exactness.

21. " These poor people are under a dark night in things relating to religion, to be sure the tradition of it: yet they believe a God and immortality without the help of metaphysics: for they say there is a great king, who made them, who dwells in a glorious country to the southward of them; and that the souls of the good shall go thither, where they shall live again. Their worship consists of two parts, sacrifice and cantico. Their sacrifice is their first fruits. The first and fattest buck they kill goeth to the fire, where he is all burnt, with a mournful ditty of him who performeth the ceremony, but with such marvellous fervency and labour of body that he will even sweat to a foam. The other part is their cantico, performed by round dances, sometimes words, then shouts; two being in the middle who begin, and by singing and drumming on a board direct the chorus. Their postures in the dance are very antic and differing, but all keep measure. This is done with equal earnestness and labour, but great appearance of joy. In the fall, when the corn cometh in, they begin to feast one another. There have been two great festivals already, to which all come that will. I was at one myself. Their entertainment was a great seat by a spring under some shady trees, and twenty bucks, with hot cakes of new corn, both wheat and beans;

beans; which they make up in a square form, in the leaves of the stem, and bake them in the ashes, and after that they fall to dance. But they who go, must carry a small present in their money: it may be sixpence, which is made of the bone of a fish: the black is with them as gold; the white silver; they call it wampum.

“ 22. Their government is by kings, which they call sachama, and those by succession; but always of the mother's side. For instance, the children of him who is now king will not succeed, but his brother by the mother, or the children of his sister, whose sons (and after them the children of her daughters) will reign, for no woman inherits. The reason they render for this way of descent is, that their issue may not be spurious.

“ 23. Every king hath his council; and that consists of all the old and wise men of his nation, which perhaps is two hundred people. Nothing of moment is undertaken, be it war, peace, selling of land, or traffic, without advising with them, and, which is more, with the young men too. It is admirable to consider how powerful the kings are, and yet how they move by the breath of their people. I have had occasion to be in council with them upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms of trade. Their order is thus: the king sits in the middle of an half-moon, and has his council, the old and wise, on each hand. Behind them, or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure. Having consulted and resolved their business, the king ordered one of them to speak to me. He stood up, came to me, and in the name of his king saluted me, then took me by the hand, and told me

that he was ordered by his king to speak to me, and that now it was not he but the king who spoke, because what he should say was the king's mind. He first prayed me to excuse them, that they had not complied with me the last time. He feared there might be some fault in the interpreter, being neither Indian nor English. Besides, it was the Indian custom to deliberate and take much time in council before they resolved; and that, if the young people and owners of the land had been as ready as he, I had not met with so much delay. Having thus introduced his matter, he fell to the bounds of the land they had agreed to dispose of, and the price; which now is little and dear, that which would have bought twenty miles not buying now two. During the time that this person spoke, not a man of them was observed to whisper or smile, the old grave, the young reverent in their deportment. They speak little, but fervently, and with elegance. I have never seen more natural sagacity, considering them without the help (I was going to say the spoil) of tradition; and he will deserve the name of wise who outwits them in any treaty about a thing they understand. When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighbourhood, and that the English and Indians must live in love as long as the sun gave light: which done, another made a speech to the Indians, in the name of all the Sachamakers or kings; first, to tell them what was done; next, to charge and command them to love the christians, and particularly to live in peace with me and the people under my government; that many governors had been in the river: but that

no governor had come himself to live and stay there before: and having now such an one, who had treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong; at every sentence of which they shouted, and said Amen in their way.

“ 24. The justice they have is pecuniary. In case of any wrong or evil fact, be it murder itself, they atone by feasts and presents of their wampum, which is proportioned to the quality of their offence or person injured, or of the sex they are of. For in case they kill a woman, they pay double; and the reason they render is, ‘that she breedeth children, which men cannot do.’ It is rare they fall out if sober, and if drunk they forgive; saying, ‘It was the drink, and not the man, that abused them.’

“ 25. We have agreed, that in all differences between us, six of each side shall end the matter. Do not abuse them, but let them have justice, and you win them. The worst is, that they are the worse for the christians, who have propagated their vices, and yielded them tradition for ill and not for good things. But as low an ebb as these people are at, and as inglorious as their own condition looks, the christians have not outlived their sight with all their pretensions to an higher manifestation. What good then might not a good people graft, where there is so distinct a knowledge left of good and evil? I beseech God to incline the hearts of all that come into those parts to outlive the knowledge of the natives by a fixt obedience to their greater knowledge of the will of God; for it were miserable indeed for us to fall under the just censure of the poor Indian conscience while we make profession of things so far transcending.

“ 26. For their original, I am ready to believe them of the Jewish race, I mean of the stock of the ten tribes, and that for the following reasons: first, they were to go to a land not planted nor known, which to be sure Asia and Africa were, if not Europe; and he who intended that extraordinary judgement upon them might make the passage not uneasy to them, as it is not impossible in itself from the easternmost parts of Asia to the westernmost of America. In the next place, I find them of the like countenance, and their children of so lively resemblance, that a man would think himself in Duke’s Place or Berry-street in London, when he seeth them. But this is not all: they agree in rites; they reckon by moons; they offer their first fruits; they have a kind of feast of tabernacles; they are said to lay their altar upon twelve stones; their mourning a year; customs of women; with many other things that do not now occur. So much for the natives. Next, the old planters will be considered in this relation, before I come to our colony and the concerns of it.

“ 27. The first planters in these parts were the Dutch, and soon after them the Swedes and Finns. The Dutch applied themselves to traffic, the Swedes and Finns to husbandry. There were some disputes between them for some years, the Dutch looking upon them as intruders upon their purchase and possession, which was finally ended in the surrender made by John Rizeing, the Swedish governor, to Peter Styresant, governor for the States of Holland, anno 1655.

“ 28. The Dutch inhabit mostly those parts of the province that lie upon or near the bay, and the Swedes

Swedes the freshes of the river Delaware. There is no need of giving any description of them, who are better known there than here; but they are a plain, strong, industrious people, yet have made no great progress in culture, or propagation of fruit-trees, as if they desired rather to have enough, than plenty or traffic. But I presume the Indians made them the more careless by furnishing them with the means of profit, to wit, skins and furs for rum and such strong liquors. They kindly received me as well as the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority, and kind behaviour to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are people proper and strong of body, so they have fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys and as many girls; some six, seven, and eight sons. And I must do them that right, I see few young men more sober and laborious.

“ 29. The Dutch have a meeting-place for religious worship at Newcastle; and the Swedes three; one at Christina, one at Tenecum, and one at Wicoco within half a mile of this town.

“ 30. There rests that I speak of the condition we are in, and what settlement we have made; in which I will be as short as I can; for I fear, and not without reason, that I have tried your patience with this long story. The country lieth bounded on the east by the river and bay of Delaware and eastern sea. It hath the advantage of many creeks, or rivers rather, that run into the main river or bay, some

navigable for great ships, some for small craft. Those of most eminency are Christina, Brandywine, Skilpot, and Sculkil, any one of which has room to lay up the royal navy of England, there being from four to eight fathom water.

“ 31. The lesser creeks or rivers, yet convenient for sloops and ketches of good burthen, are Lewis, Mespilion, Cedar, Dover, Cranbrook, Feversham, and Georges below; and Chichester, Chester, Toacawny, Pammapecka, Portquessin, Neshimenck, and Pennberry in the Freshes; many lesser, that admit boats and shallops. Our people are mostly settled upon the upper rivers, which are pleasant and sweet, and generally bounded with good land. The planted part of the province and territories is cast into six counties; Philadelphia, Buckingham, Chester, Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex, containing about four thousand souls. Two general assemblies have been held, and with such concord and dispatch, that they sat but three weeks, and at least seventy laws were passed without one dissent in any material thing. But of this more hereafter, being yet raw and new in our gear. However, I cannot forget their singular respect to me in this infancy of things, who, by their own private expenses, so early considered mine for the public, as to present me with an impost upon certain goods imported and exported, which, after my acknowledgement of their affection, I did as freely remit to the province and the traders to it. And for the well government of the said counties, courts of justice are established in every county, with proper officers, as justices, sheriffs, clerks, constables; which courts are held every two months. But to prevent

prevent law-suits there are three peace-makers chosen by every county court, in the nature of common arbitrators, to hear and end differences between man and man. And spring and fall there is an orphan's court in each county, to inspect and regulate the affairs of orphans and widows.

“32. Philadelphia, the expectation of those who are concerned in this province, is at last laid out, to the great content of those here who are any ways interested therein. The situation is a neck of land, and lieth between two navigable rivers, Delaware and Skulkill, whereby it hath two fronts upon the water, each a mile, and two from river to river. Delaware is a glorious river; but the Skulkill, being an hundred miles boatable above the Falls, and its course north-east towards the fountain of Susquahanna, (that tends to the heart of the Province, and both sides our own,) it is like to be a great part of the settlement of this age. I say little of the town itself, because a platform will be shown you by my agent, in which those who are purchasers of me will find their names and interests. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, of all the places I have seen in the world I remember not one better seated; so that it seems to me to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks, and springs, the loftiness and soundness of the land, and the air, held by the people of these parts to be very good. It is advanced within less than a year to about fourscore houses and cottages, such as they are, where merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can; while the countrymen are close at their

farms. Some of them got a little winter-corn in the ground last season; and the generality have had an handsome summer-crop, and are preparing for their winter-corn. They reaped their barley this year in the month called May, the wheat in the month following; so that there is time in these parts for another crop of divers things before the winter season. We are daily in hopes of shipping to add to our number; for, blessed be God! here is both room and accommodation for them: the stories of our necessity being either the fear of our friends or the scarecrows of our enemies; for the greatest hardship we have suffered hath been salt-meat, which by fowl in winter and fish in summer, together with some poultry, lamb, mutton, veal, and plenty of venison, the best part of the year, hath been made very passable. I bless God I am fully satisfied with the country and entertainment I got in it; for I find that particular content, which hath always attended me, where God in his providence hath made it my place and service to reside. You cannot imagine my station can be at present free of more than ordinary business; and, as such, I may say it is a troublesome work. But the method things are putting in will facilitate the charge, and give an easier motion to the administration of affairs. However, as it is some men's duty to plough, some to sow, some to water, and some to reap, so it is the wisdom as well as the duty of a man to yield to the mind of Providence, and cheerfully as well as carefully embrace and follow the guidance of it.

“33. For your particular concern I might entirely refer you to the letters of the president of the society: but this

this I will venture to say, your provincial settlements, both within and without the town, for situation and soil, are without exception. Your city-lot is a whole street, and one side of a street, from river to river, containing near one hundred acres in the city-liberties, part of your twenty thousand acres in the country. Your tannery hath plenty of bark. The saw-mill for timber and the place of the glass-house are so conveniently posted for water-carriage, the city-lot for a dock, and the whalery for a sound and fruitful bank, and the town Lewis by it to help your people, that by God's blessing the affairs of the society will naturally grow in their reputation and profit. I am sure I have not turned my back upon any offer that tended to its prosperity; and though I am ill at projects, I have sometimes put in for a share with

her officers to countenance and advance her interest. You are already informed what is fit for you further to do. Whatsoever tends to the promotion of wine and to the manufacture of linen in these parts, I cannot but wish you to promote; and the French people are most likely in both respects to answer that design. To that end I would advise you to send some thousands of plants out of France, with some able vinerons, and people of the other vocation. But because I believe you have been entertained with this and some other profitable subjects by your president, Nicholas Moore, I shall add no more, but to assure you that I am heartily inclined to advance your just interest, and that you will always find me

“Your kind cordial friend,
“WILLIAM PENN.”

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

CLASSICAL VIEW OF THE BAY OF MISENUS AND ITS ENVIRONS.

[From Mr. *Eustace's* Tour through Italy.]

“**A**S we passed the bay of Misenus we observed the fine appearance of that promontory; it is separated by the harbour, and Mare morto with the flat shore beyond, from the neck of land which it terminates, and thus forms an insulated eminence, remarkable for its shape, its boldness, and its *aerial* elevation. After having doubled the cape, we crossed the strait which flows between it and the island of Prochyta. Here I landed, while my companions pursued their course to the island of Ischia, about four miles further. Procida is about two miles from the continent: its shore, towards the west, is comparatively low, but it swells gradually towards the east, and terminates in a bold promontory, the summit of which is crowned with the castle or royal palæe. The prominence of this point on one side, and the Punta del Vomera about a mile from it to the south, form a little bay. The promontory is sufficiently lofty to entitle the island, of which it is the most conspicuous feature, to the epithet *alta*, which Virgil gives it, as the rocks which line its eastern and southern coast justify the word *aspera* employed by Statius. Besides the harbour which I have described, there are on the same coast

several nooks and creeks, which afford shelter to fishing boats and small vessels, and contribute much to the variety and romantic beauty that eminently characterize this and the neighbouring islands and shores. There is no regular inn, I believe, in the town, but strangers are received and very well treated in the castle. This edifice is large and very roomy, though almost unfinished; it has a small garden to the west and north, surrounded by a wall that borders the brow of the precipice. A trellice supporting thick spreading vines covers this wall, and shades the walk along it, while large windows open at intervals, and enable the eye to range over the view that lies expanded beneath. At one of these windows I seated myself, and enjoyed the glorious exhibition of the setting sun, which then hung in appearance over the distant island of Pandataria, and cast a purple gleam on all the promontories of Gaieta, and the hills of Formiæ. The purple tints, as the sun descended into the waves, brightened into golden streaks, then softened into purple again, and gradually deepening into blue, at length melted away in darkness. The moon rose soon after; a table was placed before me covered

covered with figs, apricots, and peaches. The man and woman who took care of the palace, a young couple, the husband strong and comely, the wife handsome, seated themselves opposite to me; their son, a smart lively boy, served at table. After a little conversation, the man took his guitar and accompanied his wife while she sung the evening hymn, in a sweet voice and with great earnestness. Occasionally the man and boy joined in chorus, and while they sung, the eyes of all three were sometimes raised to heaven and sometimes fixed on each other, with a mixed expression of piety, affection, and gratitude. I own, I never was present at an act of family devotion more simple or more graceful. It seemed to harmonize with the beauty of the country, and the temperature of the air, and breathed at once the innocence and the joy of Paradise. Shortly after similar little concerts rose from the town below, and from different parts of the island, and continued at intervals for an hour or more, sometimes swelling upon the ear, and sometimes dying away in distance, and mingling with the murmurs of the sea. One would almost imagine that Milton, who had visited all this coast, had these concerts in mind when he speaks of

Celestial voices to the midnight air,
Sole or responsive each to other's note,
Singing their great Creator.—

“Next morning I was awakened earlier than usual by the rays of the sun shining full into my room, and getting up I placed myself in the balcony to enjoy the air and the prospect. Misenus and Baiæ rose before me; the Elysian fields and the groves of *Cumæ* extended be-

tween them in full view still fresh with dew, and bright with the beams of the new risen sun. No scene perhaps surpasses that which is now under my eye in natural beauties, and few equal it in those embellishments which the action of the human mind superadds to the graces of nature. These intellectual charms are the most impressive, and even the most permanent; without them, the exhibitions of the material world become an empty pageant, that pleases the eye for a moment and passes away, leaving perhaps a slight recollection, but producing no improvement. Hence, although Germany, and other more northern countries, frequently display scenes both grand and beautiful, yet, if I may judge of the feelings of other travellers by my own, they are passed over in haste, and viewed with indifference. Even the gigantic features of America, its interminable forests, and its mountains that touch the skies, its sea-like lakes, and its volcanos that seem to thunder in another world, may excite wonder, but can awaken little interest, and certainly inspire no enthusiasm. Their effect is confined to the spot which they cover, and to the very hour which rolls over them; they have no connection with other regions, no retrospect to other times. They stand vast masses, grand but silent monuments, in the midst of boundless solitudes, unenlivened by industry and unadorned by genius. But, if a Plato or a Pythagoras had visited their recesses in pursuit of knowledge; if a Homer or a Virgil had peopled them with ideal tribes, with heroes or with phantoms; if the useful ambition of an Alexander or a Cæsar had carried war and civilization

vilization to their borders; if a courageous people had made a last and successful stand against invasion in their fastnesses; then indeed they would assume dignity and importance; then they would excite interest, and acquire a title to the attention of travellers.

Tunc sylvæ, tunc antra loqui, tunc vivere fontes,

Tum sacer horror aquis, adytisque effunditur echo

Clarior, et doctæ spirant præsagia rupes:

Claud. vi. Com. Stil.

“Nature has shed over the coast before us some of its terrors, and many of its beauties. Homer either visited it, or heard accounts of it, when probably the former were predominant, and represented it accordingly as the boundaries of the living world, and the confines of the infernal regions; the groves of Proserpina, according to him, spread over the sullen beach, and covered it with a thick but barren shade.

“Ενθ’ ἀκτὴ τε λάχεια καὶ ἄλσος Περσεφονείης.
Μακρὰ τ’ αἰετοὶ καὶ ἱτέαι ἀλεσίκαρποι.

Odys. x. 509.

Virgil beheld it at a time when beauty was its prevalent feature, and though he was obliged to adopt the mythology of his predecessor, yet he qualifies its horrors, by confining the infernal gloom to the precincts of Avernus; while he improves upon it at the same time, by conducting his hero through the regions of the dead, and opening scenes grand, novel, and in the highest degree delightful. Thus, while the foundation was laid by the Greek, the elegant superstructure was raised by the Latin poet. The heroes, the appellations, the topography, are principally Homer’s; but the graces, the decora-

tions, the enchantment, belong to Virgil. The former is content with evoking the dead, and throwing an awful horror over the whole coast; the latter fixes on particular spots, and attaches to each some pleasing or instructive recollection. Thus to yon promontory he consigns the name and the glory of Miseno,

— — — — — quo non præstantior alter

Ære ciere viros, Martemque accendere cantu.

Into yonder grove on the borders of Avernus, which Homer had filled with phantoms, *the nations of the dead*, Virgil introduces, the doves of Venus, and brightens its gloom with the vision of the golden bough.

Species auri frondentis opaca

Illice — — — — —

The adventures of Dædalus were perhaps Homer’s, but the temple with its sculptured walls, and the vain efforts of the father to represent the son’s fate are characteristic embellishments of Virgil.

Bis conatus erat casus effingere in auro

Bis patriæ cecidere manus.

“He also converted the cavern in yonder rock rising on the level shore, into the abode of the Sybil; he made its vaults echo with the voice of futurity, and peopled its recesses with generations yet unknown to the sun. The Elysian fields, one of the most delightful fictions of antiquity, if that may be called a *fiction* which is founded on truth, belong almost exclusively to Virgil. He at least gave substance and locality to a notion before him vague, indefinite, and shadowy. He shed on yonder groves that cover the hills and border the sea, *a purer, a softer radiance*, and introduced

duced into them the immortal spirits of the good made happy.

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera
passi :

Quique sacerdotes casti dum vita ma-
nebat :

Quique pii vates et Phœbo digna lo-
cuti

Quique sui memores alios fecere me-
rendo.

Lib. vi.

In short, not a wood, a lake, a promontory, appears on the coast before me, that has not been distinguished by some illustrious name, or embellished by some splendid fiction. In contemplating a prospect thus adorned by nature, and thus ennobled by genius; the theatre of the most sublime and most instructive fables that the human mind ever invented, we may be allowed, as we bewilder ourselves in the mazes of classical illusion, to indulge a momentary enthusiasm.

Audire et videor pios

Errare per lucos, amœnæ

Quos et aquæ subeunt, et auræ.

Hor.

“ But the scenes before me owe not their graces and their interest to poetry only; history has had its share in the decoration and renown of this favoured region. On the summit of that promontory (Miesnus) rose the villa of Marius. Lucullus succeeded to it, and spread around it the amenity and beauty which distinguished his character. On the slope of the hill beyond the harbour, and looking towards Puzuolo stood the villa of Baulis, where Cicero and Hortensius used to meet and exercise their rival powers. On the eminence above it, rose the retreat of Cæsar, lofty in its site, but in the vicinity of Baïæ, thus suited to the temper of that chief,

high and imperious, but yet open to all the charms of literature, and all the allurements of pleasure. Yonder in the curve of the bay, and almost on the beach was Cicero's Academy, sacred, as its name implies, to meditation and philosophical research. Around in different directions, but all within the compass of four miles, were the villas of Pompey, Varro, and Lucullus; of Pompey, once the first of Roman citizens in power and moderation; of Lucullus, famed alike for his talents, his learning, and his luxury; and of Varro, renowned for his deep erudition, and thorough insight into the laws, the literature, and the antiquities of his country. What spot in the universe, Rome alone excepted, ever united so much power, so much genius, so much greatness! *Baïæ* indeed at that time was the resort, or rather the very temple of Wisdom and the Muses; whither the masters of the world retired, not to dissolve their energies in effeminacy, but to unbend their minds in literary inquiries and refined conversation. Luxury appeared, without doubt, but in her most appropriate form and character, as the handmaid of taste, to minister at the tables, and season the repasts, where Cæsar and Cicero, Pompey and Lucullus, Varro and Hortensius, enjoyed *the feast of reason*. Shortly after this era of greatness and glory, the sun of liberty set for ever on the Roman world; but it cast a parting beam, which still continued to brighten the hemisphere. Augustus himself felt its influence; he had been educated in the principles, and inured to the manly and independent manners of a free Roman; he observed the forms and retained the simplicity of antient times, and gloried in the

the plainness and even in the appellation of a *citizen*; he may therefore be considered as a republican prince. In the modesty of this character, he frequented the coasts of Baia, and conducted in his train improvement, opulence, and festivity, Agrippa and Mæcenas, Virgil and Horace. One of the most pleasing scenes of this emperor's life, and well calculated to close a career once so active, with tranquillity, took place in the bay of Puteoli.

"The spirit of the republic seems to have expired with Augustus: under his successor Rome was destined to taste the bitters of despotism, and during the following reigns, to drain the cup to the dregs. Then Baia became the receptacle of profligacy and effeminacy, of lust and cruelty, as far beyond the bounds of nature as the power of the imperial monsters was above human control. The beauties of nature were tarnished by the foulness of vice, and the virtuous man turned away from scenes which he could not behold without disgust and horror. Silius, Martial, Statius, courted the Muse in vain on that shore which had inspired the strains of Virgil. They attempted to celebrate the beauties of Baia, but the subject was degraded, and their strains were forced and inharmonious. Baia and its retreats, defiled by obscenity, and stained with blood, were doomed to devastation; and earthquakes, war and pestilence, were employed in succession to waste its fields, and depopulate its shores. Its pompous villas were gradually levelled in the dust; its wanton alcoves swallowed up in the sea; its salubrious waters were turned into pools of infection; and its gales, that once breathed health

and perfume, now wafted poison and death. The towns, forsaken by the inhabitants, gradually sunk to ruin, and the most delicious region the sun beholds in his course, is now a desert, and seems destined to expiate in ages of silence and desolation the crimes of the last degenerate Romans.

"The morning was now far advanced, and I turned towards the west to view the island, which is highly cultivated, thickly inhabited, and presents to a spectator beholding it from the castle a most delightful grove of mulberries, poplars, and vines with domes, and clusters of white houses intermingled. Juvenal seems to allude to it as a solitary retreat in his time; it does not merit that appellation at present; in truth, it resembles a large town interspersed with orchards, gardens, and public walks.

"The views which have been described above are not the only prospects which the castle affords; it extends its perspective over Naples, the lower part excepted, which is covered by the promineny of Pausilypus, includes Vesuvius, Stabia, Surrentum, and terminates in the island of Capri. It is perhaps one of the finest points of view, as it looks down on the bay of Puteoli, which is the most delicious part of the crater.

"Close under the southern part of Prochyta rises another little island, now called Vivara. Whether this island has been detached from Prochyta by some subterraneous convulsion, or whether it existed in ancient times, and be that which Ovid mentions under the appellation of

Pithecusæ habitantium nomine dictæ,

I leave the learned reader to determine.

mine. I shall content myself with observing, that it answers the description given by the poet, and swells into a little barren hill in the centre. The fact is, that the names of these islands have been applied in a very confused and indiscriminate manner by many of the antients, and an attempt to reconcile their differences would employ more time and attention than the subject deserves; especially as every material circumstance connected with their history, situation, and features is sufficiently ascertained, notwithstanding such verbal difficulties, and perhaps poetical mistakes or misrepresentations.

“ While I thus indulged myself in solitude and repose in the castle of Prochyta, my fellow travellers were employed in exploring the neighbouring island of Ischia, antiently Arime, Inarime, and Ænaria, and perhaps sometimes Pithecusæ. As it is only about two miles distant from the southern extremity of Prochyta, and as it is distinguished by a very bold and lofty mountain, its scenery, owing to the extreme clearness of the air, was brought as it were under my eye, and appeared as distinct as similar objects in northern climates at the distance of half a mile. The following particulars may suffice to give the reader a tolerable notion of this island.

“ The town of Ischia, from which the modern name is derived, stands in a little bay opposite the island of Vivara, above two miles from the nearest point of Prochyta. This bay is defended by a castle seated on a high rock, which communicates with the above by an isthmus of sand. Ischia or Inarime was famed in antient times for its eruptions, and all the varied and dreadful phe-

nomena that accompany the constant action of subterraneous fires. Besides the ordinary effects of volcanic fermentation, earthquakes, torrents of lava rolling down the declivities, or showers of ashes and cinders overwhelming the country, historians talk of flames rising suddenly from the cracks and fissures of the earth, and spreading like a conflagration over the whole surface of the island; of hot water bursting out from unknown sources, and rolling through the fields with all the fury and mischief of a torrent; of mountains suddenly sinking into the abyss below, and as suddenly shooting up again increased in bulk and elevation; of vast masses of land detached from the shore and hurled into the sea, and again heaved up by the waters and thrown back on the shore. With such tremendous events on record before them, it is no wonder that the poets should have placed Typhæus himself under this island, and ascribed its convulsive throws to the agitations of that giant writhing under his tortures.

“ The principal feature of Ischia is the mountain antiently named Epopeus, now for euphony softened into Epomeo, but more generally called by the people Monte San Nicolo. To visit this mountain was our first business; therefore the next morning, about four o'clock, we mounted our mules and begun the ascent: the road is extremely steep and craggy, and at length with much exertion we reached the summit, but found it so enveloped in clouds, that one of the grand objects of our excursion, the extensive view which is said to comprehend almost half the southern coast of Italy, was nearly lost to us. However, our loss in this respect

was compensated by the local knowledge of the country, which our progress up and round the mountain enabled us to acquire. The summit is formed of a sort of grey or whitish lava, in the midst of which the form of the crater is easily distinguishable. Two hermits and a soldier inhabit this solitary spot, and occupy apartments cut out of the solid rock. This mountain, and indeed the whole island, is evidently of volcanic origin, and formed of lava, tufo, and pumice stone. No eruption however has taken place since the year 1302, when the convulsions that shook the mountain were so violent, and the rivers of burning fluid that poured down its sides so extensive, and so destructive, that the towns and villages were all levelled with the ground or consumed, most of the inhabitants perished, and the few survivors were driven in terror from their homes. Since this tremendous explosion the island has enjoyed a state of tranquillity, and all apprehension of similar visitations seems removed. The subterraneous fire however is not extinguished, and the number of hot fountains that spring up in different places still attest its existence and activity. The surface of Ischia is very beautifully varied by vineyards, gardens, groves of chesnut, and villages. It is intersected by numberless steep and narrow dells, shaded by forest trees, intermingled with aloes, myrtles, and other odoriferous shrubs, that shoot out of the fissures of the rocks, and wave over their summits. The soil is fertile, and peculiarly favourable to vines; hence the wine of Ischia is plentiful, and held in considerable estimation; it is lodged in caverns worked out of the rocks, and formed

into very capacious and cool cellars, a method of keeping wine practised not only here and in some other parts of Italy, but in Austria, and various transalpine wine countries; it has many advantages, and implies a great degree of honesty and mutual confidence among the inhabitants.

“ Besides Ischia, there are nine towns and several villages; one of the former, Foria, is as large as the capital itself, and I believe more populous. Panza is on the southern side of the isle, and near it, on an insulated and conical rock, stands a fortress. Casamicio is placed nearly on the summit of Mount Epomeo; these towns have all one or two large churches, as many convents, and generally some medicinal waters, or hot baths, or sands, within their confines. The island of Ischia is extremely well peopled, and highly cultivated; and as its beauty, its waters, and the coolness and salubrity of its air, attract a considerable number of visitants to it in summer time, it may be considered as very prosperous and flourishing. Its coasts present a great variety of romantic scenery, as they are in general bold and craggy, indented with little bays, jutting out in points, and lined with shapeless rocks which have been torn in moments of convulsion from the shore, or hurled from the precipices above. Such is Inarime, at present the centre of rural beauty and fertility, the resort of health and pleasure; very different from the shattered mountain tumbled in antient days by Jupiter on the giant monster, for ever resounding with his groans, and inflamed by his burning breath.

“ On our return we touched at Procida, and again re-embarking crossed the bay of Pozzuolo. The port

port that once engrossed the commerce of the East, and was accustomed to behold the Roman navy riding on its bosom, was all solitude and silence; not one vessel, not even a boat was seen to ply in its forsaken waters. The Julian mole, *Lucrinoque adita claustra* no longer repel the indignant waves — the royal structure which was numbered among the wonders of Italy, has scarcely left a trace of its existence; and the moral of the poet is literally exemplified in the very instance which he selected for its illustration.

Debemur morti nos nostraque; sive receptus
Terrâ Neptunus classes aquilonibus arcet
Regis opus
Her. D. Arte Poetica.

“ We passed under Nisida, rising as a theatre from the sea; its lower part is covered with buildings, the upper is crowned as antiently with wood.

Sylvaque quæ fixam pelago Nesida coronat.
Stat.

“ It was once the rural retreat of Brutus, and frequently honoured with Cicero's presence when on a visit to his friend. On doubling the promontory of Posilipo, we beheld the bay with boats without number, skimming over its smooth surface, and Naples extended along the coast in all its glory full before us. The immense line of white edifices stretched along the beach, and spread over the hills behind; the bold but verdant coasts on either side, glittering with towns, villages, convents, and villas; and Mount Vesuvius raising its scorched summit almost in the centre, form a picture of singular beauty, and render this view from the sea prefer-

able to every other, because it alone combines all the characteristic features of this matchless prospect. We landed at sun-set, and sat down to dinner with our windows open full on the bay, the colours of which were gradually fading away and softening into the dim tints of twilight.

“ We now turned our attention to Vesuvius, and resolved to visit that mountain without delay, and the more so as the increasing heat of the weather might, in a short time, render such an excursion extremely inconvenient. Therefore, leaving Naples about three o'clock next morning, we reached Portici, where guides with mules had been previously engaged to meet us at four, and instantly began the ascent. Vesuvius rises in a gentle swell from the shore; the first part or base of the mountain is covered with towns on all sides, such as Portici, Torre del Greco, Torre del Annuncziata, on the sea coast; and Ottaino, Somma, Massa, &c. on the inland side. These are all large towns, and with the villages and villas that encircle them, and extend over the second region of the mountain, may be said, without exaggeration, to cover the lower parts of it with fertility, beauty, and population. The upper tract is a scene of perfect devastation, furrowed on all sides with rivers of lava extended in wide black lines over the surface. This region may be said to terminate at the Atrio dei Cavalli so called, because the traveller is obliged to dismount and leave his horse there till his return, as the summit of the mountain must be ascended on foot. This part has the shape of a truncated cone; it is formed almost entirely of ashes, and is extremely difficult of ascent,

as it yields under the pressure of the foot, so that one step out of three may be considered as lost. The guides however afford every assistance, and by means of a leathern strap thrown over their shoulders ease the traveller not a little in his exertions. It is advisable to proceed slowly and rest at intervals, as the fatigue otherwise is sufficient to try even strong and youthful constitutions.

“ When we reached the summit we found ourselves on a narrow ledge of burnt earth or cinders, with the crater of the volcano open beneath us. This orifice in its present form, for it varies at almost every eruption, is about a mile and a half in circumference, and may be about three hundred and fifty feet in depth; its eastern border is considerably higher than the western. Its sides are formed of ashes and cinders, with some rocks and masses of lava intermingled, and shelve in a steep declivity, enclosing at the bottom a flat space of about three quarters of a mile in circumference. We descended some way, but observing that the least motion or noise brought vast quantities of ashes and stones rolling together down the sides, and being called back by our guides, who assured us that we could not in safety go lower or even remain in our station, we re-ascended. We were near enough to the bottom however to observe, that it seemed to be a sort of crust of brown burnt earth, and that a little on one side there were three orifices like funnels, from whence ascended a vapour so thin as to be scarcely perceptible. Such was the state of the crater in the year 1802. We reached the summit a little before seven, and as we had ascended under the shade of

the mountain we had yet felt no inconvenience from the heat; while on the top we were refreshed by a strong wind blowing from the east, and profiting of so favourable a circumstance we sat down on the highest point of the cone to enjoy the prospect. Vesuvius is about three thousand six hundred feet in height, and of course does not rank among the greater mountains; but its situation is so advantageous, that the scene which it unfolds to the eye probably surpasses that displayed from any other eminence. The prospect includes Naples, with its bay, its islands, and its bordering promontories; the whole of that delicious region justly denominated the Campania Felicè, with its numberless towns and town-like villages. It loses itself in the immensity of the sea on one side, and on the other is bordered by the Apennines, forming a semicircular frame of various tints and bold outline. I own I do not admire views taken from very elevated points; they indeed give a very good geographical idea of the face of a country, but they destroy all the illusions of rural beauty, reduce hills and vales to the same level, and confound all the graceful swells and hollows of an undulated country in one dull flat surface.

“ The most interesting object seen from the summit of Vesuvius is the mountain itself, torn to pieces by a series of convulsions, and strewed with its own ruins. Vesuvius may be said to have two summits; the cone which I have described, and a ridge separated from it by a deep valley, called Monte Somma, from a town that stands on its side. The distance between these two summits is in a straight line, nearly three thousand feet. The ridge on the

the side towards the cone presents a steep, rugged, barren precipice; on the other side, it shelves gently towards the plain, and is covered with verdure and villages. The valley or deep dell that winds between these eminences is a desolate hollow, formed entirely of calcined stones, cinders, and ashes, and resembles a vast subterraneous forge, the rocky roof of which has given way, and admitted light from above. Hence it is conjectured, that it is part of the interior of the mountain, as the ridge that borders it, or the Monte Somma, is the remnant of the exterior, or original surface so much celebrated for its beauty and fertility, previous to the eruption of the year 79 of the Christian era. It is indeed probable, that the throws and convulsions of the mountain in that first tremendous explosion may have totally shattered its upper parts, while the vast ejection of ashes, cinders, ignited stones, and melted minerals, must have left a large void in its centre. One entire side of the mountain seems to have been consumed, or scattered around on this occasion, while the other remains in Monte Somma. The cavity thus formed was filled up in part by the matter ejected in subsequent eruptions, and gradually raised into the present cone, which however varies its shape with every new agitation, and increases or diminishes, according to the quantity of materials thrown out by the mountain. Even in the last eruption, it lost a considerable share of its elevation, as the greater part of it, after having been raised and kept suspended in the air for some minutes, sunk into the crater and almost filled its cavity. The fire raging in the gulph below having thus lost its vent, burst through the

flank of the mountain, and poured out a torrent of lava that, as it rolled down the declivity, swept all before it, and in its way to the sea destroyed the greater part of Torre del Greco.

“It is not my intention to describe the phenomena of Vesuvius, or to relate the details of its eruptions, which have been very numerous since the first recorded in history in the reign of Titus, so well described by Pliny the younger in two well-known epistles to Tacitus. I shall only observe that although this eruption be the first of which we have an account, yet Vesuvius had all the features of a volcano, and particularly the traces of a crater, from time immemorial. Strabo speaks of it as being hollowed out into caverns, and having the appearances of being preyed upon by internal fires; and Florus relates a stratagem employed by a Roman officer, who, he says, conducted a body of men through the cavities and subterraneous passages of that mountain. These vestiges, however, neither disfigured its form nor checked its fertility; and it is represented as a scene of beauty and abundance, covered with villas and enlivened by population, when the eruption burst forth with more suddenness and more fury than any similar catastrophe on record. The darkness, the flames, the agitation, the uproar that accompanied this explosion, and extended its devastation and its terror so widely, might naturely excite among many of the degenerate and epicurean Romans that frequented the Campanian coasts, the opinion that the period of universal destruction was arrived, and that the atoms which formed the world were about to dissolve their fortuitous combination,

tion, and plunge the universe once more into chaos.

“ The last eruption took place in 1794; the ashes, cinders, and even water, thrown from the mountain did considerable damage to the towns of Somma, Ottaiano, and all the circumjacent region; but the principal mischief was, as usual, occasioned by the lava, rivers of which, as I have already related, poured down the southern side of the mountain. These and several other torrents of similar matter, but earlier date, are seen from the summit, and may be traced from their source through the whole of their progress, which generally terminates in the sea. They are narrow at first, but expand as they advance, and appear like so many tracks of rich black mould just turned up by the plough. When their destructive effects are considered, one is surprized to see villas placed in their windings, vineyards waving over their borders, and towns rising in the very middle of their channels. In truth, ravaged and tortured as the vicinity of Vesuvius has been for so many ages, it must appear singular, that it has not been abandoned by its inhabitants, and consigned to the *genius of fire and desolation* as his own peculiar territory. But such is the richness of the soil, and so slight the damages occasioned by the volcano, when compared to the produce of the lands fertilized by its ashes; so delightful is the situation, and of its numerous inhabitants so small the number that suffer by its agitations, that the evil when divested of its terrific appearances seems an ordinary calamity, not exceeding in mischief the accidents of fire and inundation

so common in northern countries. The alarm is indeed great on the approach of an eruption, because it is usually preceded by earthquakes; but when once the fermenting matter finds vent, the general danger is considered as over, and the progress of the phenomena becomes an object of mere curiosity to all, excepting to the cultivators of the lands which the lava actually rolls over, or seems likely to ravage in its progress.

“ We descended the cone or upper part of the mountain with great ease and rapidity, as the ashes yielding to the tread prevented slipping, and enabled us to hasten our pace without danger. From the *Atrio dei Cavalli* we proceeded towards a bed of lava ejected in the last eruption, and found its appearance very different from that which we had observed from the summit. From thence it resembled long stripes of new ploughed land; here it was like the surface of a dark muddy stream convulsed by a hurricane, and frozen in a state of agitation; presenting rough broken masses rolling over each other, with a huge fragment rising above the rest here and there, like a vast wave distorted by the tempest and congealed in its fall. The exterior parts of this once liquid torrent of fire are cold, but the sand produced by the friction and crumbling of the interior parts, although it is now eight years since the eruption, is still too hot to hold in the hand, as is indeed the earth itself under, or in immediate contact with these once glowing masses. We continued our descent, and again reached Portici about eleven o'clock.

ON ITALIAN LITERATURE.

[From the same.]

“**L**ANGUAGE is only the vehicle of instruction, and the sweetest dialect that ever graced the lips of mortals, if not ennobled by genius and consecrated by wisdom, may be heard with as much indifference as the warblings of the birds of the forest. Fortunately for Italy, if the Goddess of Liberty has twice smiled, the Sun of Science also has twice risen on her favoured regions, and the happy periods of Augustus and of Leo, have continued through all succeeding ages, to amuse and to instruct mankind. If the Greek language can boast the first, and Latin the second, Italian may glory in the third epic poem; and Tasso, in the opinion of all candid critics, has an undoubted right to sit next in honour and in fame to his countryman Virgil. Dante and Ariosto have claims of a different, perhaps not an inferior, nature, and in originality and grandeur the former, in variety and imagery the latter, stands unrivalled. Petrarca has all the tenderness, all the delicacy of Catullus Tibullus and Propertius without their foulness and effeminacy; he seems to have felt the softness of love without any mixture of its sensuality; he has even raised it above itself, as I have observed elsewhere, and superadded to that grace and beauty, which have ever been deemed its appropriate ornaments, some of the charms of virtue, and even a certain religious solemnity. Nor has the genius of Italian poesy, as if exhausted by the effort, expired with these, the first and the most

illustrious of her offspring. The same spirit has continued to inspire a succession of poets in every different branch of that divine art, from Boccaccio and Guarini down to Alfieri and Metastasio, all *Phæbo digna locuti*, all inimitable in their different talents, equal perhaps to their celebrated predecessors in the same career and in the same country, and undoubtedly superior both in number and in originality to the bards of the northern regions.

“The French, who glory, and not without reason, in their dramatical writers, have often reproached the Italians with the barrenness of their literature in this respect, and have even ventured to assert, that it proceeded from some inherent defect, from some want of energy or of pliability in the formation of their language. But the language of Dante and of Ariosto wants neither of these qualities; it has assumed all the ease and the grace of Terence, in the comedies of Gherardo di Rossi; in the tragedies of Alfieri it appears in all the dignity and the strength of Sophocles; and simplicity, tenderness, and delicacy, are the inseparable attendants of the virgin muse of Metastasio. It is indeed useless to enlarge on the excellency of Italian poetry: its superiority is admitted, and dull must be the ear, and unmusical the soul, which do not perceive in the chant of the Hesperian Muse a glow and a harmony peculiar to the age and country which inspired the divine strains of Virgil and of Horace.

Namque

Namque haud tibi vultus
Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; O Dea,
certe
Et Phoebi soror! *Æn.* lib. 1.

“But the reader, if not better versed in Italian literature than most of our travellers, will be surprised to hear that Italy is as rich in history as in poetry, and that in the former as well as in the latter, she may claim a superiority not easily disputed over every other country. Every republic, and almost every town has its historian, and most of these historians, though their subject may sometimes appear too confined, possess the information and the talents requisite to render their works both instructive and amusing. The greater states can boast of authors equal to their reputation; while numberless writers of the first rate abilities have devoted their time and their powers to the records of their country at large, and related its vicissitudes with all the spirit of ancient, and with all the precision of modern times. In these cursory observations, a few instances only can be expected, but the few which I am about to produce are sufficient to establish the precedence of Italian historians.

“Paolo Sarpi, in depth, animation and energy, is represented by the Abbé Mably, no incompetent judge, as unrivalled, and proposed as a model of excellence in the art of unravelling the intricacies of misrepresentation and party spirit. Cardinal Pallavicini treated the same subject as Paolo Sarpi, with candor, eloquence and judgment, and his style and manner are supposed to combine together with great felicity, the ease and the dignity that became the subject and the historian. Giannone possesses nearly the same qualities, and adds to them an impar-

tiality of discussion, and a depth of research peculiar to himself. Guicciardini, with the penetration of Tacitus, unites the fulness (*lactea ubertas*) of Titus Livius, and like him possesses the magic power of transforming the relation into action, and the readers into spectators. This historian has been reproached with the length and intricacy of his sentences, a defect considerably increased by the number of parentheses with which they are, not unfrequently, embarrassed. The reproach is not without foundation. But it must be remembered that his Roman master is not entirely exempt from the same defect, and that in neither, does it impede the fluency, or weaken the interest of the narration. The greatest fault of the Florentine historian is the frequency of his studied speeches, a fault into which he was betrayed by his admiration of the ancients, and by that passionate desire of imitating them, which is its natural consequence. But his harangues have their advantages, and, like those of Livius and of Thucydides, not only furnish examples of eloquence, but abound in maxims of public policy and of sound philosophy. Machiavelli ranks high as an historian, and may be considered as the rival of Tacitus, whom he imitates, not indeed in the dignity and extent of his subject, nor in the veracity of his statements, but in the concise and pithy style of his narration.

“These historians were preceded and followed by others of talents and celebrity little inferior; such were the judicious historian of Naples, Angelo de Costanzo; the Cardinal Bembo, Morosini, and Paruta of Venice; Adriani and Ammirato of Tuscany, or rather of Florence; Bernardino Corio of

Milan; and in general history, Targagnola and Campagna, not to mention Davila and the Cardinal Bentivoglio. In each of these historians, the Italian critics discover some peculiar features, some characteristic touches exclusively their own; while in all they observe the principal excellencies of the historic art, discrimination in portraits, judicious arrangements in facts, and in style, pure and correct language. These writers, it is true, flourished for the greater part, at a time, when Italian literature was in its meridian glory, that is, during the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries; but its lustre did not cease with them, nor was Italy in the eighteenth century unenlightened by history or unproductive of genius.

“ Were I to mention the learned and judicious Muratori only, and lose the list of Italian historians with his name, I should not be called upon for any further proof of the superiority of the Italians in the research and combination that constitute the excellence of this branch of literature. So extensive is the erudition, so copious the information, so judicious the selection, and so solid the criticism, that reign throughout the whole of this voluminous author’s writings, that his works may be considered in themselves as a vast and well disposed library, containing all the documents of Italian history and antiquities, and all the reflections which they must suggest to a mind of great and extensive observation.

“ But to the name of Muratori, I will add another equally illustrious in the annals of literature, and like him capable, even single, of fixing the reputation of a language of less intrinsic merit than Italian; I mean Giraboschi, the author of numerous

works, but known principally for his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*. This work takes in the whole history of Italian literature both ancient and modern, and contains an account of the commencement and progress of each science, of the means by which knowledge was promoted, of libraries and literary establishments, of the lives, the works, and the characters of great authors; in short, of persons, revolutions, events, and discoveries, connected with the fate of literature. It begins with the first dawn of science and taste in Rome, and follows their increase, decline, and revival during the succeeding ages; of course it includes a considerable portion of the general history of the country at each epoch, and conducts the reader from the first Punic war over the immense space of twenty intervening centuries down to the eighteenth. Few works have been planned upon a scale more extensive, and none executed in a more masterly manner. A strict adherence to veracity; a thorough acquaintance with the subject in all its details; a spirit of candour raised far above the influence of party; a discernment in criticism, deep and correct; and, above all, a clear and unbiassed judgment, *principium et fons recte scribendi*, pervade every part of this astonishing work, and give it a perfection very unusual in literary productions so comprehensive and so complicated. The style, according to the opinion of Italian critics, is pure, easy, and rapid, free alike from the wit that dazzles and the pomp that encumbers, yet graced with such ornaments as rise spontaneously from the nature of the subject. On the whole, it may be considered as one of the noblest and most

most interesting works ever published, and far superior to any historical or critical performance in any other language. The author intended it as a vindication of the claims of his country to the first honours in literature, and has, by establishing those claims, erected to its glory a monument as durable as human language, and appropriated for ever to Italy the title of Mother of the Arts and Sciences, and Instructress of Mankind.

“The work of Abate D. G. Andres Dell’Oregine, di progressi e dello Stato di ogni Letteratura, is a noble, an extensive, and a very masterly performance. I have already spoken of the *Revoluzioni D’Italia*, by the Abate Denina; I need only say that to perspicuity and manly simplicity this author adds a great share of political sagacity, and a sound philosophic spirit. The same qualities are predominant in his discourses, *Sopra le Vicende della Letteratura*, a work which comprises, in a small compass, a great mass of information, and may be considered as a compendious history, and at the same time, as a very masterly review, of literature in general.

“In antiquities the Italians are rich to superabundance, and can produce more authors of this description not only than any one, but than all the other nations of Europe together. Among them we may rank the illustrious names of Muratori, Maffei, Mazzochi, Carli, and Paciaudi, to which many more might be added were it not universally acknowledged that the study of antiquities called forth by so many motives and by so many objects, is an indigenous plant in Italy, and flourishes there as in its native climate.

“For the last fifty years political economy has been a favourite subject on the continent, and in it some French writers have acquired considerable reputation. In this respect, as in many others, the French may be more bold, more lively, and perhaps more entertaining, because more paradoxical; but the man who wishes to be guided by experience and not by theory, who prefers the safe, the generous principles of Cicero and of Plato, to the dangerous theories of Rousseau and of Sieyes, will also prefer the Italian to the French economists. Of the former the number is great, and from them has been extracted and printed in sets, as Classics, (in which light indeed they are considered,) a select number of the best, whose works form a collection of about fifty volumes octavo.

“In Essays, Treatises, Journals, and Reviews, the Italians first led the way, and still equal every other nation. In the Sciences, they have been considered as deficient, but this opinion can be entertained only by persons imperfectly acquainted with Italian literature. To be convinced that it is without foundation, we need only enumerate the astronomers, mathematicians, geographers, and natural philosophers, who have flourished in Italy from the time of Galileo to the present period; and among them we shall find a sufficient number of justly celebrated names to vindicate the reputation of their country, and to justify its claim to scientific honours.

“Here indeed, as upon another occasion, I must observe that Italian literature has been traduced, because its treasures are unknown; and that the language itself has been deemed unfit for research and argument, because too often employed as the
vehicle

vehicle of amorous ditties and of effeminate melody. This prejudice is owing amongst us in some degree to the influence of French fashions and opinions, which commenced at the Restoration, was increased by the Revolution, and was strengthened and extended in such a manner by the example of court sycophants, and by the writings of courtly authors, that French became a constituent part of a genteel education, and some tincture of its literature was deemed a necessary accomplishment. Thence, French criticism had acquired weight, and the opinions of Boileau, Bouhours, Dubos, &c. became axioms in the literary world. Either from jealousy or from ignorance, or from a mixture of both, these critics speak of Italian literature with contempt, and take every occasion of vilifying the best and noblest compositions of its authors. Hence the contemptuous appellation of tinsel, given by the French satirist to the strains (*Aurea dicta*) of Tasso, an appellation as inapplicable as it is insolent, which must have been dictated by envy, and can be repeated by ignorance only.

“The flippant petulancy of these criticisms might perhaps recommend them to the French public, especially as they flattered the national vanity, by depreciating the glory of a rival, or rather a superior country; but it is difficult to conceive how they came to be so generally circulated and adopted in England; and it is not without some degree of patriot indignation, that we see Dryden bend his own stronger judgment, and Pope submit his finer taste, to the dictates of French essayists, and to the assertions of Parisian poets. Addison, though in other respects an Anti-Gallican, and strongly influenced by

those laudable prejudices, to use his own expression, which naturally cleave to the heart of a true-born Briton, here condescended to follow the crowd, and resigning his own better lights and superior information, adopted without examination, the opinions of the French school. This tame, servile spirit of imitation became in a short time general, and not only contributed to give the language of our enemies that currency of which they are now so proud, but restrained the flight of British genius, and kept it confined in the trammels of French rules and of French example.

“How detrimental, in fact, this imitative spirit has been to our national literature will appear evident, if we compare the authors, who were formed in the Italian school, with those who fashioned their productions on French models. To say nothing of Chaucer, who borrowed both his manner and his subject from Italy, or of Shakspeare, whose genius, like that of Homer, was fed, as the luminaries of heaven, by sources secret and inexhaustible; I need only mention the names of Spencer and of Milton, two towering spirits, who soar far above competition, and from their higher spheres look down upon the humbler range of Pope and of Dryden. Yet Spencer and Milton are disciples of the Tuscan sages, and look up with grateful acknowledgment to their Ausonian masters. Waller and Cowley pursued the same path though at a respectful distance, and certainly not, *passibus æquis*: especially as in the time of the latter, French fashion began to spread its baneful influence over English literature. Then came the gossamer breed of courtly poetasters, who forgetting, or perhaps not knowing, that

The

The sterling bullion of one British line,
Drawn to French wire, would through
whole pages shine ;

derived their pretty thoughts from French madrigals, and modelled their little minds, as they borrowed their dress from French puppets. I mean not to say that Italian was utterly neglected during this long period, because I am aware that at all times it was considered as an accomplishment ornamental to all, and indispensably necessary to those who visit Italy. But though the language of Italy was known, its literature was neglected; so that not its historians only were forgotten, but of all the treasures of its divine poesy little was ever cited or admired excepting a few airs from the opera, or some love-sick and effeminate sonnets selected from the minor poets. French literature was the sole object of the attention of our writers, and from it they derived that cold correctness which seems to be the prevailing feature of most of the authors of the first part of the eighteenth century.

“Nor was this frigidity the only or the greatest evil that resulted from the then prevailing partiality for French literature. The spirit of infidelity had already infected some of the leading writers of that volatile nation, and continued to spread its poison imperceptibly, but effectually, till the latter years of the reign of Louis the Fifteenth, when most of the academicians had, through interest or vanity, ever the predominant passion in a French bosom, ranged themselves under the banners of Voltaire, and had become real or pretended sceptics. The works of the subalterns, it is true, were much praised but little read by their partisans; and Helvetius, Freret, Du Maillet, with fifty

others of equal learning and equal fame, now slumber in dust and silence on the upper shelves of public libraries, the common repository of deceased authors. But the wit and ribaldry of their chief continued to amuse and to captivate the gay, the voluptuous, and the ignorant; to dictate the ton, that is, to prescribe opinions and style to the higher circles; and by making impiety current in good company, to give it the greatest recommendation it could possess in the eyes of his countrymen, the sanction of Fashion.

“Such was the state of opinion in France when two persons of very different tastes and characters in other respects, but equally enslaved to vanity and to pride, visited that country—I mean Hume and Gibbon, who, though Britons in general are little inclined to bend their necks to the yoke of foreign teachers, meanly condescended to sacrifice the independence of their own understanding and the religion of their country to the flatteries and the sophisms of Parisian atheists. These two renegadoes joined in the views of their foreign associates, undertook to propagate atheistic principles among their countrymen, and faithful to the engagement, endeavoured in all their works to instil doubt and indifference into the minds of their readers, and by secret and almost imperceptible arts, gradually to undermine their attachment to revealed religion. Hints, sneers, misrepresentation, and exaggeration, concealed under affected candour, pervade almost every page of their very popular but most pernicious histories; and if the mischief of these works, however great, be not equal to the wishes of their authors, it is entirely owing to the

good sense and the spirit of religion so natural to the minds of Englishmen. This wise and happy temper, the source and security of public and private felicity, the nation owes to Providence; the desolating doctrines of incredulity, Hume and Gibbon, and their disciples, borrowed from France and its academies. Italian literature is exempt from this infection: its general tendency is religious; all its great authors have been distinguished by a steady and enlightened piety, and their works naturally tend to elevate the mind of the reader and to fix his thoughts on the noble destinies of the human race; an unspeakable advantage in a downward and perverse age, when men, formed in vain with 'looks erect and countenance sublime,' confine their views to the earth, and voluntarily place themselves on a level with the beasts that perish.

"To return.—Gray, who seems to have conceived, while in Italy, a partiality for its poetry, soon discovered the treasures which it contains; and first, I believe, attempted to copy the manner and to revive the taste that had formed the princes of English verse, and given them that boldness and that sublimity which foreigners now consider as their characteristic qualities. His school inherited his partiality, and the study of Italian began to revive gradually, though its progress was slow until the publication of the *Life of Lorenzo de Medici*; a work which evidently awakened the slumbering curiosity of the nation, and once more turned their eyes to Italy, the great parent and nurse of languages, of laws, of arts, and of sciences. Since the appearance of that publication, many champions have arisen to support the united

of taste and of Italian, and have displayed talents which might have obtained success with fewer advantages on their side, but with so many, could not fail to triumph. Among these the public is much indebted to Mr. Mathias, and to the author of the *Pursuits of Literature*, (*quocunque gaudet nomine*) who have struggled with unabating zeal to turn the attention of the public from the frippery and the tinsel of France to the sterling ore of Italy, and to place the literature of that country in the rank due to its merit, that is, next to the emanations of Greek and Roman genius.

"It is indeed much to be regretted that a language so harmonious in sound, so copious in words, so rich in literature, and at the same time so intimately connected with the ancient dialect of Europe and its modern derivatives, as to serve as a key both to one and to the others, should have been forced from its natural rank, and obliged to yield its place to a language far inferior to it in all these respects, and for many reasons not worth the time usually allotted to it in fashionable education. The great admirers of French, that is, the French critics themselves, do not pretend to found its supposed universality on its intrinsic superiority. In fact, not to speak of the rough combinations of letters, the indistinct articulation of many syllables, the peculiar sound of some vowels, the suppression, not of letters only, but of whole syllables, and the almost insuperable difficulties which arise from these peculiarities to foreigners studying this language; the perpetual recurrence of nasal sounds, the most disagreeable that can proceed from human organs, predominating as it does throughout
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the whole language, is sufficient alone to deprive it of all claim to sweetness and to melody. Some authors, I know, and many French critics discover in it a natural and logical construction, which, as they pretend, gives to it, when managed by a skilful writer, a clearness and a perspicuity which is scarcely to be equalled in Latin and Greek, and may be sought for in all modern dialects. This claim has been boldly advanced on one side and feebly contested on the other, though many of my readers, who have perhaps amused themselves with French authors for many a year, may perhaps have never yet observed this peculiar excellence, nor discovered that the French language invariably follows the natural course of our ideas, and the process of grammatical construction.

“ I mean not to dispute this real or imaginary advantage; especially as the discussion unavoidably involves a long metaphysical question relative to the natural order of ideas and the best corresponding arrangement of words; but I must observe, that to be confined to one mode of construction only, however excellent it may be, is a defect; because it deprives poetry and eloquence of one of the most powerful instruments of harmony and of description, I mean Inversion: and because it removes the distinction of styles, and brings all composition down to the same monotonous level. In fact, French poets have long complained of the tame uniform genius of their language, and French critics have been obliged, however reluctantly, to acknowledge that it has no poetic style; and if the reader wishes to see how well founded these complaints are, and how just this acknowledgment, he need

only consult the ingenious translator of Virgil's *Georgics* by the Abbé de Lille. In the preface he will hear the critic lamenting the difficulties imposed upon him by the nature of his language; and in the versification he will admire the skill with which the poet endeavours, (vainly indeed,) to transfuse the spirit, the variety, the colouring of the original into the dull, lifeless imitation. If he has failed, he has failed only comparatively; for his translation is the best in the French language, and to all the excellencies of which such a translation is susceptible, adds the peculiar graces of ease and propriety. He had all the talents necessary on his side, taste, judgment and enthusiasm; but his materials were frail, and his language, *Phæbi nondum patiens*, sunk under the weight of Roman genius. If other proofs of the feebleness of the French language, and of its inadequacy to the purposes of poetry, were requisite, we need only open Boileau's translation of Longinus, and we shall there find innumerable instances of failure, which, as they cannot be ascribed to the translator, must originate from the innate debility of the language itself.

“ In consequence of this irremediable defect the French have no poetical translation of Homer nor of Tasso; nor had they of Virgil or of Milton, till the Abbé De Lille attempted to introduce them to his countrymen in a French dress. But, both the Roman and the British poet seem alike to have disdained the trammels of Gallic rhyme, and turned away indignant from the translator, who presumed to exhibit their majestic forms masked and distorted to the public. The exertions of the Abbé only proved to the literary world, that

that even *his* talents and ingenuity were incapable of communicating to the language of his country energy sufficient to express the divine sentiments and the sublime imagery of Virgil and of Milton. In this respect Italian is more fortunate, and seems formed to command alike the regions of poetry and of prose. It adapts itself to all the purposes of argumentation or of ornament, and submits with grace and dignity to whatever construction the poet, the orator, or the metaphysician chooses to impose upon it.

Mille habet ornatus, mille decenter habet.
Tibullus, 4—2.

In fact this language has retained a considerable portion of the boldness and the liberty of the mother tongue, and moves along with a freedom which her tame rival would attempt in vain to imitate.

“I have hinted at the difficulty of the French language, which is in reality so great as to become a serious defect, and a solid ground of objection. This difficulty arises, in the first place, from the general complication of its grammar, the multiplicity of its rules, and the frequency of exceptions; and in the next place, from the nature of several sounds peculiar, I believe, to it. Such are some vowels, particularly *a* and *u*; and such also many diphthongs, as *ieu*, *eu*, *oi*, not to mention the *l mouillé*, the *e muet*, and various syllables of nasal and indistinct utterance, together with the different sounds of the same vowels and diphthongs in different combinations. I speak not of these sounds as agreeable or disagreeable to the ear, but only as difficult, and so much so as to render it almost impossible for a foreigner ever to pronounce French with ease and strict

propriety. Here again Italian has the advantage. Its sounds are all open and labial; it flows naturally from the organs, and requires nothing more than time and expansion. Its vowels have invariably the same sound, and that sound may be found in almost every language. The nose and the throat, those bagpipe instruments of French utterance, have no share in its articulation; no grouped consonants stop its progress; no indistinct murmurs choke its closes: it glides from the lips with facility, and it delights the ear with its fulness, its softness, and its harmony. As its grammar approaches nearer Latin, it is more congenial to our infant studies, and may therefore be acquired with the greater facility.

“In speaking of French literature I wish to be impartial; and most willingly acknowledge that our rivals are a sprightly and ingenious nation; that they have long cultivated the arts and sciences, and cultivated them with success; that their literature is an inexhaustible source of amusement and instruction; and that several of their writers rank among the great teachers and the benefactors of mankind. But after this acknowledgment, I must remind them that the Italians were their masters in every art and science, and that whatever claims they may have to literary merit and reputation, they owe them entirely to their first instructors. Here indeed Voltaire himself, however jealous on other occasions of the prerogatives of his own language, confesses the obligation, and candidly declares that France is indebted to Italy for her arts, her sciences, and even for her civilization. In truth, the latter country had basked in the sunshine
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of science at least two centuries, ere one solitary ray had beamed upon the former; and she had produced poets, historians and philosophers, whose fame emulates the glory of the ancients, ere the language of France was committed to paper, or deemed fit for any purpose higher than the diaries of a Joinville, or the songs of the Troubadours. To enter into a regular comparison of the principal authors in these languages, and to weigh their respective merits in the scale of criticism would be an occupation equally amusing and instructive, but at the same time it would require more leisure than the traveller can command, and a work far more comprehensive than the present, intended merely to throw out hints which the reader may verify and improve at discretion, as the subject may hereafter invite. I must therefore confine myself to a very few remarks, derived principally from French critics, and consequently of considerable weight, because extorted, it must seem, by the force of truth from national vanity. The authority of Voltaire may not perhaps be looked upon as decisive, because however solid his judgment, and however fine his taste, he too often sacrificed the dictates of both to the passion or the whim of the moment, and too frequently gave to interest, to rancour, and to party, what he owed to truth, to letters, and to mankind. But, it must be remembered that these defects, while they lower his authority as a critic, also obscure his reputation as an historian, and deprive French literature of the false lustre which it has acquired from his renown. And indeed, if impartiality be essential to history, Voltaire must forfeit the appellation of historian, as his *His-*

toire Generale is one continued satire upon religion, intended by its deceitful author not to inform the understanding, but to pervert the faith of the reader. Hence the Abbé Mably, in his ingenious reflections on history, though not very hostile to the unbelieving party, censures the above-mentioned work with some severity, without condescending to enter into the details of criticism.

“The same author speaks of the other historians of his language with contempt, and from the general sentence excepts the Abbé Vertot and Fleury only; exceptions which prove at the same time the critic’s judgment and impartiality; for few writers equal the former in rapidity of selection, and interest, and none surpass the latter in erudition, good sense, and simplicity. The same Abbé prefers the *History of the Council of Trent*, by the well known Father Paolo Sarpi, to all the histories compiled in his own language, and represents it as a model of narration, argument, and observation. We may subscribe to the opinion of this judicious critic, so well versed in the literature of his own country without the least hesitation, and extend to Italian history in general the superiority which he allows to one only, and one who is not the first of Italian historians, either in eloquence or in impartiality.

“In one species of history, indeed the Italians justly claim the honour both of invention and of pre-eminence, and this honour, not France only but England must, I believe concede without contest. I allude to critical biography, a branch of history in the highest degree instructive and entertaining, employed in Italy at a very early period and carried to the highest perfection.

by the late learned Tirabosch. In French, few productions of the kind exist: perhaps the panegyrical discourses pronounced in the French Academy border nearest upon it; but these compositions, though recommended by the names of Fontenelle, Massillon, Flechier, Mar-montel, and so many other illustrious academicians, are too glittering, too artificial and refined, as well as too trivial and transient in their very nature, to excite much interest, or to fix the attention of the critic. In our own language Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* present a fair object of comparison, as far as the plan extends, and perhaps in point of execution may be considered by many of my readers as masterly pieces of style, of judgment, and even of eloquence, equal, if not superior, to the Italian. But as the narrow sphere of the English biographer sinks into insignificance, when compared to the vast orbit of the Italian historian, so their works bear no proportion, and cannot of course be considered as objects of comparison. With regard to the execution, Johnson, without doubt, surprises and almost awes the reader, by the weight of his arguments, by the strength of his expression, and by the uniform majesty of his language; but I know not whether the ease, the grace, and the insinuating familiarity of Tiraboschi may not charm us more, and keep up our attention and our delight much longer.

"In one branch of literature France may have the advantage over most modern languages, I mean in theological composition: and this advantage she owes to her peculiar circumstances; I might say with more propriety, to her misfortunes. The Calvinistic opinions prevalent in Geneva had been pro-

pagated at an early period of the reformation in the southern provinces of France, and in a short space of time made such a progress, that their partisans conceived themselves numerous enough to cope with the established church, and perhaps powerful enough to overturn it. They first manifested their zeal by insults and threats, then proceeded to deeds of blood and violence, and at length involved their country in all the horrors of civil war, anarchy, and revolution. In the interim, the pen was employed as well as the sword, and while the latter called forth all the exertions of the body, the former brought into action all the energies of the mind.

"During more than a century, war and controversy raged with equal fury, and whatever the opinion of the reader may be upon the subject in debate, he will probably agree with me, that Calvinism, defeated alike in the field of battle and in the nobler contest of argument, was compelled to resign the double palm of victory to the genius of her adversary. In the course of the debate, and particularly towards its close, great talents appeared, and much ingenuity and learning were displayed on both sides; till the respective parties seem to unite all their powers in the persons of two champions, Claude and Bossuet. Though nature had been liberal in intellectual endowments to both the disputants, and though all the means of art had been employed to improve the gifts of nature, yet the contest was by no means equal between them; and after having been worsted in every onset, the Elder at length sunk under the superiority of the Prelate. But, if the victim can derive any credit from the hand that

fell it, Claude and Calvinism may boast that the illustrious Bossuet alone capable, and alone worthy to give the fatal blow that put an end once to the glory, and almost to the existence of the party in France.

“Bossuet was indeed a great man, and one of those extraordinary minds which at distant intervals seem as if deputed from a superior region, to enlighten and to astonish mankind. With all the originality of genius, he was free from its eccentricity and intemperance. Sublime without obscurity, bold yet accurate, splendid and yet simple at the same time, he awes, elevates, and delights his readers, overpowers all resistance, and leads them willing captives to join and to share his triumph. The defects of his style arise from the imperfection of his dialect; and perhaps he could not have given a stronger proof of the energies of his mind than in compelling the French language itself to become the vehicle of sublimity. His works, therefore, are superior to all other controversial writings in his own or in any other language.

“In Italian there are, I believe, none of that description: there was no difference of opinion on the subject, and of course no controversy: a deficiency in their literature abundantly compensated by the absence of animosity, of hatred, of penal laws, and of insolence on one side, and on the other of complaint, of degradation, and of misery.

“To return to my first observation.—We have just reason to lament, that a language so inferior in every respect as French, should have been allowed to acquire such an ascendancy as to be deemed even in England a necessary accomplishment, and made in some degree an

integral part of youthful education. If a common medium of communication between nations be necessary, as it undoubtedly is, it would have been prudent to have retained the language most generally known in civilized nations, which is Latin; especially as this language is the mother of all the polished dialects now used in Europe, has the advantage of being the clearest, the most regular, and the easiest, and moreover, was actually in possession at the very time when it pleased various courts to adopt, with the dress and other fopperies of France, its language also. Reason might reclaim against the absurdity of preferring a semi-barbarous jargon, to a most ancient, a most beautiful, and a most perfect language; but the voice of reason is seldom heard, and yet more seldom listened to at courts, where fashion, that is the whim of the monarch or of the favourite, is alone consulted and followed even in all its deformities and all its extravagancies.

“But that which escaped the observation of the courtier ought to have attracted the attention of the minister, who might have discovered, by reflection or by experience, the advantages which a negociator derives from the perfect knowledge of the language which he employs, and the extreme impolicy of conceding these advantages to our enemies. In order to form a just idea of the importance of this concession, we need only to observe the superiority which a Frenchman assumes in capitals where his language is supposed to be that of good company, such as Vienna, and particularly Petersburg, and contrast with that superiority, his humble appearance in London or in Rome, where he cannot pretend to such a distinction. In the former

former cities he feels himself at home, and considers himself as the first in rank because the first in language; in the latter the consciousness of being a foreigner checks his natural confidence, and imposes upon him, however reluctant, the reserved demeanor inseparable from that character.

“ Now in all diplomatic meetings, the French is the language of discussion, and consequently, the French negociator displays his faculties with the same ease and with the same certainty of applause as in his own saloon, surrounded with a circle of friends at Paris. The English envoy on the contrary finds his natural reserve increased and all his powers paralyzed by a sensation of inferiority in the use of the weapons which he is obliged to employ, and by a conviction that the eloquence of his adversary must triumph over his plain, unadorned, and probably ill-delivered statements. To this disadvantage we may, perhaps, attribute the observation so often repeated, that France recovers in the cabinet all she loses in the field: an observation, which, if it does not wound our pride, ought at least to awaken our caution.

“ But this diplomatic evil is not the only, nor the greatest, mischief that results from this absurd preference; it moreover enables our enemies to disseminate their political principles, to carry on intrigues, to multiply the means of seduction, and to insure, by the agency of numberless scribblers, pamphleteers, poetasters, &c. the success of their dark and deep-laid projects. They are already endowed with too many means of mischief, and possess all the skill and activity requisite to give them effect. Why should we

voluntarily increase their powers of attack, and by propagating their language, open a wider field of action to their baneful influence? Such conduct surely borders upon infatuation.

“ In the next place, the propagation of the French language has produced no better effects in literature than in policy. If France has furnished the republic of letters with some finished models of theatrical excellence and exquisite specimens of ecclesiastical oratory, the only branches in which she excels; she has, on the other hand, inundated Europe with frivolous compositions, erotic songs, and love-sick novels, by which she has warped the public taste from the classical rectitude of the preceding centuries; and inverting the natural process of the mind, turned it from bold and manly contemplations to languid and enervating trifles. Nay, she has done more. For the last sixty years, the genius of France, like one of those furies sometimes let loose to scourge mankind, and to ripen corrupted generations for destruction, has employed all its talents and all its attractions to confound the distinction of right and wrong, of truth and falsehood, to infect the heart with every vice, and to cloud the understanding with every error; to stop for ever the two great sources of human dignity and felicity, truth and virtue, and to blot out of the mind of man, the sun, the soul of the intellectual world, even the divinity himself. Such is the unvarying tendency of almost all the works which have issued from the French press, and been circulated in all the countries of Europe during the period above mentioned, from the voluminous and cumbersome *Encyclopedie* down to the declamations

tions of Volney or the Tales of Marmontel, *en petit format*, for the accommodation of travellers. The truth is, that the appellation of French literature, at present, seems confined to the works of Voltaire and of his disciples, that is, to the infidel faction, excluding the nobler specimens of French genius, the productions of the age of Lewis XIV. and of the period immediately following that monarch's demise: and if we wish to know the effects which this literature produces upon the human mind, we need only cast our eyes upon those who are most given to it, and the countries where it flourishes most. We shall find that impiety and immorality keep pace with it in private and public life, and that domestic and national disorder and misery are its constant and inseparable companions. France, where the pestilence begun, first felt its consequences, and still bleeds under its scourge. The Prussian court, actually degraded and despised, smarts under the punishment brought upon the monarchy by the French principles of the atheistic Frederic. The Russian capital, now the theatre of every dark intrigue, treacherous plot, and foul indulgence, may ere long have reason to curse the impolicy of Catherine, who, by encouraging the language and the opinions of France, sowed the seeds of death and of dissolution in the bosom of her empire.

Vipeream inspirans animam.

The late unhappy sovereign fell a victim to their increasing influence; and it is difficult to say, whether the same passions, working on the same principles, may not at some future period produce a similar

catastrophe. Such are the consequences of partiality to French literature, and such the last great curse which that nation, at all periods of its history the bane and the torment of the human species, has in these latter times brought upon the civilized world. Now let me ask once more, in the name of truth and of virtue, of interest and of patriotism, by what fatality Europe is doomed to encourage a language, the instrument of so much mischief, and to propagate a literature, the vehicle of poison and of desolation? What can induce her to furnish weapons of assault to a giant power, that massacres her tribes, and ravages her fairest provinces, by supplying the means of communication, to facilitate the progress of armies already too rapid and too successful; and thus to prepare the way for her own final subjection? Surely such impolitic conduct must be the last degree of blindness, the utmost point of public infatuation.

“ But, it may be asked, where is the remedy? The remedy is at hand. We have our choice of two languages, either of which may be adopted as a general medium of communication, not only without inconvenience, but even with advantage.—Latin and Italian. Latin is the parent of all the refined languages in Europe; the interpreter of the great principles of law and of justice, or, in other words, of jurisprudence in all its forms and with all its applications: it is the depository of wisdom and of science, which every age, from the fall of Carthage down to the present period, has continued to enrich with its productions, its inventions, its experience: it still continues the necessary and indispensable accomplishment of the gentleman and of the

the scholar, and is the sole introduction to all the honourable and liberal professions. It still remains the most widely spread of all languages, and its grammar is justly regarded for its clearness, its facility, and its consistency as the general grammar. Why then should we not adopt as an universal medium of intercourse this language universally understood; and why not restore to it the privilege which it had ever enjoyed, till the fatal conquests of Lewis XIV. spread the language and the vices of France over half the subjugated continent?

“I need not enlarge upon the advantages that would result from the adoption of Latin, or shew how much it would disencumber and facilitate the progress of education; this much, however, I will observe, that the energy and the magnanimity of the Roman authors in this supposition made common, might kindle once more the flame of liberty in Europe, and again *man* the rising generation, now dissolved in luxury and in effeminaey. But if, in spite of taste and of reason, this noble language must be confined to our closets, and a modern dialect must be preferred to it, Italian, without doubt, is the most eligible, because it possesses the most advantages and is free from every objection. Of its advantages I have already spoken; of its exemption from evils to which French is liable, I need to say but a few words. It can have no political inconvenience; it is not the language of a rival nation. Italy pretends not to universal dominion, either by sea or by land; it administers to the pleasures without alarming the fears of other nations. Its language is that of poetry and of music; it is spread over all the wide-extended coasts, and through

all the innumerable islands, of the Mediterranean, and has at least a classic universality to recommend it to the traveller who wishes to visit the regions ennobled by the genius and by the virtues of antiquity. The general tenor of Italian is pure and holy. None of its great authors were infected with impiety, and not one of its celebrated works is tinctured, even in the slightest degree, with that poisonous ingredient. I have already mentioned the ease with which it may be acquired: all its sounds may be found in every language; and if it be difficult, perhaps impossible, for foreigners to acquire all the graces of its modulation, they may with very little labour make themselves masters of its essential parts, so as to express themselves with facility and with perspicuity.

“But it may perhaps be objected that a change of diplomatic language might at present be difficult, if not impossible. The difficulty is not so great as may be imagined. Let any one of the greater courts declare its intention of communicating with foreign ministers only in its own language, or in Latin or Italian, and a revolution in this respect will be brought about without delay or opposition. That this change is desirable, and that it would bring with it many political, literary, and even moral advantages can scarcely be disputed: and that it may take place at some future period is by no means improbable.

“Italian was, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, what French has been in the eighteenth, with this difference, that the former language owed to its own intrinsic merits that extension which the latter acquired by the preponderance of French power. When that power

power declines, and it is too gigantic and too oppressive to last, the language will decline with it, and again return to its natural limits; but what language will succeed it, it is not easy to conjecture. Italian has its intrinsic excellence and its superior literature to recommend it; but English, with similar though inferior claims, is supported by fashion, a very powerful ally, by influence commensurate with the known world, and by renown that spreads from pole to pole. It is already the language of commerce, as French is that of diplomacy; and while the one is confined to courts and capitals, the other spreads over continents and islands, and is the dialect of the busy and the active in every quarter of the globe. With such a weight on its side it is possible, even probable, that the scale will preponderate in favour of English; a preponderance which may flatter our vanity, but cannot promote our interest, as it will increase an influence already exorbitant, and expose us more and more to the jealousies and the suspicions of Europe.

“After all it is very difficult to determine whether any human efforts can influence the fate of languages, or abridge or prolong their destined duration. We move

along in a vast funeral procession, which conveys individuals, kingdoms, and empires, with their passions, their monuments, their languages, to the tomb. The Greeks and Romans precede us in the paths of oblivion: a faint murmur of their languages reaches our ears, to subside ere long in utter silence. Shall our less perfect dialects be more fortunate, and can typographic art impart to them an immortality that fate refused to the beauty of Greece and to the majesty of Rome? I know not; but I can scarce expect such a distinction. One consolation however offers itself amid this general wreck of man, of his works, and of his inventions; it is, that new political associations arise from the dissolution of kingdoms and empires, and call forth with increased vigour and interest the energies and the virtues of the human heart; that new combinations of sound spring from the decay of fading languages, affording fresh expressions to the understanding, and opening other fields to the imagination; and that thus all the shifting scenery and the ceaseless vicissitudes of the external world tend only to develop the powers of the mind, and finally to promote the gradual perfection of the intellectual system.

ON THE SWEDISH LANGUAGE.

[From DR. THOMSON'S Travels in Sweden.]

“**B**ESIDES the Academy of Sciences, there is another academy at Stockholm, instituted by Gustavus III., and distinguished by the name of the Swedish Academy. It consists of eighteen members; and the object of it was to polish

and fix the Swedish language, as the French language was by the French Academy. I do not know that the members of this Academy have hitherto done any thing towards accomplishing the object of their institution. But there can be no doubt that

that

that the field before them is an ample one, and well worth their exertions. The Swedish language has proceeded from the original Scandinavian, which has now branched itself out into three languages, the English, the German, and the Swedish. For I consider the Danish as only a dialect of the Swedish. Of these three languages the Swedish appears to me to be by far the smoothest. Many of their words terminate in vowels, and we never find those harsh combinations of consonants which still strike the ear in the German language, and the eye in the English. For though we have banished them from our pronunciation, they continue to hold their places in our written language. It is very difficult to account for this superior smoothness of the Swedish over the German. Had the Swedes been a musical people, I should have been disposed to have ascribed it to that circumstance; but after a good deal of pains spent in the pursuit, I could not ascertain that they have any music of their own whatever. No collections of Swedish music were to be had in Stockholm or Gottenburg. The music universally played was Italian. Whenever I happened to be at a musical party, I never failed to request a Swedish song, or a Swedish piece of music; and though my request was often complied with, yet I cannot say that the result was satisfactory. Some of the tunes were pretty enough: but they all bore evident marks of being quite modern, and the resemblance which they bore to Italian music, or to the French *petites chansons*, was too striking to be overlooked.

“The circumstances which occasion a difference in point of smoothness between two dialects of the same language cannot always be

traced to any adequate causes. An Englishman would smile with incredulity or contempt if I were to affirm, that the Scottish dialect and the Scottish pronunciation are much smoother than the English. Yet any person that will be at the pains to examine may soon satisfy himself that this is the matter of fact. With respect to the smoothness of the words, a few examples may be given, and I shall take those that first occur:

English.	Scotch.
Twilight.	Glowming.
Halfpenny	Bawbie.
To her.	Till'er.
Cool	Cawler.

“In the Scottish dialect pains are taken to prevent the hiatus of two vowels. This is exemplified in the last example but one, *to*, before a word beginning with a vowel, is always changed into *till*. In a vast number of words the difference between the English and Scottish words is merely that the Scotch leave out the concluding consonants, and make the word terminate in a vowel. Thus,

English.	Scottish.
Ball.	Baw.
Call.	Caw.
Fall	Faw.
Hall.	Haw.
Small	Smaw.

“Thousands of other examples might be given if this were the proper place.

“As to pronunciation, I do not conceive that either the Scotch or the English are adequate judges upon which side the superiority in point of smoothness lies. There is one circumstance which must always turn the apparent scale in favour of the English pronunciation, even in the opinion of the Scotch themselves.

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The English is now the classical language of the empire: England is the residence of the court, and of consequence the standard of accurate and fashionable pronunciation. Whoever wants the true English pronunciation is so far looked down upon on that account as a provincialist or foreigner. Now we all know the effect of fashion in regulating our opinions of elegance and beauty. When we meet a person dressed exactly according to the fashion, we immediately attach a certain elegance to the dress, however ridiculous or awkward or absurd it is in reality. When we see a person dressed quite out of the fashion, though his dress in reality should be the perfection of elegance, we cannot help setting it down as vulgar and awkward. Now this feeling has the same effect upon pronunciation as upon dress. Ask any Englishman, or any Scotchman, whether the English or Scottish pronunciation is most pleasing to the ear, and he will answer without hesitation, the English. Were the question put to myself, I am not sure but I should return the same answer. It is not from my own ear therefore that I draw my conclusion; but from a comparison of the accent of those nations, whose languages are universally allowed to be the smoothest, with that of the English and Scotch. Now I appeal to any person who has heard it, whether the accent of the Italians does not approach much nearer to that of the Scotch than to that of the English. When I was in Sweden, and heard the people speak at a little distance without attending to the words, I conceived myself in Scotland; the accents were so nearly the same. It has often struck me as a circumstance very difficult to be accounted for, how the English have varied

so prodigiously in the pronunciation of their vowels from all the other nations in Europe, with whom they were most intimately connected, or who spoke originally the same language. The German and the French are both intimately connected with the English language, yet nothing can be more different than the mode of pronouncing the vowels in English, and in German and French.

“The words of the Swedish language bear so close a resemblance to the German, that a person well acquainted with the latter language may, without much trouble, make himself acquainted with the former. The idiom is almost exactly English, so that you may turn most Swedish sentences word for word into English, and they will make sense. There are a good many Swedish words which resemble the English very closely, either in their spelling or pronunciation. So that to a native of Britain the Swedish language is not attended with much difficulty.

The Swedes have all the letters of our alphabet, and three more, with which they conclude their alphabet; these are *å*, *ä*, *ö* pronounced *o*, *ai*, and the last like the French *u*. These letters no doubt were originally the diphthongs *ao*, *ae*, *oe*. One of the most striking irregularities in the Swedish alphabet is the use that they make of the letter *k*. It is used precisely as *c* is with us; that is to say, before the hard vowels it sounds like our *k*, but before the soft vowels it has the sound of our *ch* in *church*. This is one of the irregularities which it would be worth the while of the Swedish academy to attend to. As the letter *k* is not used in this way in any other European language, it would perhaps be worth their while to substitute for it the letter *c*, which would

would bring the Swedish mode of spelling to a much greater uniformity with that of other nations; while their pronunciation would have a certain resemblance to the Italian in the use of the letter *c*.

“ The use of the *article* in the Swedish language, as far as I know, is quite peculiar to it, and exhibits a singular economy in words. There are two articles in Swedish as well as in English, but the same word according to its position answers for both; *en* or *ett* placed before a word constitutes the indefinite article *a*; placed after a word, it constitutes the definite article *the*. Thus *en del* signifies *a part*; *delen*, *the part*; *ett barn*, *a child*; *barnet*, *the child*. In the plural the definite article is often *ne* added to the word. Thus *dal*, *a valley*, *dalar*, *valleys*, *dalarne*, *the valleys*. The plural of substantive nouns is made, by adding the syllables *or*, *ar*, *er*, *n* to the singular. Their degrees of

comparison are nearly the same as our own. Another singularity in the Swedish language is the mode of forming the passive voice of their verbs. It is done by adding the letter *s* to every tense and person of the active voice. So that except this additional letter there is no difference between the active and passive voice.

“ Upon the whole, the Swedish language seems highly deserving of cultivation and preservation, though from the small population of the country and the little encouragement which authors experience in Sweden, the language can never expect to rival the English, German, and French, which may be considered as the three general languages in Europe: still it is probable that the merit of the Swedish writers, and the merit of the language itself, will gradually give it a much greater currency through Europe than it has hitherto attained.

TEMPLE AND MYTHOLOGY OF ELEPHANTA.

[From Mrs. Graham's Journal of a Residence in India.]

“ **A**T length we have accomplished a visit to Elephanta and its wonderful excavations; but as a description of these, and the sculpture that adorns them, would not be intelligible without at least a slight previous acquaintance with the principal gods of Hindostan, I shall set down a brief account of them before I describe the cavern.

“ The ancient system of religion in India seems to have been far from admitting the multitude of persons now worshipped. Brehm was the only one, the eternal, the

almighty. His energy exerted, divided, and personified, became, Brahma to create, Vishnu to preserve, and Siva to destroy; thus the three greatest and most striking operations of nature, became the offices of peculiar gods. But as things once created are never wholly destroyed, and their elements appear again in other forms, Siva the destroyer is also the god of reproduction, and the creating power of Brahma lies dormant till it shall be exerted in a new formation of the world. Accordingly his temples are fallen into decay, and I believe

believe that he is seldom or never now adored. Each of these three gods is provided with a *sacti*, or wife, who partakes of the nature and offices of her husband, and is considered as his active power or energy. Having advanced so far towards polytheism, it was natural to multiply the gods, as the operations of nature and the wants of mankind came to be observed and felt; and while the legislators and priests might adore but one god in spirit and in truth, his personified attributes would indubitably be worshipped as independent deities by the vulgar.

“In the common mythological accounts of the creation, Vishnu is fabled to have slept on the serpent Annanta, or eternity, floating on the face of the milky ocean. When the work of creation was to be performed, Brahma sprang from a lotus growing on the navel of Vishnu, and produced the elements, formed the world, and gave birth to the human race. From different parts of his body he produced the Brahmans or priests, the Kshatrias or warriors, the Vaisyas or merchants, and the Soudras or husbandmen; which four original castes, by intermarriages, and by the adoption of different trades, have multiplied exceedingly. Brahma is often represented with four faces, when he is called Choturmooki; he is sometimes seen studying the vedas, which he holds in one hand, while the other three are employed holding his beads and sacrificial utensils; he generally sits on a lotus.

“The wife of Brahma is Seraswati, also called Brahmanee; she is the goddess of arts and eloquence, and is often invoked with Ganesa at the beginning of books. As the

patroness of music, she is sometimes represented with a vin in her hand. Menu, and ten other lawgivers, are the children of Brahma and Seraswati. From Menu and his wife the earth was peopled, and Menu gave to his descendants excellent laws, but they did not abide by them; therefore other Menus have at different times been born, to recall mankind to the belief and practice of their ancestors. Among the animal creation, the goose, the emblem of wisdom, is sacred to Seraswati, who, as well as Brahma, is often seen riding on it, when it is called their vahan or vehicle.

“Siva is worshipped more generally than any of the other deities. His principal names are, Doorghatti, Isa, Iswara, Hurr, Rudra, and Maha Deo. Under the last name, all his temples on this side of India are dedicated to him as the god of reproduction. As Rudra, he is terrible, and delights in sanguinary sacrifices, particularly the *aswa-medha*, or horse sacrifice, and the *nara-medha*, or human sacrifice.

“The wife of Siva is Parvati, or the mountain born. Her celestial name is Doorga, or active virtue; as Bhawani, she is female nature on earth; and as Kali, she is an infernal goddess, delighting in human sacrifice, and, like Rudra, wearing a chaplet of skulls round her neck. The residence of Siva and Parvati is Kaylassa; their constant attendant is the bull Nundi, who is usually placed at the gates or in the courts of their temples. In the character of Doorga, Parvati is always attended by a lion.

“Kartikeya, or Swammy-kartic, and Ganesa, are the children of Siva and Parvati. Kartikeya is the god of war, and leader of the cele-

tial armies; he is mounted on a peacock. He has six faces, and is fabled to have been nursed by the six Kritikas, or stars of the Pleiades, who are the wives of the Rooshis, or stars of the constellation of the Great Bear. Ganesa is the god of wisdom; he is often the god of fortune, and presides over the limits of fields. He is represented very fat, with the head of an elephant, having sometimes two and sometimes four faces. He holds in his hands a cup containing round cakes, which he appears to be eating, and the ankasa, or hook used by the drivers of elephants, which has been taken for a key, and supposed to confirm the identity of this god with Janus. Ganesa is invoked the first in all sacrifices, and all writings begin with his name. He is always attended by a rat, the emblem of forethought.

“ Vishnu, the preserving deity, exclusive of his names in his several *awatars*, is Narayun, or moving on the ocean, Shreedher, Govind, and Hari. His wife is Luckshemi, the goddess of fortune, called also Kamala, or the lotus-born, having sprung on a lotus from the ocean. She is the goddess of beauty, and presides over marriage. Her son Camdeo is the god of beauty and of love. It is related in the Ramayuna, that Camdeo or Kundurpa, having presumed to wound Siva, while with uplifted arm he was engaged in sacred austerities, the incensed god consumed his body with lightning from his eyes. Hence Camdeo is called Ununga, bodyless, and he is the only person in the Hindoo mythology who is ever said to be immaterial. He is sometimes called Muddun, and rides on a fish, with a banner in his hand.

“ Vishnu is often seen riding on

the shoulders of Garuda, a youth with the wings and beak of a hawk; but he is more frequently represented reposing on the great many-headed serpent of eternity, floating on the milky ocean; in which case Luckshemi is generally sitting at his feet. The Hindoos believe that the four yougs must revolve seventy-two times in every kalpa, (creation or formation), at the end of which, all things are absorbed into the deity, and that, in the interval of another creation, he repositeth himself on the serpent Shesha (duration), who is called Ananta (endless). Many of the offices of Vishnu are common, both to Brahma and to Siva; and the names of all three are frequently used for the sun, for fire, and for water. Each deity has weapons peculiar to himself; those which always distinguish Vishnu are the *chakra* or discus, and the *chank* or wreathed shell, on which the note of victory is sounded. The paradise of Vishnu is Vaikontha; he is often painted of a dark blue colour, on which account he is called Nielkont.

“ The *awatars* of Vishnu, by which are meant his descents upon earth, are usually counted ten, though some writers make them much more numerous. The first is the Matchee or fish awatar, when, in the form of a huge fish, he conducted and preserved the boat of Stvavrata the 7th Menu, while the earth was deluged in consequence of the loss of the vedas, and the subsequent wickedness of mankind. The holy books had been stolen by Hyagriva, king of the demons; Vishnu undertook to recover them; and, after a severe combat with Hyagriva, he destroyed him, restored the sacred books, and caused
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the waters to subside. The second awatar is Koorma, or the tortoise. In order to recover some of the advantages lost to mankind by the deluge, Vishnu became a tortoise, and sustained, on his back, the mountain Meru, while the gods and genii churned with it the milky ocean, and produced seven precious things, among which were the moon, a physician, a horse, a woman, an elephant, and Amrita, or the water of life, which was drank by the immortals. The third awatar is Varaha, or the boar. Prit'hivi, the earth, having been overcome by the genius of the waters, Vishnu, in the shape of a man, with the head of a hog, descended and supported her on his tusk, while he subdued the waters and restored her. In the fourth awatar, Vishnu, in the form of a monstrous man, with a lion's head, sprang from a pillar to destroy an impious king who was on the point of murdering his own son. He is called Narasimha, or lion-headed. Vishnu, in his fifth descent, is called Vamuna, or the Bramhin dwarf. Beli having, by his meritorious austerities, obtained the sovereignty of the world, neglected to worship the gods; the Dewtahs, alarmed lest he should deprive them of their celestial habitations, entreated protection from Vishnu, who descended in the form of a Bramin dwarf, and having obtained from Beli a promise, confirmed by an irrevocable oath, to grant whatever he should ask, he demanded as much space as he could compass in three steps. The boon being granted, his form dilated to its divine dimensions; the eight celestial weapons appeared in the eight hands of the god, whose first step compassed the earth, his second the ocean, and his third

heaven, leaving only Patala or hell to Beli. Vamuna is sometimes called Tri-vikram, or three-stepper. In the sixth awatar, Vishnu, as Parashu Rama, the son of the Bramin Jemadagni, is fabled to have destroyed all the males of the Xettrie or fighting caste, on account of the wickedness of their chief Sabasrarjun, who oppressed the Bramins, particularly Jemadagni. The seventh descent of Vishnu is sung in the epic poem of Valmiki, called the Ramayuna, from Rama the divine hero, the son of Dusharuthra, king of Uyodhya, or Oude, who led a life of adventure in the woods and forests of India, attended by his brother Lakshmana, and by his faithful friend, Hanuman the divine monkey, the son of Pavana, god of the wind. Sita, the wife of Rama, having been stolen by Rawana the ten-headed tyrant of Lanka (Ceylon) Hanuman discovered the place of her concealment, and, with the assistance of Soogreeva and other divine baboons, he built the bridge of Rama (Adam's bridge,) from the continent of India to Ceylon, to facilitate the passage of Rama and his army to that island, where he destroyed the tyrant and recovered Sita.

“ Krishna, the person in whom Vishnu was incarnate in his eighth awatar, is said to have been born of the sister of a tyrant, who, to secure the death of his nephew, caused all the young children in his dominions to be murdered; but, in the mean time, the young Krishna was concealed and brought up among some herdsmen, whence he is considered as the peculiar patron of herds, and is often represented as attended by nine Gopia or dairywomen. He is the god of poetry and music, of wrestlers and boxers.

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The adventures of Krishna, and the wars in which he was engaged, are described in the Bhagavat. The ninth awatar is Bhûd, who reformed the rules of the vedas, and forbid the destroying animal life. The tenth awatar, called Kalkee, is to come. He will be a warrior on a white horse; in his days the world shall be at peace, all enmity shall be destroyed, and men shall have but one faith.

“Of the religious sects worshipping Vishnu, the Vaishnavas adore him alone, as comprising in his person the greatest number of the attributes of the deity. The Goclasthas and the Ramanuj are in fact worshippers of deified heroes; the first pay respect to Vishnu in the awatar of Gocal or Krishna, and the second in that of Rama Chandra.

“Besides the great deities above-mentioned, there are multitudes of inferior divine persons, over whom Indra, the thousand-eyed lord of the dewtahs, presides. He dwells with his wife Indranee in the forest Nundana, and with her is often seen mounted on an elephant with three trunks. He presides over delusions. Agni, the god of fire, is represented with two faces and three legs, riding on a ram. He is said to have married the goddess Gunga (Ganges,) the sister of Parvati. Gunga is fabled to have rested on the head of Siva, or that of Vishnu, in her descent from heaven, and to have flowed thence in three streams, called *triveni*, or three locks, and running to the sea, to have filled up its bason, which, although dug before that time, was empty. Her union with Agni produced the metals. The range of mountains among which the Ganges takes its rise, abounds with mines; hence the

mythological union of the deities of heat and of water is fabled to have produced the metals. Surya, the god of the sun, is drawn in a chariot by a many-headed horse; he represents truth, and has a numerous sect of worshippers called Sauras. Chandra, the moon, is drawn in a car by an antelope; the twenty-seven lunar stations, called Nukshutras, into which the Hindoos divide the heavens, are considered as his wives.

“Viswakarm is the artificer of the gods; Koovera is the god of riches, and resides in the forest of Chitra-ruthra; and Pavanah is the god of the wind. Eight guardians preside over the eight quarters of the world; and all nature is crowded with deities.

“In making this slight sketch of the Hindoo mythology, I have forbore to point out the striking similarity of many of the deities to those of Greece and Rome, as it is too obvious to escape your attention. A remarkable proof of their identity with the gods of Egypt occurred in 1801, when the sepoy regiments who had been sent into that country, fell down before the gods in the temple of Tentyra, and claimed them as those of their own belief. The coarseness and inelegance of the Hindoo polytheism, will certainly disgust many accustomed to the graceful mythology of antient Europe; but it is not incurious, nor perhaps useless, to examine the various systems of religion which the feelings natural to the mind of man have produced,—to observe how they have been modified by climate or other circumstances,—and to trace, ‘under all these various disguises, the workings of the same common nature; and in the superstitions of India, no less than

than in the lofty visions of Plato, to recognize the existence of those moral ties which unite the heart of man to the Author of his being.' For my own part, living among the people, and daily beholding the prostrate worshipper, the temple, the altar, and the offering, I take an interest in them which makes up for their want of poetical beauty. Nor can I look with indifference upon a system, however barbarous and superstitious, which has so strong a hold of the minds of its votaries, and which can bring them to despise death and torture in their most dreadful forms.

"But to return to my journal. We got into our boat at Mazagong a little before sunrise, and had the pleasure of marking the gradual increase of day as it broke over the Mahratta mountains. First the woody tops of Caranja and Elephanta became illuminated, then Bombay, with its forts and villages stretching along the north of the bay, while the bases of the rocky islands to the south, slowly became distinguishable from the reflecting waves. After an hour's row, during which we passed Butcher's Island, called by the natives Deva Devi, or holy island, we arrived at Elephanta, a mountain isle with a double top, wooded to the summit. Opposite to the landing-place is the colossal stone elephant, from which the Portuguese named the place. It is now cracked and mutilated, as tradition says, by the Portuguese. It must have been carved out of the rock on which it stands, for it appears too large to have been carried to its present situation. After passing a village which, as well as the whole island, the natives call Gharipoori, we ascended the hill through romantic passes, sometimes over-

shadowed with wood, sometimes walled by rocks, till we arrived at the cave. We came upon it unexpectedly, and I confess that I never felt such a sensation of astonishment as when the cavern opened upon me. At first it appeared all darkness, while on the hill above, below, and around, shrubs and flowers of the most brilliant hues were waving in the full sunshine. As I entered, my sight became gradually more distinct, and I was able to consider the wonderful chamber in which I stood. The entrance is fifty-five feet wide, its height is eighteen, and its length about equal with its width. It is supported by massy pillars, carved in the solid rock; the capital of these resembles a compressed cushion bound with a fillet; the abacus is like a bunch of reeds supporting a beam, six of which run across the whole cave; below the capital the column may be compared to a fluted bell resting on a plain octagonal member placed on a die, on each corner of which sits Hanuman, Ganesa, or some of the other inferior gods. The sides of the cavern are sculptured in compartments, representing the persons of the mythology; but the end of the cavern opposite to the entrance is the most remarkable. In the centre is a gigantic trimurti, or three-formed god. Brahma the creator is in the middle, with a placid countenance; his cap is adorned with jewels. Vishnu, the preserving deity, is represented as very beautiful; his face is full of benevolence, his hand holds a lotus, the same sacred flower is placed in his cap, with the tri-veni or triple-plaited lock, signifying the rivers Gunga (Ganges), Yamuna (Jumna), and Seraswati, and other ornaments referring to his

his attributes. Siva frowns; his nose is aquiline, and his mouth half open; in his hand is his destructive emblem, the cobra-capella, and on his cap, among other symbols, a human skull and a new-born infant mark his double character of destroyer and reproducer. These faces are all beautiful but for the under lips, which are remarkably thick. The length from the chin to the crown of the head is six feet; the caps are about three feet more. No part of the bust is mutilated but the two hands in front, which are quite destroyed. Concealed steps behind Siva's hand lead to a convenient ledge or bench behind the cap of the bust, where a Bramin might have hidden himself for any purpose of priestly imposition. On each side of the trimurti is a pilaster, the front of which is filled up by a figure fourteen feet high, leaning on a dwarf; these are much defaced. To the right is a large square compartment, hollowed a little, carved into a great variety of figures, the largest of which is sixteen feet high, representing the double figure of Siva and Parvati, called Viraj or Ardha Nari, half male half female, the right side of which is Siva, and the left his wife; it is four-handed; the two lower hands, one of which appears to have rested on the Nundi, are broken; the upper right hand has a cobra-capella, and the left a shield. On the right of the Viraj is Brama, four-faced, sitting on a lotus; and on the left is Vishnu on the shoulders of Garuda. Near Brahma are Indra and Indranee on their elephant, and below is a female figure holding a chamara or chow-ree. The upper part of the compartment is filled with small figures in attitudes of adoration.

“On the other side of the tri-

murti is a compartment answering to that I have just described. The principal figure I take to be Siva; at his left hand stands Parvati, on whose shoulder he leans; between them is a dwarf, on whose head is one of Siva's hands, and near Parvati is another. Over Siva's shoulder hangs the zenaar, and he holds the cobra-capella in one of his four hands. He is surrounded by the same figures which fill up the compartment of the Viraj; his own height (which we measured by a plumb-line dropped from his head,) is fourteen feet, and that of Parvati is ten. All these figures are in alto-relievo, as are those of the other sides of the cavern, the most remarkable of which is one of Siva in his vindictive character; he is eight-handed, with a chaplet of skulls round his neck, and appears in the act of performing the human sacrifice.

“On the right hand, as you enter the cave, is a square apartment with four doors, supported by eight colossal figures; it contains a gigantic symbol of Maha Deo, and is cut out of the rock like the rest of the cave. There is a similar chamber in a smaller and more secret cavern, to which there is access from the corner next to the Viraj; the covering of the passage has fallen in, but, on climbing over the rubbish, we found ourselves in a little area which has no outlet, and is lighted from above, the whole thickness of the hill being cut through. The cavern to which it belongs contains nothing but the square chamber of Maha Deo, and a bath at each end, one of which is decorated with rich sculpture.

“When we had tired ourselves with examining the various wonders of the cavern of Elephanta, I sat down

down to make a sketch of the great compartments opposite to the entrance, and on our return to Bombay, comparing the drawing with those in Niebuhr, we were satisfied that its resemblance to the original is the most correct. I am sorry to observe, that the pillars and sculptures of the cave are defaced in every part, by having the names of most who visit them either carved or daubed with black chalk upon them; and the intemperate zeal of the Portugueze, who made war upon the gods and temples, as well as upon the armies of India, added to the havock of time, has reduced this stupendous monument of idolatry to a state of ruin. Fragments of statues strew the floor; columns, deprived of their bases, are suspended from the parent roof, and others without capitals, and sometimes split in two, threaten to leave the massy hill that covers them without support.

“The temple of Elephanta, and other equally wonderful caverns in the neighbourhood, must have been the works of a people far advanced in the arts of civilized life, and

possessed of wealth and power; but these were lodged in the hands of a crafty priesthood, who kept science, affluence, and honour for their own fraternity, and, possessed of better ideas, preached a miserable and degrading superstition to the multitude. It would be curious to follow out the advancement and fall of the arts which produced such monuments; but not a trace of their history remains, and we are left to seek it in the natural progress of a people subtle and ingenious, but depressed by superstition, and the utter impossibility of rising individually, by any virtues or any talents, to a higher rank in society than that occupied by their forefathers.

“The local histories of the Braminical establishments, which could have thrown light on these and other curious subjects, have long been destroyed. Many of them perished during the contentions between the followers of Siva and those of Vishnu, prior to the Mahomedan conquest of India, and probably many more when the Hindoo temples were pillaged by those fierce conquerors.”

PICTURESQUE SURVEY OF WATER, WOOD, AND MOUNTAIN SCENERY.

[From the Philosophy of Nature.]

“**W**HERE a spring rises or a river flows,’ says Seneca, ‘there should we build altars and offer sacrifices!’—In pursuance of this idea, most nations, whether barbarous or refined, mistaking the effects of a deity for the Deity itself, have, at one time or other of their history, personified their rivers, and addressed them as the

gods of their idolatry.—The Nile, which watered nations that knew not its origin, and kingdoms, which were ignorant whither it flowed, was worshipped by the respective nations that it fertilized.—The Adonis was esteemed sacred by a great portion of western Asia; the Peneus, as we are informed by that elegant platonist, Maximus Tyrius,

was adored for its beauty, the Danube for its magnitude, and the Achelous for its solemn traditions.—The Phrygians worshipped the Marsyas and Meander; and the Massagetæ paid divine honours to the Palus Mæotis and the Tanais.—The antient Persians never polluted water; considering those who accustomed themselves to such indecorum, as guilty of sacrilege; while the last wish of an Indian is to die on the banks of the Ganges.—The affection of the Hindoos for that river is such, even at the present day, that many hundreds of them have been known to go down, at certain periods of the year, and devote themselves to the shark, the tiger, and the alligator;—thinking themselves happy and their friends fortunate, thus to be permitted to die in sight of that holy stream.

“Rivers, too, have, in all ages, been themes for the poet; and in what esteem they were held by antient writers, may be inferred from the number of authors who wrote of them previous to the time of Plutarch. The Aufidus, the Tiber, and the Po, have been celebrated by Horace, Virgil, and Ovid; Callimachus has immortalized the beautiful waters of the Inachus; and while the Arno, the Mincio, and the Tagus, boast their Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Camœns, the Severn, the Ouse, and the Trent, the Avon, the Derwent, and the Dee, have been distinguished by the praises of many an elegant and accomplished poet. Who is not charmed with Spencer’s *Marriage of the Thames and the Medway*? and what personifications in Ovid or Hesiod are more beautiful than the *Sabrina* of Milton and the *Ladona* of Pope?

“On the borders of the Cam,
1813.

Milton enjoyed the happiest moments of his life; on the banks of the Ilyssus, Plato taught his *System of Philosophy*; and on the shores of the Rocnabad, a river flowing near the chapel of Mosella, the poets and philosophers of Shiraz composed their most celebrated works. Ossian is never weary of comparing rivers to heroes; and so enamoured were Du Bartas and Drayton with river scenery, that the one wrote a poetical catalogue of those which were the most celebrated, and the other composed a voluminous work upon their *History, Topography, and Landscapes*.

“Many of the rivers in Britain are highly picturesque, and abound in the most captivating scenery.—Who, that has traversed the banks of the majestic Thames, and still more noble Severn; who, that has observed the fine sweeps of the Dee, in the vale of Landisilio, and those of the Derwent, near Matlock; who, that has contemplated the waters of the Towy, the graceful meanderings of the Usk, or the admirable features of the Wye, that does not feel himself justified in challenging any of the far-famed rivers of Europe to present objects more various, landscapes more rich, or scenes more graceful and magnificent?

“Without rocks or mountains no country can be sublime; without water no landscape can be perfectly beautiful. Few countries are more mountainous, or exhibit better materials for a landscape painter, than Persia; yet, to the lover of scenery, it loses a considerable portion of interest, from its possessing but few springs, few rivulets, and fewer rivers. What can be more gratifying to a proud and inquisitive spirit than tracing rivers to their sources,
and

and pursuing them through long tracts of country, where sweeps the Don, the Wolga, and the Vistula; the Ebro and the Douro; the Rhine, the Inn, the Rhone and the Danube? or in travelling on the banks of the Allier, described so beautifully by Madame de Savigné; or of the Loire—sleeping, winding and rolling, by turns, through several of the finest districts in all France? where the peasants reside, in the midst of their vineyards, in cottages, which, seated upon the sides of the hills, resemble so many birds' nests; and where the peasant girls, with their baskets of grapes, invite the weary traveller to take as many as he desires. 'Take them,' say they, 'and as many as you please:—they shall cost you nothing.'

"What travelling, possessing an elegant taste, but is charmed, even to ecstasy, as he wanders along the banks of the Po, the Adige, and the Brenta; amid the fairy scenes of the Eurotas, peopled with innumerable swans; or of the Tay, the Clyde, and the Teith, where the culture of bees forms a considerable article of rural economy? How is our fancy elevated, when we traverse, even in imagination, those wild solitudes and fruitful deserts, enlivened by the humming bird, through which the Orionoco, the Mississippi, and the Amazon, (Rivers to which the proudest streams of Europe are but as rivulets), pour their vast floods, and, as they roll along, experience the vicissitudes of every climate! And, when leaning on the parapet of an arch, bestriding a wide and rapid river, how often do we relapse into profound melancholy, as, following, with implicit obedience, the progressive march of association, the mirror of time and the emblem of eternity

are presented to our imagination, till a retrospect of the past and a perspective of future ages, mingling with each other, the mind is lost in the mazes of its own wanderings!

"Not only rivers, but *fountains* have been held sacred by almost every nation:—equally are they beloved by the poets. Who has not perused, with pleasure, Sannazaro's ode to the Fountain of Mergillini; Petrarch's addresses to that of Vaucluse; and Horace's ode to the Fountain of Blandusium, situated among rocks, and surrounded with wood?

"One of the most remarkable fountains, in antient times, was that of which Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus have transmitted an account. It was called 'the Fountain of the Sun,' and was situated near the temple of Jupiter Ammon. At the dawn of day this fountain was warm; as the day advanced, it became progressively cool; at noon, it was at the extremity of cold; at which time the Ammonians made use of it to water their gardens and shrubberies.—At the setting of the sun, it again became warm, and continued to increase, as the evening proceeded, till midnight, when it reached the extremity of heat:—as the morning advanced it grew progressively cold:—Silvius Italicus thus alludes to it.

Stet fano vicina, novum et memorabile
lympha,
Quæ nascente die, quæ deficiente tepescit,
Quæque riget medium cum Sol ascendit
Olympum
Atque eadem rursus nocturnis fervet in
umbris.

"In the early ages of popery the common people, where fountains and wells were situated in retired places,

places, were accustomed to honour them with the titles of saints and martyrs. * Some were called Jacob's Well; St. John's; St. Mary's; St. Winifred's, and St. Agnes':—some were named after Mary Magdalen, and others derived their appellations from beautiful and pious virgins. Though this custom was forbidden by the canons of St. Anselm, many pilgrimages continued to be made to them; and the Romans long retained a custom of throwing nosegays into fountains, and chaplets into wells. From this practice originated the ceremony of sprinkling the Severn with flowers, so elegantly described by Dyer, in his finely descriptive poem of the Fleece, and so beautifully alluded to by Milton.

———— The shepherds at their festivals,
Carol her good deeds loud in rustic lays,
And throw sweet garland-wreaths into her
stream,
Of pancies, pinks, and gaudy daffodils.
Comus.

A custom also prevailed in the fourteenth century, among the women who resided upon the banks of the Rhine, of assembling, on a particular day of the year, to wash their hands and arms in that river: fondly flattering themselves, that such lustrations would preserve them from all dangers and misfortunes during the remainder of the year.

"The names of deities were given also to Grottos. The serenity of an Italian sky served to render those occasional retreats peculiarly agreeable to the Roman nobility; hence were they frequently to be found in the shrubberies and gardens of that accomplished people. The poets, at all times willing to celebrate whatever adds to their enjoyments, have left us some elegant

descriptions of those delightful recesses, formed in the sides of rocks, at the foot of mountains, or on the banks of rivulets.

"Pausanias gives a remarkable account of a Grotto at Corycium, and Statius describes an elegant one in his third Sylva; but that which was the most celebrated in antient times, was the Grotto of Egeria; still existing, though in a state of ruin. When it was first made by Numa, it was formed with such skill, as to appear totally untouched by art: in the reign of one of the emperors, however, it entirely lost its simplicity, and, by being adorned with marble and other splendid ornaments, acquired a magnificence totally foreign to its original character. This provoked the Satire of the indignant Juvenal.

"The Grotto, which Mr. Pope formed at Twickenham, was one of the most celebrated ever erected in this kingdom. In the first instance, it was remarkable for its elegant simplicity: as the owner, however, advanced in years, it became more and more indebted to the refinements of art; but the recollection of its having amused the last years of that illustrious poet, atones to the heart of the philanthropist, what it loses to the eye of imagination and taste.

"From rivers, fountains, and grottos, let us turn to lakes.—Those of England and Switzerland present so many features of beauty and grandeur, that an idea of something peculiarly worthy of admiration always presents itself, when we hear them mentioned even in the most casual manner.—What enthusiastic emotions of delight did the lakes of Switzerland generate in Rousseau! And while some of the most agreeable hours of united labour

bour and pleasure were indulged by Gibbon on their admirable banks, the noble landscapes, around the lake of Zurich, soothed and charmed many an hour of sorrow and chagrin from the bosoms of Haller, Zimmermann, and Lavater!

“For my own part, my Lelius, I am ready to confess, that some of the happiest moments of my life, have been those, which I have, at intervals, past upon the bosom of lakes, and on the banks of wild and rapid rivers.—And never will Colonna wish to forget those hours of rapture, when, reclining in his boat, he has permitted it to glide, at the will of the current, along the transparent surface of a river, or on the picturesque expanse of Bala Lake, in the county of Merioneth;—or when wandering along the banks of those waters, that glide at the feet or stud the sides of the mountains, which rear themselves around the magnificent peaks of Snowdon: lakes equal in beauty and sublimity to those of Larus, Lucerne, and Pergusa.

“How often have I heard you, my Lelius, descant with rapture on the lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland; on those of Loch-Lomond, Loch-Leven, and Killarney; and the still more noble and magnificent ones of Switzerland!—With what delighted attention have I listened to your descriptions of the lakes of Thun, Zurich, and Neuchâtel, Brienz, Bienne, and Constance:—and how has my imagination kept pace with you in your journey, as you have wandered in memory among those enchanting regions; regions, abounding in scenes, which Warton might have pictured, as the native residence of poetic fancy.

“From lakes, the transition is

natural, that would lead to *waterfalls* and *cataracts*.—With what rapture does every cultivated mind behold that beautiful waterfall, gliding over a slate rock in two graceful falls, at the extremity of a long, winding, and remantic glen, near Aber, in the county of Caernarvon! But if you would see cataracts on a grander scale, visit the falls of the Hepsey, those of the Conway, the Cynfael, and the Black Cataract near the vale of Ffestiniog.—Of the two last, nothing can surpass the beauty of the one, or the bold, the cragged and gigantic character of the other.—By the former of these has Colonna devoted many a captivating hour.—Seated on a rock, adjoining an ivy-arched bridge, stretched over a tremendous chasm, he has listened with rapture, not unmingled with a grateful degree of terror, to the roaring of the waters, and shaded by a fantastic oak, which overshadows the depth, he has derived the highest satisfaction in comparing the tranquil and innocent delight, in which he was indulging, with the boisterous humours of the table, the cankered anxiety of the statesman, or the dreadful raptures of that *man*, who has so long insulted all Europe, and stained her glens, her mountains, and her valleys, with blood, with rapin, and with sacrilege!

“But if you would behold one of those waterfalls, which combine the utmost sublimity with the greatest portion of beauty, visit the admirable instance at Nant Mill, on the borders of the Lake Gwellin.—Exercise that fascinating art, of which nature and practice have made you such a master; make a faithful representation of it; clothe it in all its rugged horrors of sublimity, in all its graceful charms of exquisite beauty,

beauty, and let the finest imagination in the world of painting or of poetry tell me, if, in all the fairy visions that the finest fancy has created, a scene more perfect can be formed, than this?—The far-famed cataract in the Vale of Tempe has nothing to compare with it. In surveying this scene, our feelings resemble those of the missionaries, when viewing the numerous waterfalls of Japan; or those of the celebrated Bruce, when he beheld the third cataract of the Nile; ‘a sight,’ says he, ‘so magnificent, that ages, added to the greatest length of life, could never eradicate from my memory.’

“If objects of this nature exalt the understanding and the fancy of those, who possess habits of reflection, *woods*, those indispensable appendages to landscape, diffuse an equal delight by their coolness, their solemnity, and the charm, which they spread around us, as we wander beneath their arched and sacred shades.—Akenside finely alludes to the religious awe, with which woods, boldly stretching up the summit of an high mountain, are beheld by persons of a polite imagination.

———Mark the sable woods,
That shade sublime yon mountains nod-
ding brow,—
With what religious awe the solemn scene
Commands your steps!—as if the rever-
end form
Of Minos, or of Numa, should forsake
Th’ Elysian seats, and down the embower-
ing glade
Move to your pausing eye.

Pleasures of Imagination.

“If to rivers and mountains all nations, at early periods of their history, have conspired to attach the idea of veneration, how much more so have the eminent in all ages de-

lighted in paying honours to *woods*, *groves*, and *forests*.—Pilgrimages were made to the oaks of Mamre, near Hebron, from the time of Abraham to that of Constantine; and the nations, surrounding the Jews, were accustomed to dedicate trees and groves to their deities, and to sacrifice upon high mountains; customs, which were even practised by the Jews themselves, previous to the building of the Temple of Solomon.

“Among the woods of Etruria, Numa, to whom, (as Machiavel justly observes,) Rome was under greater obligations than to Romulus, sought refuge from the cares, that attended the government of an infant and turbulent people: and, amid the groves of the Lyceum, Aristotle and Epicurus taught their systems of religion and politics.

“The oratories of the Jews were surrounded by olives; and the Greeks, who first inhabited Tuscany, consecrated the forests, which rose on the banks of the Cæritis, to their god Sylvanus.—Under those sacred shades they assembled every year to celebrate his anniversary.

Et ingens gelidum locus prope Cæritis
amnem,
Religione patrum latè sacer; undique
colles
Inclusæ cavi, et nigrâ nemus abjete cin-
guant.—
Sylvano fama est veteres sacrâsse pelasgos,
Arvorum pecorisque Deo, lucûmque diem-
que,
Qui primi fines aliquando habuère Lati-
nos.—

Æneid, lib. viii. l. 597.

A custom, analogous to this, prevails at the present day in some parts of Italy: particularly among the herdsmen and shepherds of Rhegio, who entertain the highest veneration for the wood, called Sil-

va Piana, about three leagues from Parma.

“The Rhapsaans of India selected spots, shaded by the banana and the tamarind, for their kioums; while in the deep recesses of the most intricate forest, the antient Druids of Gaul, Britain, and Germany, were accustomed to sacrifice to their gods.—Virgil, who describes Elysium, as abounding in the most luxuriant gifts of nature, represents it as one of the highest enjoyments of the happy spirits to repose on flowery banks, and to wander among shady groves: while the Icelanders believe, that on the summit of the Boula, a mountain, which no one has hitherto ascended, there is a cavern, which opens to a paradise in perpetual verdure, delightfully shaded by trees, and abounding in large flocks of sheep.

“The Sicilians had, at one time, a great veneration for the chesnut tree, which grew in the region, called La Regione Sylvana: in Otaheite, the weeping-willow is permitted to be planted only before the houses of the higher classes of the community: in Pennsylvania, churches are isolated in woods, and pulpits erected beneath the branches of oaks; while, among the Dugores, there are sacred groves, in which every family has its appropriate place for erecting huts and offering sacrifices.—In the Romish church, palms are esteemed sacred even in the present times.

“The temples of the antient Greeks were mostly situated in groves; and the Persians, who esteemed woods and forests the most proper for religious sacrifices, ridiculed their more accomplished neighbours, for building

temples to their gods, who had the whole universe for their residence.

“As Antigua is without rivers, so is Morocco almost destitute of woods: hence it arises, that in that state, as in other warm climates, shade is esteemed the most powerful charm in every landscape.—The inconveniences, arising from the want of it, gave occasion to Girolamo Fracastoro to write his curious poem of Syphilus. The shepherd Syphilus was employed in watching the herds belonging to Alcithous, king of Atlantis.—One season the rays of summer were so intense, that the angry shepherd, impatient under their influence, with many impieties refused to offer up sacrifices to Apollo, and, in revenge, erected an altar to his master, Alcithous.—Stung with the indignity, Apollo infected the air with such noxious vapours, that the shepherd contracted a dangerous and nauseous disease, which affected his whole body.—His various attempts to conquer his malady, constitute the principal argument of the poem.

“It was on account of its shade, that the gardens of Arden, the paradise of the Arabian poets, were so enthusiastically celebrated; and Amytis, daughter of Astyages, and wife of Nebuchodnosor, accustomed to the glens and woods of Media, sighed for their shades in the sandy soil of Babylon: hence were constructed those hanging gardens, which were the boast of Babylonian kings and the wonder of historians. The gardens of the Moors appear to have resembled those of the East, in no inconsiderable degree; their walks were paved with marble; their parterres shaded by orange-trees, and embellished with baths: the whole entirely walled round,

round, and secluded from every eye.—Such is that of Alcazar, at Seville, which, as a specimen of Moorish gardening, is visited by every traveller of information and taste.

“The manners and pursuits of the pastoral Arabs present something peculiarly gratifying to the imagination. The toils and privations which they undergo, in wandering from one province to another, in quest of water and shade, is amply repaid by the festivity that ensues upon the discovery of a well or fountain in a shady grove. The manners of the Arabians assimilated, in a striking degree, with those of the Scythians—the purity of whose morals has been so much celebrated by Horace and by Justin. Though the manners and morals of these wandering nations were so strikingly illustrative of each other, the similarity did not arise from any coincidence in regard to climate or scenery; for, while the one roved from wood to wood, and from fountain to fountain, over pathless and scorching deserts, the others were, at all times, in the reach of shade, and, at intervals, pitched their tents in scenery, the like of which is scarcely to be paralleled in all the globe.—While the Arab sought shade, as one of the most agreeable luxuries of life, the Scythian and the Celt imagined the oak to be the tomb of Jupiter; and the philosophers of Siam, who numbered five elements, added wood to the fourth.

“To a native of Jamaica no luxury is superior to that of walking among the odoriferous groves of Pimentos, that adorn the eminences, which form a barrier to the encroachments of the ocean;—and the Circassians, long and loudly cele-

brated for the beauty and cheerful disposition of their women, quit their towns and cities in the summer, and erect their tents among their woods and valleys, after the manner of the neighbouring Tartars. To an Hindoo, nothing is more grateful than to walk among the cool recesses and shady vistas, formed by the arms of the Banian tree, which he esteems an emblem of the Deity himself. The Hindoo Bramins, whose placidity of disposition was, in some measure, the natural result of a total abstinence from animal food, reside, for the most part, in their gardens, which they cultivate with their own hands, and occupy their time in reading, in walking, and in reclining beneath the spreading boughs of their Banian trees.

“The use, which the poets have made of trees, by way of illustration, are moral and important.—Homer frequently embellishes his subjects with references to them, and no passage in the *Iliad* is more beautiful than the one, where, in imitation of Musæus, he compares the falling of leaves and shrubs to the fall and renovation of great and antient families.

“Illustrations of this sort are frequent in the sacred writings.—‘I am exalted like a cedar in Libanus,’ says the author of Ecclesiastes, ‘and as a cypress tree upon the mountain of Hermon. I was exalted like a palm tree in Engeddi, and as a rose plant in Jericho; as a fair olive in a pleasant field, and grew up as a plane tree by the water; as a turpentine tree I stretched out my branches, and my branches are the branches of honour and grace; as a vine brought I forth pleasant savour, and my flowers are the fruits of honour and victory.’—In the

the Psalms, in a fine vein of allegory, the vine tree is made to represent the people of Israel: 'Thou hast brought a vine out of Egypt; thou hast cut out the heathen, and planted it. Thou didst cause it to take deep root, and it filled the land. The hills were covered with its shadow, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars. Why hast thou broken down her hedges, so that all do pluck her? The boar out of the wood doth waste it, and the wild beast doth devour it. Return, we beseech thee, O God of Hosts; look down from heaven, and behold and visit this vine, and the vineyard thy right hand hath planted.'

"In Ossian, how beautiful is the following passage of Malvina's lamentation for Oscar:—'I was a lovely tree in thy presence, Oscar, with all my branches round me; but thy death came, like a blast from the desert, and laid my green head low; the spring returned with its showers, but no green leaf of mine arose.' Again, where old and weary, blind and almost destitute of friends, he compares himself to a tree, that is withered and decayed.—'But Ossian is a tree that is withered; its branches are blasted and bare; no green leaf covers its boughs:—from its trunk no young shoot is seen to spring; the breeze whistles in its grey moss; the blast shakes its head of age; the storm will soon overturn it, and strew all its dry branches with thee, oh Dermid, and with all the rest of the mighty dead, in the green winding vale of Cona.'

"That traveller esteemed himself happy, who first carried into Palestine the rose of Jericho from the plains of Arabia; and many of the Roman nobility were gratified, in a

high degree, with having transplanted exotic plants and trees into the orchards of Italy. Pompey introduced the ebony; on the day of his triumph over Mithridates; Vespasian transplanted the balm of Syrian, and Lucullus the Pontian cherry. Auger de Busbeck brought the lilac from Constantinople; Hercules introduced the orange into Spain; Verton the mulberry into England:—and so great is the love of nations for particular trees, that a traveller never fails to celebrate those, by which his native province is distinguished. Thus, the native of Hampshire prides himself upon his oaks; the Burgundian boasts of his vines, and the Herefordshire farmer of his apples.—Normandy is proud of her pears; Provence of her olives; and Dauphiné of her mulberries; while the Maltese are in love with their own orange trees. Norway and Sweden celebrate their pines.—Syria her palms; and since they have few other trees, of which they can boast, Lincoln celebrates her alders, and Cambridge her willows! The Paphians were proud of their myrtles, the Lesbians of their vines: Rhodes loudly proclaimed the superior charms of her rose-trees; Idumea of her balsams; Media of her citrons, and India of her ebony.—The Druses boast of their mulberries; Gaza of her dates and pomegranates; Switzerland of her lime trees; Bairout of her figs and bananas; Damascus of her plums; Inchonnanagan of its birch, and Inchnolaig of its yews. The inhabitants of Jamaica never cease to praise the beauty of their manchenillas; while those of Tobasco are as vain of their cocoas. The natives of Madeira, whose spring and autumn reign together, take pride in their cedars and citrons; those
of

of Antigua of their tamarinds, while they esteem their mammee sappota to be equal to any oak in Europe, and their mangos to be superior to any tree in America. Equally partial are the inhabitants of the Plains of Tahta to their peculiar species of fan palm; and those of Kous to their odoriferous orchards. The Hispaniolans, with the highest degree of pride, challenge any of the trees of Europe or Asia to equal the height of their cabbage trees, towering to an altitude of two hundred and seventy feet!—Even the people of the Bay of Honduras have imagination sufficient to conceive their logwood to be superior to any trees in the world; while the Huron savages inquire of Europeans, whether they have any thing to compare with their immense cedar trees.

“So natural is this love of mankind, that the ancients conceived even their gods to be partial to one tree more than any other. For this reason the statues of Diana, at Ephesus, were made of cedar and ebony; that of Apollo, at Sicyone, of box; while in the temple of Mercury, on Mount Cyllenes his image was formed of citron, a tree which he was supposed to hold in high estimation.

“England may well take pride in her oaks!—To them is she indebted for her existence as a nation; and, were we an idolatrous people, I should be almost tempted to recommend, (in imitation of our Druidical ancestors, who paid divine honours to the mistletoe), that the oak be received in the number of our gods.—It is a curious circumstance, my Lelius, and not generally known, that most of those oaks, which are called *spontaneous*, are planted by the squirrel. This little animal has performed the most es-

sential service to the English navy. —Walking, one day, in the woods belonging to the Duke of Beaufort, near Troy-house, in the county of Monmouth, Colonna's attention was diverted by a squirrel, which sat very composedly upon the ground. He stopped to observe his motions. In a few minutes the squirrel darted, like lightning, to the top of a tree, beneath which he had been sitting. In an instant he was down, with an acorn in his mouth, and began to burrow in the earth with his hands. After digging a small hole he stooped down, and deposited the acorn: then covering it, he darted up the tree again. In a moment he was down with another, which he buried in the same manner. This he continued to do, as long as Colonna thought proper to watch him. The industry of this little animal is directed to the purpose of securing him against want in the winter; and, as it is probable, that his memory is not sufficiently retentive to enable him to remember the spots in which he deposits every acorn, the industrious little fellow, no doubt, loses a few every year. These few spring up, and are destined to supply the place of the parent tree!—Thus is Britain, in some measure, indebted to the industry and bad memory of a squirrel, for her pride, her glory, and her very existence!

“Not only woods, fountains, and rivers, but *mountains*, have had a sacred character attached to them.—Upon their summits the Jews, the Persians, the Bithynians, the infidel nations around Palestine, and the Druids of Gaul, Britain, and Germany were accustomed to sacrifice: and, while the Celts conceived, that the spirits of their heroes resided among the clefts of the rocks,

rocks, and on the tops and sides of the mountains, the natives of Greenland believed them to be the immediate residence of their deities.

“The Greeks coincided, in a great degree, with this idea; and it was an opinion sanctioned by many of their poets and philosophers, among whom we may instance Plato, Homer, and Strabo, that, after the deluge of Deucalion, the inhabitants of the earth resided, for a long time, on the tops of the mountains, whence they gradually descended into the vales and valleys below: grounding their preference, not more upon their comparative security from future inundations, than upon the sacred character of those lofty eminences. Of those mountains, three had the honour of giving general names to the Muses;—and Mount Athos still retains such an imposing aspect, that the Greeks of modern ages have erected upon it a vast number of churches, monasteries, and hermitages, which are frequented by devotees of both sexes without number. Hence it has acquired the title of the *Holy Mountain*, an appellation which has been also given to the Skirrid, in the county of Monmouth, by religious catholics in the west of England, most of whom entertain an ardent desire of having a few moulds from that craggy eminence sprinkled over their coffins: while great numbers of pilgrims resort to the promontory near Gaeta, a small piece of which Italian seamen wear constantly in their pockets to preserve them from drowning.

“What has been observed of Mount Athos, is equally applicable to Mount Tabor, near the city of Tiberias; a great number of churches and monasteries having been built upon it. This is the mountain, on

which St. Peter said to Christ, ‘It is good for us to be here; and let us make three tabernacles; one for thee; and one for Moses; and one for Elias.’ The view from this fine summit is represented to be so exceedingly various and magnificent, that the spectator experiences all those sensations, which are produced by a mixture and rapid succession of varied and gay, gloomy and majestic objects. What a contrast does this fine eminence exhibit to that of the Norwegian mountain of Filefield, covered with eternal snow; where neither a house, nor a cottage, nor a hut, nor a tree; neither a shrub, nor a flower, nor a human being, are ever to be seen!

“The Jews were accustomed to bury their dead on the sides of mountains; Moses received the Law on the top of Sinai; and so holy was that mountain esteemed, that no one but himself was permitted to touch it.

“The Messiah frequently took his disciples up to the top of a high mountain to pray; there it was he transfigured before them, and many of the incidents recorded in Scripture took place in the garden and on the Mountain of Olives.

“A country, destitute of mountains, may be rich, well cultivated, elegant and beautiful, but it can in no instance be grand, sublime, or transporting; and to what a degree boldness of scenery has the power of elevating the fancy may be, in some measure, conceived from an anecdote, recorded of an epic and descriptive poet. When Thomson heard of Glover’s intention of writing an epic poem, the subject of which should be Leonidas of Sparta, ‘Impossible!’ said he, ‘Glover can never be idle enough to attempt an epic!—

epic!—He never saw a mountain in his life!

“Petrarch had long wished to climb the summit of *Mount Ventoux*, a mountain presenting a wider range of prospect, than any among the Alps or Pyrenees. With much difficulty he ascended. Arrived at its summit, the scene presented to his sight was unequalled!—After taking a long view of the various objects, which lay stretched below, he took from his pocket a volume of St. Augustine's Confessions: and, opening the leaves at random, the first period that caught his eye was the following passage:—‘*Men travel far to climb high mountains, to observe the majesty of the ocean, to trace the sources of rivers—but, they neglect themselves.*’ Admirable reasoning! conveying as admirable a lesson! Instantly applying the passage to himself, Petrarch closed the book, and falling into profound meditation,—‘If, thought he, ‘I have undergone so much labour in climbing this mountain, that my body might be the nearer to heaven, what ought I not to do, in order that my soul may be received in those immortal regions!’ Let us, my Lelius, while climbing any of our British Alps, be visited by similar reflections, and be actuated by similar resolutions!

“Though the view of mountains serve to elevate the mind, the inhabitants of those regions are, undoubtedly, more prone to rapine and to warlike enterprise, than the inhabitants of vales. This arises from the austerity of their climate and the comparative poverty of their soil; but this remark, though true, when generally applied, is not always so in particular. For though, in the time of Cesar, the Helvetii, inhabiting that part of Switzerland,

lying round the Lake of Geneva, were the most warlike people of Gaul; yet they were not more so than the Parthians, who were natives of unexplored deserts. The Assyrians and the Chaldees, both originally descended from the mountains of Atouria, with the Persians, inhabiting a country abounding in hills, were those people the most remarkable for having established extensive empires; yet we must not infer from thence, that their conquests arose from that severe energy, which is imbibed from the keen air of mountainous regions, since we find people, residing in plains, acquiring empires equally extensive. The Arabians, for instance, so remarkable for their conquests during the middle ages; the Egyptians, in more remote times; the Tartars, who subjected China; and the Romans, who conquered not so much by the sword, as by the arts: for it was the severity of their discipline, and not the severity of the Apennines, which subdued the world; of all their numerous legions, not one-tenth, in the time of Augustus or of Trajan, had ever breathed the air of Italy.

“The most picturesque parts of Asian Tartary are those in the neighbourhood of the Armenian and Ararat mountains, on which the ark is said to have rested. This celebrated eminence, on the top of which stand several ruins, rises in the form of a pyramid, in the midst of a long extended plain. It is always covered with snow from its girdle to the summit, and for several months of the year is totally enveloped by clouds.

“What scenes in Russia are comparable to those in the neighbourhood of the Oural and Riphean mountains? which the inhabitants, in

in all the simplicity of ignorance, believe to encompass the earth; in the same manner, as the Malabars imagine the sun to revolve round the largest of theirs. Where does the Spaniard behold nobler landscapes, than at the feet and between the sides of the Blue Ridge, that back the Escorial; among the wilds of the Asturias, or among the vast solitudes of the Sierra Morena? With what feelings of awe does the Hungarian approach the Carpathian Mountains, that separate him from Galicia! and with what joy and admiration does an African traveller, long lost among deserts and continents of sand, hail the first peak that greets his sight, among the mountains of the moon! Can the American painter rest on finer scenes than those, which are exhibited among the Glens of the Laurel, the Blue Ridge, the Cumberland and Allegany Mountains? And where, in all the vast continent of the western world, shall the mind acquire a wider range of idea, more comprehensive notions of vastness and infinity, than on the tops of the Cordilleras and the Andes; or on those uninhabitable ranges of mountains, which stretch from the river of the west to within a few degrees of the northern circle?

“What a sensible gratification, and what interesting reflections were awakened in the mind of the celebrated Cook, when standing upon one of the mountains, that commanded almost the whole of the beautiful island of Eooa, in the southern ocean!—This view is one of the most delightful that can possibly be imagined. ‘While I was surveying this prospect, (says the benevolent navigator), I could not help flattering myself with the pleasing idea, that some future voyager

may, from the same station, behold these meadows stocked with cattle, brought to these islands by the ships of England; and that the completion of this single benevolent purpose, independent of all other considerations, would sufficiently mark to posterity, that our voyages had not been useless to the general interests of humanity.’

“No one mounts a towering eminence, but feels his soul elevated: the whole frame acquires unwonted elasticity, and the spirits flow, as it were, in one aspiring stream of satisfaction and delight: for what can be more animating than, from one spot, to behold the pomp of man and the pride of nature lying at our feet? Who can refrain from being charmed, when observing those innumerable intersections, which divide a long extent of country into mountains and vales; and which, in their turn, subdivide into fields, glens, and dingles, containing trees of every height, cottages of the humble, and mansions of the rich: here, groups of cattle; there, shepherds tending their flocks; and, at intervals, viewing, with admiration, a broad, expansive river, sweeping its course along an extended vale; now encircling a mountain, and now overflowing a valley; here gliding beneath large boughs of trees, and there rolling over rough ledges of rocks: in one place concealing itself in the heart of a forest, under huge massy cliffs, which impend over it; and in another, washing the walls of some ivied ruin, bosomed in wood!

“How beautiful are the reflections of Fitz-James, upon gaining the top of a precipice, whence he threw his eyes below, and beheld the crags, knolls, and mounds of Ben-Venue, the bare point of Ben-An,

An, and the creek, promontory,
and islands of Loch-Katrine!

From the steep promontory gazed
The stranger, raptur'd and amaz'd;
And 'what a scene were here,' he cried,
'For princely pomp or churchman's pride!
On this bold brow, a lordly tower;
In that soft vale, a lady's bower;
On yonder meadow, far away,
The turrets of a cloister gay;
How blithely might the bugle horn
Chide, on the lake, the lingering morn!
How sweet at eve, the lover's lute
Chime, when the groves were still and
mute!

And when the midnight moon did lave
Her forehead in the silver wave,
How solemn on the ear would come
The holy matins' distant hum;
While the deep peal's commanding tone
Should wake, in yonder islet lone,
A sainted hermit from his cell,
To drop a bead with every knell—
And bugle, lute, and bell and all,
Should each bewildered stranger call
To friendly feast and lighted hall.

“Scenes, similar to those, which gave rise to these reflections, whether observed at the rising or the setting of the sun, never fail to inspire us with feelings, which it were grateful to indulge and cultivate.—If seen in the morning, they give a vigorous tone to the nerves, and prepare the mind to a willing and active discharge of its various duties; if in the evening, every object being mellowed by the declining rays of light, the soul acquires a softened dignity, and the imagination delights in pointing, with grateful anticipation, towards that mysterious world to which the sun appears to travel in all its glory!

“If towering eminences have the power to charm and elevate men, who are pursuing the milder occupations of life, with what rapture shall they inspire the hearts of those long encompassed with danger, who,

from the top of high mountains, behold the goal to which their wishes and exertions have long been anxiously directed!—Zenophon affords a fine instance of the power of this union of association and admiration over the mind and heart. The Ten Thousand Greeks, after encountering innumerable difficulties and dangers, in the heart of an enemy's country, at length halted at the foot of a high mountain. Arrived at its summit, the sea unexpectedly burst, in all its grandeur, on their astonished sight! The joy was universal; the soldiers could not refrain from tears; they embraced their generals and captains with the most extravagant delight; they appeared already to have reached the places of their nativity, and, in imagination, again sat beneath the vines that shaded their paternal dwellings!

“On the other hand the soldiers of Hannibal shrunk back with awe and affright, when they arrived at the foot of the mountains, that backed the town of Martigny. The sight of those enormous rampires, whose heads, capped with eternal snow, appeared to touch the heavens, struck a sensible dejection on the hearts of the soldiers. It was in the middle of autumn; the trees were yellow with the falling leaf; and a vast quantity of snow having blocked up many of the passes, the only objects which reminded them of humanity, were a few miserable cottages, perched upon the points of inaccessible cliffs; flocks almost perished with cold; and men of hairy bodies and of savage visages!—On the ninth day, after conquering difficulties without number, the army reached the summit of the Alps. The alarm, which had been circulating among the troops all the way,
now

now became so evident, that Hannibal thought proper to take notice of it; and, halting on the top of one of the mountains, from which there was a fine view of Italy, he pointed out to them the luxuriant plains of Piedmont, which appeared like a large map before them. He magnified the beauty of those regions, and represented to them, how near they were of putting a final period to their difficulties, since one or two battles would inevitably give them possession of the Roman capital. This speech, filled with such promising hopes, and the effect of which was so much enforced by the sight of Italian landscapes, inspired the dejected soldiers with renewed vigour and alacrity; they sat forward, and soon after arrived in the plains, near the city of Turin.

“This celebrated march, performed at such an unfavourable season of the year, in a country, rendered by nature almost inaccessible, has been the admiration of every succeeding age; and many a fruitless attempt has been made to ascertain its actual route. General Melville has at length settled the question. With Polybius in his hand, he traced it ‘from the point where Hannibal is supposed to have crossed the Rhone, up the left bank of that river, across Dauphiné to the entrance of the mountains at Les Echelles, along the vale to Chamberry, up the banks of the Isere, by Conflans and Moustier, over the gorge of the Alps, called the Little St. Bernard, and down their eastern slopes by Aosti and Ivrea, to the plains of Piedmont, in the neighbourhood of Turin.’

“On the 6th of May, in the year eighteen hundred, Napoleon, then first consul of France (*gaudens viam*

fecisse ruina,) set off from Paris to assume the command of the army of Italy. On the thirteenth, he arrived in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. Having reviewed his troops, he pursued his journey along the north banks of the lake of Geneva, and passing through Vevey, Villeneuve, and Aigle, arrived at Martigny, situated near a fine sweep of the Rhone, near its confluence with the Durance. From this place the modern Hannibal, (not more resembling that warrior in military talent than in perfidy,) passed through Burg, and St. Brenchier; and after great toil, difficulty and danger, arrived with his whole army at the top of the great St. Bernard. The road up this mountain is one of the most difficult, and the scenes, which it presents, are as magnificent as any in Switzerland. Rocks, gulphs, avalanches, or precipices, presented themselves at every step. Not a soldier but was alternately petrified with horror, or captivated with delight. At one time feeling himself a coward, at another, animated with the inspirations of a hero! Arrived at the summit of that tremendous mountain, and anticipating nothing but a multitude of dangers and accidents in descending from those regions of perpetual snow, on a sudden turning of the road, they beheld tables, covered, as if by magic, with every kind of necessary refreshment!—The monks of St. Bernard had prepared the banquet. Bending with humility and grace, those holy fathers besought the army to partake the comforts of their humble fare. The army feasted, returned tumultuous thanks to the Monks, and passed on. A few days after this event, the battle of Marengo decided the fate of Italy.

“To the eye and heart of the ambitious, how many subjects of inducement and delight do mountains present! Who would not be proud to climb the summits of the Alps, the Pyrenees, and the Andes? Is there a Sicilian, who does not boast of Etna? Is there a Scot, who does not take pride in celebrating Ben Lomond? and is there an Italian, that is not vain of the Apennines? Who, that is alive to nature and the muse, would not be delighted to wander up the sides of the Caucasus, the cone of Teneriffe, or those beautiful mountains, situated on the confines of three nations, so often and so justly celebrated by the poets of antient Greece? and shall our friend Colonna be censured for confessing, that the proudest moments of his existence have been those in which he has reached the summits of the Wrekin, the Ferywn, and the cone of Langollen? or when he has beheld from the tops of Carnedd David, and Llewellyn, a long chain of mountains, stretching from the north to the south, from Penmaenmawr to Cader Idris? Snowdon rising in the centre, his head caped with snow, and towering above the clouds, while his immense sides, black with rugged and impending rocks, stretched in long length below!

“During his continuance on *Pen-y-Voel*, Mr. Cox, the celebrated Swiss traveller, felt that extreme satisfaction, which is ever experienced when elevated on the highest point of the adjacent country. ‘The air,’ as that gentleman justly observes from Rousseau, ‘is more pure, the body more active, and the mind more serene. Lifted up above the dwellings of man, we

discard all grovelling and earthly passions; the thoughts assume a character of sublimity, proportionate to the grandeur of the surrounding objects: and as the body approaches nearer to the ethereal regions, the soul imbibes a portion of their unalterable purity.’ In a note to this passage Rousseau expresses his surprise, that a bath of the reviving air of the mountains is not more frequently prescribed by the physician, as well as by the moralist.

“Emotions of religion are always the most predominant in such elevated regions. Mr. Adams, when employed as minister plenipotentiary, from the States of America to the court of Berlin, visited the vast mountains that separate Silesia from Bohemia. Upon the Schneegniten he beheld the celebrated pits, where the snow remains unmelted for the greater part of the year: upon the Risenkoppe, the highest pinnacle in Germany, he beheld all Silesia, all Saxony, and Bohemia, stretched like a map before him. ‘Here,’ says he, ‘my first thought was turned to the Supreme Creator, who gave existence to that immensity of objects, expanded before my view. The transition from this idea to that of my own relation, as an immortal soul with the Author of nature, was natural and immediate; from this to the recollection of my country, my parents, and my friends.’

“It is highly interesting to observe, what pride a mountaineer takes in his country. Mr. Coxe, travelling near Munster, was requested by a peasant to inform him what he thought of his country; and pointing to the mountains with rapture, he exclaimed, ‘behold our walls and bulwarks, even Constantinople

tinople is not so strongly fortified.' And Colonna never reflects, but with pleasure, on the self-evident satisfaction with which a farmer, residing in one of the most inaccessible cliffs, near Ffestiniog, replied to his assertion, that England was the finest and best country in the world, 'ah! but you have no mountains, sir; you've got no mountains!'—The Sicilian peasants, in the same manner, have such an affection for Etna, that they believe Sicily would not be habitable without it. 'It keeps us warm in winter,' say they, 'and furnishes us with ice in summer.'

'If we except mountains, nothing has so imposing an effect upon the imagination, as high, impending and precipitate rocks; those objects, which, in so peculiar a manner, appear to have been formed by some vast convulsion of the earth; and I remember, my Lelius, few scenes, which have given me greater severity of delight, than those vast crags, which rear themselves in a multitude of shapes, near Ogwen's Lake; at the falls of the Conway; at St. Gwen's Chapel in Pembrokeshire, and the singular masses at Worm's Head, in the district of Gower. The first of these scenes is the more endeared to my fancy, from the following Ode having been written by La Rochefort, among its rude and sterile precipices.

ODE.

I.

To th' Oak, that near my cottage grew,
I gave a lingering, sad adieu;
I left my Zenophelia true
To love's fine power—
I felt the tear my cheek bedew
In that sad hour.—

II.

Upon the mountain's side I stood,
Capt with Rothsay's arching wood;

And, as I view'd the mimic flood,
So smooth and still,
I listen'd—gaz'd in pensive mood—
Then climb'd the hill.

III.

'Adieu, thou wood-embosom'd spire,
'No longer shall my rustic lyre
'In tender, simple notes respire
'Thy tombs among;
'No longer will it sooth thy choir,
'With funeral song.

IV.

'The world before me;—I must rove
'Through vice's glittering, vain alcove;
'Alas! as 'mid the world I move,
'Shall I have time
'To tremble at the name of love,
'And speak in rhyme?'

V.

Five years are past, since this I sigh'd;
Since to the world without a guide,
My fortunes I oppos'd to pride;—
Oh! time mispent!—
My pains are lost—my talents tried—
With punishment!

VI.

Now to my hamlet I'll retire,
Cur'd of every vain desire;
And burning with the sacred fire,
That charm'd my youth;
To love I'll dedicate my lyre,
And heaven-born truth.

"When rocks are scattered among woods, covered with ivy, and peopled with animals, as in the celebrated pass at Undercliff, nothing can be more embellishing to scenery, and nothing fascinates the imagination in a more vivid and impressive manner. Of all the rocks, which this island can boast, few can compare with those that alternately form the sides, the front screens, and the back grounds of the Wye. 'There,' says Mr. Gilpin, who has described the general character of this unequalled river with the skill and judgment of a painter, and with all the taste and genius of a poet, 'the rocks are continually starting through the woods, and are generally simple and grand;

grand; rarely formal or fantastic. Sometimes they project in those beautiful square masses, yet broken and shattered in every line, which is characteristic of the most majestic species of rock. Sometimes they slant obliquely from the eye in shelving diagonal strata; and sometimes they appear in large masses of smooth stone, detached from each other and half buried in the soil. These masses of smooth rock are those objects of nature, which most resemble the architecture of man. Sometimes they rear themselves into vast natural amphitheatres; at other times into rampires, with all the regularity of immense walls; and with no herbage, no hanging masses of shrubs, no ivy adorning their crevices, they surprise, without delighting us. For, as the same elegant writer truly observes, no object receives so much beauty from contrast as the rock. 'Some objects,' says he, 'are beautiful in themselves; the eye is pleased with the tuftings of a tree; it is amused

with pursuing the eddying of a stream; or it rests with delight on the broken arches of a gothic ruin. Such objects, independent of composition, are beautiful in themselves.—But the rock, bleak, naked and unadorned, seems scarcely to deserve a place among them. Tint it with mosses and lichens of various hues, and you give it a degree of beauty; adorn it with shrubs and hanging herbage, and you make it still more picturesque; connect it with wood, water, and broken ground, and you make it in the highest degree interesting. Its colour and its form are so accommodating, that it generally blends into one of the most beautiful appendages of landscape."

—where high rocks, o'er ocean's
dashing floods,

Wave high in air, their panoply of woods,
Admiring taste delights to stray beneath
With eye uplifted, and forgets to breath;
Or, as aloft his daring footsteps climb,
Crests their high summits with his arm
sublime.

Darwin, c. 3. l. 1223.

METAPHORS OF POETRY FROM NATURE.

[From the same.]

BUT to confine ourselves to British poets.—Chaucer, active, ardent, and gay, a lover of wine, fond of society, and well qualified to charm by the elasticity of his spirits, the agreeableness of his manners, and the native goodness of his heart, was a lover of that kind of cheerful scenery, which amuses us in the fields, or delights us in the garden. The rising sun, the song of the sky-lark, a clear day,
1813.

an extended landscape, had peculiar charms for him. His descriptions, therefore, are animated and gay, full of richness, and evidently the result of having studied for himself.—Spencer, the wild, the fascinating Spencer, delineates, with force and simplicity, the romantic and enchanting.—Milton was a lover of the beautiful in nature, as he was of the sublime in poetry: and though his *Il Penseroso* abounds in those
R images,

images, which excite the most sombre reflections, the general character of his delineations are of an animated cast. In his minor poems, which afforded him an opportunity of consulting his natural taste, unconnected with epic gravity, we find him almost universally sketching with a light, an animated and elegant pencil. What can be more cheerful than his Song on May Morning, or his beautiful Latin Poem on the Coming of Spring? And can any thing be more rich and fascinating than the scenery of Comus, or more profusely abounding in all, that renders rural imagery delightful, than his exquisite lyric of L'Allegro? And beyond all this, what shall we compare with his Garden of Eden?—Nothing in the Odyssey; nothing in the descriptions we have received, of the Groves of Antioch, or the Valley of Tempé: neither the Gardens of Armida, or the Hesperides; the Paradise of Ariosto;—Claudian's Garden of Venus; the Elysium of Virgil and Ovid, or the Cyprus of Marino;—neither the Enchanted Garden of Boyardo, the Island of Camoëns, or Rousseau's Verger de Clarens, have any thing to compare with it.

“ But however well a scene may be described, every landscape, so exhibited, does not necessarily become a subject for the palette of the painter. Some descriptions embrace objects too minute, some are too humble and familiar, others too general, and some there are too faithful to be engaging. This poet delights in describing the *familiar*, that the *beautiful*; some in delineating the *picturesque*, and others in sketching the *sublime*.—These may be styled the *four orders* of landscape. In the first we may

class Cowper; in the second, Pope; in the third, Thomson; in the fourth, Ossian. The descriptions of Cowper are principally from humble and domestic life, including objects, seen every day and in every country. The gipsy group is almost the only picturesque sketch, he affords. Highly as this has been extolled, how much more interesting had the subject become in the hands of a Dyer, a Thomson, or a Beattie! Pope excels in painting the beautiful, and yet is he so general, that his vales, slopes, plains, and woods, flit before the imagination in graceful abundance, leaving on the memory few traces of existence. Thomson, also, deals considerably in generals, and seems mostly to have viewed nature from the summit of a hill, and to have drawn his images from the vale below. His pictures are principally adapted to the latitude of Richmond. Some, however, are enchantingly picturesque, and others sublime to the last degree: they present themselves to the eye in strong and well-defined characters; the keeping is well preserved, the outlines are boldly marked.

“ Dyer tinted like Ruysdale, and Ossian with all the force and majesty of Salvator Rosa. In describing wild tracks, pathless solitudes, dreary and cragged wildernesses, with all the horrors of savage deserts, partially peopled with a hardy, a virtuous, and not inelegant race of men, Ossian is unequalled. In night scenery he is above all imitation for truth, solemnity and pathos; and no one more contrasts the varied aspects of nature with the mingled emotions of the heart.—What can be more admirable than his address to the evening star, in the songs of Selma; to the moon in

in Darthula; or that fine address to the sun in his poem of Carthage? passages almost worthy the sacred pen of the prophet Isaiah.

“The uniformity, that has been observed in the imagery of Ossian, is not the uniformity of dulness. Local description only aids the memory; for a scene must be actually observed by the eye, before the mind can form a just and adequate idea of it. No epicure can judge of a ragout by the palate of another—a musician must hear the concert, he presumes to criticise; and the reader will gain but a very imperfect idea of the finest landscape in the universe, by reading or hearing it described; for we can neither taste, nor hear, nor smell, nor feel, nor see by proxy. Thus, when Ossian describes vales, rocks, mountains and glens, the words he uses are the same, and the images, they respectively suggest, would appear to be the same, but the scenes themselves are dressed in an infinite variety of drapery. It is not that nature is poor, but that language is indigent. A superficial reader, possessing no play of fancy, when the sun is represented as going down, and the moon as rising; when a cataract is said to roar, and the ocean to roll, can only figure to himself the actual representations of those objects, without any combinations. A man of an enlarged and elegant mind, however, immediately paints to himself the lovely tints that captivate his fancy in the rising and setting of those glorious luminaries; he already sees the tremendous rock, whence the cataract thunders down, and thrills with agreeable horror at the distant heavings of an angry ocean.

“Possessing a mind, that fancy never taught to soar, the one per-

ceives no graces in a tint; a broad and unfinished outline only spreads upon his canvas; while, by the creative impulses of genius, the outline is marked by many a matchless shade, and the foreground occupied by many a bold or interesting group.

“Gifted with an elegant and accomplished mind, the poet walks at large, amid the gay creations of the material world, imbibing images, at every step, to form his subjects and illustrate his positions: for there is an analogy between external appearances of nature, and particular affections of the soul, strikingly exemplificative of that general harmony, which subsists in all the universe. From this analogy the heavenly bodies were considered symbols of majesty, and the oak an emblem of strength; the olive, of peace; and the willow, of sorrow. One of the Psalms of David, pursuing this analogy, represents the Jews, hanging their harps upon the willows of Babylon, bewailing their exile from their native country. The yellow-green, which is the colour nature assumes at the falling of the leaf, was worn in chivalry, as an emblem of despair.—Red is considered as indicative of anger; green, of tranquillity; and brown, of melancholy. In the same manner, the yew and the cypress have long been acknowledged as emblems of mourning; the violet, of modesty; the lily of the valley, of innocence; the rose, of beauty; the aloe, of constancy; and the palm of laurel, of honour and victory.

“By analogy, we associate good fortune with a fine morning; ignorance with darkness; youth with spring; manhood with summer; autumn with that season of life, when, as Milton observes in a

fine vein of melancholy, we are fallen into 'the sere and yellow leaf.'—Winter we associate with age. We assimilate summer and winter, too, with good and ill fortune; an instance of which occurs in *Cymbeline*, a play, which will live, till 'time shall throw a dart at death,' though it has been so wantonly depreciated by Johnson. Even the art of war has some analogies with natural objects; hence is it no unfrequent practice, among generals, to encamp their forces in a form, which they descriptively call the 'rose-bud;' the works flanking and covering each other like the lips of roses.

"Availing ourselves of these analogical licenses, we compare a dingle to a smiling infant, a glen to a beautiful girl, a valley to a captivating virgin, and when the valley opens into a vale, it may, not inelegantly, be associated with the idea of a well-formed, finished matron. In speaking of the sun, if we may be allowed to indulge in flowers of rhetoric, so exotic, we might almost be excused for saying, that it rises from behind rocks of coral, glides in a universe of sapphire over fields of emerald, mounts its meridian among seas of crystal, and, tinging every cloud with indigo, sinks to slumber among beds of amethyst.

"After the same manner, the three first periods of society were allegorically distinguished by different aspects of nature, by comparative amenity of climate and fecundity of soil. Thus the *iron* age was deformed by clouds and storms; the bowels of the earth were searched for minerals, while its surface was utterly neglected, untilld by the husbandman, and ungrazed by the shepherd. Every morning was

gloomy, and every night tempestuous.—In the *silver* age, the year was divided into seasons; then were first experienced the heat of summer, and the vicissitudes of winter. In the *golden* age, the seasons were distinguished by perpetual temperature; the earth was profusely fertile, and flowers, vines, olives, and every luxury of nature, had consequent effects upon the minds, manners, and morals of mankind. In nature, all was blooming and captivating; among men all was virtue, security, and happiness. Every one, having nature for his guide, love and friendship were inheritances, and law and property were alike unheard of and unknown.

"Sometimes, as we have before observed, the poets draw similitudes from the common appearances and phenomena of the heavens. Dryden has a fine metaphor in his play of *All for Love*, where Anthony compares himself to a meteor; an idea, more than once adopted by Rowe and Congreve. Haller compares reason to the moon, and revelation to the sun. Horace affords innumerable instances.—In Homer, and in Milton, in Shakespeare, and in Tasso, (who has scarcely a simile, in his *Jerusalem Delivered*, that is not drawn from the country), references to the animal, the feathered and the vegetable world are perpetual. Those instances in the *Eneid*, where Virgil compares Orpheus to a Nightingale; the Love of Dido to the anguish of a wounded Stag, and the engagement of Tarchon and Venulus to the combat of an Eagle and a Serpent, are admirable. The last is, assuredly, the finest simile in all Virgil. In common conversation, too, how often do we indulge ourselves in such expressions as, 'he

is as strong as an oak ;' 'she is as mild as a dove ;' and when is the lover weary of comparing his mistress to violets, to lilies, and to roses ?

"No illustration, however, do I remember, that so justly bears upon our subject, as that, where Addison contrasts the *Iliad* and the *Eneid* by the different aspects of grand and beautiful scenery.—'The reading of the *Iliad*,' says he, 'is like travelling through a country uninhabited, where the fancy is entertained with a thousand savage prospects of vast deserts, wide and uncultivated marches, huge forests, mishapen rocks and precipices. On the contrary, the *Eneid* is like a well-ordered garden, where it is impossible to find any part unadorned, or to cast our eyes upon a single spot, that does not produce some beautiful plant or flower.' In another place, when comparing those poets, who are indebted principally to their own resources and genius, with those who have been formed by rules, and whose natural parts are chastised by critical precepts, Mr. Addison elegantly says, 'the genius in both classes of authors may be equally great, but shews itself after a different manner. In the first, it is like a rich soil in a happy climate, that

produces a whole wilderness of plants, rising in a thousand beautiful landscapes, without any certain order or regularity. In the other, it is the same rich soil, under the same happy climate, that has been laid out in walks and parterres, and cut into shape and beauty by the skill of the gardener.'

"Scenery not only inspires the poet but his reader also : for when do we enjoy his pictures and relish his sentiments with such charmed perception, as when seated beneath a bower, under a tree, or beside a rivulet ? In such and in other scenes, even bad poetry and worse music are not unattended with a sensible pleasure. 'The flute of a shepherd,' as Dr. Beattie justly remarks, 'heard at a distance in a fine summer's day, amidst a romantic scene of groves, hills, and waters will give rapture to the ear of the wanderer, though the tune, the instrument, and the musician be such, as he could not endure in any other place.' Often has Colonna experienced the truth of these observations, and he never reflects but with pleasure on the satisfaction he enjoyed, in listening to a blind old man, in the valley of Rhymney, about two miles from the grand towers of Caerphilly Castle."

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND NATURAL HISTORY.

METHOD OF TAKING IRONMOULDS OUT OF COTTON.

[From Dr. *Thomson's* Annals of Philosophy.]

“**E**VERY body knows that cottons of all kinds are apt to receive a dirty yellowish, or orange stain, from iron, which, if allowed to remain, gradually corrodes the cloth and forms a hole. At first these stains are easily removed by means of muriatic acid, or any other diluted acid (except vinegar); but, after they have remained for some time, acids have no effect upon them. It may be acceptable to my readers to point out the method of removing these moulds in such inveterate cases.

“The iron in them is in the state of red oxide; and it appears, from various facts well known to chemists, that the red oxide of iron has a much greater affinity for cotton cloth than the black oxide. The object in view, therefore, should be to

bring the iron in the mould to the state of black oxide; after which, muriatic acid will easily remove it. Now there are two methods of doing this; both of which in the present case answer the purpose completely. The first is to touch the mould with the yellow liquid formed by boiling a mixture of potash and sulphur in water, called hydrogureted sulphuret of potash by chemists. The mould becomes immediately black, and the action of diluted muriatic acid immediately effaces it. The second method is to daub the mould over with ink so as to make it quite black. After this muriatic acid takes it out as in the former case. I conceive that this is occasioned by the action of the nutgalls in the ink, which reduces the iron in the mould to the state of black oxide.

[ON THE CHANGES OF COLOUR PRODUCED ON THE SURFACE OF STEEL.]

[From the same, in a Letter to the Editor from Sir Humphrey Davy.]

Berkeley-square, Jan. 13, 1813.

DEAR SIR,

“**I**N the last edition of your elaborate and learned System of Chemistry, vol. i. p. 224, you

have stated that the changes of colour produced by heat on the surface of polished steel takes place under oil. In my Elements of Chemical Philosophy, page 390, I have

have said that these changes occur when the metal is plunged beneath the surface of mercury, and we both conclude that the effect probably does not depend upon the oxidisement of the metal.

“I was led to doubt of the perfect correctness of our statements, and the justness of our conclusions, by a letter from Mr. Stoddart, who has made many accurate experiments on the tempering of steel; and that gentleman sent me two pieces of steel which had been heated to the same degree, one in the atmosphere and the other under the surface of pure mercury, where it had been suffered to cool; the first was blue, the second had suffered no change of colour; and both seemed to possess the same degree of hardness.

“As I had formerly made but one experiment on this subject, and as the mercury I used was impure and not cleaned with any particular care, it appeared most likely that I had been deceived by some metallic oxides, or saline matter adhering to the mercury; and I invited Mr. Stoddart to assist in some new trials on the subject.

“A piece of polished steel was introduced into a retort, which was exhausted and filled with hydrogen gas, and this hydrogen gas was deprived of oxygen, a small quantity of which might have entered with common air in the stop-cock, by melting phosphorus in it; the retort was then gradually heated. Where it was in contact with the steel, a

slight tint of yellow was soon observed on the surface of the metal, but it did not increase as it would have done in the atmosphere during the increase of temperature.

“A piece of polished steel was plunged in very pure olive oil, which had been previously heated to deprive it of air; the temperature of the oil was increased until it began to boil, but no change of colour took place on the surface of the steel.

“I had little doubt that the slight change of colour produced on the metal in the hydrogen gas was owing to some aqueous vapour in the gas, or to some action of the phosphorus, and I have since proved the truth of this conjecture.

“By heating polished steel in pure azote, deprived of aqueous vapour by sticks of potash over mercury, I found that no change of colour took place.

“It appears evident, then, that the changes of colour produced during the tempering of the steel are owing to the formation and increase of a plate of oxide, and that they are mere indications of, and not connected with, that change in the arrangement of the particles of the steel which produce the diminution of its hardness.

“If you should not deem this statement of too little importance for publication, you will oblige me by inserting it in your Journal.

I am, dear Sir,

Very sincerely yours,

HUMPHRY DAVY.

NEW PROPERTIES OF LIGHT.

[From the same.]

“ **I**N our last number we gave a short summary of the new experiments on light made by Dr. Brewster, and likewise of what had been done on the same subject by Biot and Arrago in France; but we have reason to believe that a more particular explanation of some of the points will be acceptable to our readers.

“ The double refraction of light by certain bodies has occupied the attention of philosophers from the first observation of the phenomenon by Bartholine and Huygens, down to our own time; but no satisfactory explanation of it has been offered. Even Newton contributed but little to the elucidation of this difficult subject. Nor is the late effort of Laplace such as corresponds with his well-earned celebrity, and with his eminence as a mathematician. The phenomena of double refraction are as follows:

“ If a ray of light fall upon one of the surfaces of a rhomboid of Iceland crystal, and is transmitted through the opposite surface, it is separated into two pencils, one of which proceeds in the direction of the incident ray, while the other forms with it an angle of $6^{\circ} 16'$. The first of these pencils is said to experience the usual or ordinary refraction, and the other the unusual or extraordinary refraction. If the luminous object from which the ray of light proceeds be looked at through the crystal, two images of it will be distinctly seen, even when the rhomboid is turned round the axis

of vision. If another rhomboid of Iceland spar is placed behind the first, in a similar position, the pencil refracted in the ordinary way by the first will be so also by the second, and the same thing holds with the extraordinarily refracted pencil—none of the pencils being separated into two, as before. But if the second rhomboid is turned slowly round, while the first remains stationary, each of the pencils begin to separate into two; and when the eighth part of a revolution is completed, the whole of each of the pencils is divided into two portions. When the fourth part of a revolution is completed, the pencil refracted in the ordinary way by the first crystal will be refracted in the extraordinary way only by the second, and the pencil refracted in the extraordinary way by the first will be refracted in the ordinary way only by the second; so that the four pencils will be again reduced to two. At the end of $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, and $\frac{7}{8}$ of a revolution, the same phenomena will be exhibited as at the end of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a revolution. At the end of $\frac{4}{8}$ and $\frac{6}{8}$ of a revolution, the same phenomena will be seen as at the first position of the crystals, and at the end of $\frac{2}{8}$ of a revolution.

“ If we look at a luminous object through the two rhomboids, we shall at the commencement of the revolution see only two images, viz. one of the least, and of the greatest refracted images. At the end of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a revolution four images will

will be seen, and soon as in the preceding example.

“It is obvious that the light which forms these images has suffered some new modification, or acquired some new property, which prevented it in particular parts of a revolution from penetrating the second rhomboid. This property has been called polarization; and light is said to be polarized by passing through a rhomboid of calcareous spar, or any other doubly refracting crystal.

“Almost all crystallized substances possess the property of double refraction, and consequently the power of polarizing light. The most important of these, arranged in the order of their refractive power, according to the experiments of Dr. Brewster, are the following:—

1. Chromate of lead.
2. Carbonate of lead.
3. Zircon.
4. Pistazite.
5. Carbonate of strontian.
6. Crysolite.
7. Calcareous spar.
8. Topaz.
9. Tartaric acid.
10. Rock crystal.
11. Sulphate of copper.
12. Selenite.
13. Sulphate of iron.

“Some years ago Malus, a colonel of engineers in the French army, announced the discovery of a new property of reflected light. He found that when light is reflected at a particular angle from all transparent bodies, whether solid or fluid, it has acquired by reflection that remarkable property of polarization, which had hitherto been regarded as the effect only of double refraction.

“If the light of a taper, reflected

from the surface of water at an angle of $52^{\circ} 45'$, be viewed through a rhomboid of Iceland crystal which can be turned about the axis of vision, two images of the taper will be distinctly visible at one position of the crystal. At the end of $\frac{1}{8}$ of a revolution one of the images will vanish, and it will re-appear at the end of $\frac{2}{8}$ of a revolution. The other image will vanish at the end of $\frac{3}{8}$ of a revolution, and will re-appear at the end of $\frac{4}{8}$; and the same phenomena will be repeated in the other two quadrants of its circular motion. The light reflected from the water therefore has evidently been polarized, or has received the same character as if it had been transmitted through a doubly refracting crystal.

“The angle of incidence at which this modification is superinduced upon reflected light increases in general with the refractive power of the transparent body; and when the angle of incidence is greater or less than this particular angle, the light suffers only a partial modification, in the same manner as when two rhomboids of Iceland spar are not placed either in a similar or in a transverse position.

“Malus found that light reflected from opaque bodies, such as black marble, ebony, &c. was also polarized. But polished metals, according to him, did not impress that property, though they did not alter it when it had been acquired from another substance. Dr. Brewster, however, has observed, that polished metals polarize light as well as other substances.

“When a ray of light was divided into pencils by a rhomboid of Iceland spar, Malus made these pencils fall on a surface of water at an angle of $52^{\circ} 45'$. When the principal section of the rhomboid (or the plane which bisects the obtuse angles)

angles) was parallel to the plane of reflection, the ordinary pencil was partly reflected, and partly refracted, like any other light; but the extraordinary ray penetrated the water entire, and not one of its particles escaped refraction. On the contrary, when the principal section of the crystal was perpendicular to the plane of reflection, the extraordinary ray was partly refracted and reflected, while the ordinary ray was refracted entire.

“ While Dr. Brewster was employed in repeating the experiments of Malus, and observing the effect produced upon light by transmitting it through transparent and imperfectly transparent bodies, he was struck by a singular appearance of colour in a plate of agate. This plate, bounded by parallel faces, was about the 15th of an inch in thickness, and was cut in a plane perpendicular to the laminæ of which it was composed. This agate was very transparent, and gave a distinct image of any luminous object. - On each side of this image was one highly coloured, forming with it an angle of about 10° , and so deeply affected with the prismatic colours that no prism of agate with the largest refracting angle, could produce an equivalent dispersion. Both the coloured images and the colourless image were found to be polarized. Dr. Brewster found that when the image of a taper, reflected from water at an angle of $52^\circ 45'$, is viewed through a plate of agate, having its laminæ parallel to the plane of reflection, it appears perfectly distinct; but when the agate is turned round, so that its laminæ are perpendicular to the plane of reflection, the light which forms the image of the taper suffers total reflection, and not one ray of it penetrates the agate.

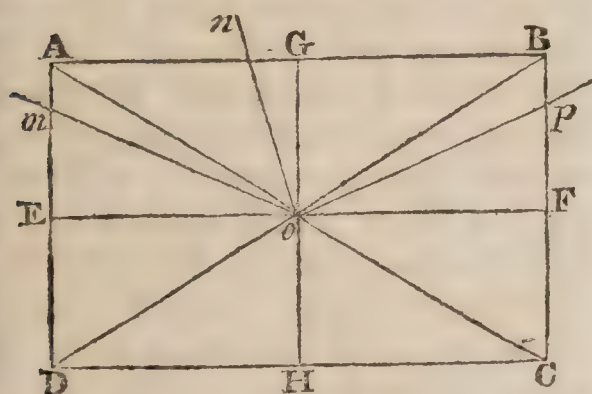
“ He found likewise that if a ray of light incident upon a plate of agate be received after transmission upon another plate of the same substance, having its laminæ parallel to those of the former, the light will find an easy passage through the second plate; but if the second plate has its laminæ perpendicular to those of the first, the light will be wholly reflected, and the luminous object will cease to be visible.

“ But the most curious observation made by Dr. Brewster on the agate is the presence of a faint nebulous light, unconnected with the image, though always accompanying it, lying in a direction parallel to the laminæ. This unformed light never vanishes along with the images; and in one of the specimens of agate it is distinctly incurvated, having the same radius of curvature with the adjacent laminæ. Dr. Brewster found the same property in the cornelian and chalcedony, minerals of which the agate is usually composed. Dr. Brewster ingeniously conjectures that the structure of agate is an approach to that particular kind of crystallization which occasions double refraction, and that the nebulous light is an imperfect image arising from that imperfection of structure. He conceives that the phenomena of double refraction are produced by an alternation of laminæ of two separate refractive and dispersive powers. Thus in calcareous spar, one set of laminæ may be composed of lime, the other of carbonic acid. The only double refracting crystal incompatible with this supposition is sulphur, which, however, may hereafter be ascertained to be a compound.

“ Another very singular discovery of Dr. Brewster is, that when polarized light is transmitted through certain transparent bodies, it is unpolarized.

polarized by these bodies in certain positions, and unaltered by them in others. The transparent bodies which possess this property are rock crystal, topaz, chrysolite, borax, sulphate of lead, felspar, selenite, citric acid, sulphate of potash, carbonate of lead, leucite, tourmaline, pistazite, mica, Iceland spar, agate without veins, some pieces of plate glass. Gum arabic, horn, glue, and tortoiseshell, depolarize light in every position.

“ Dr. Brewster has observed that mica and topaz exhibit some singular phenomena with light. Let the rectangle $A B C D$ represent a plate of mica. When a prism of calcareous spar is placed in a vertical, or a horizontal line, upon this plate, polarized light viewed through them both suffers no change. The horizontal and vertical lines $E F$, $G H$ upon the plate of mica may be called the neutral axis of the mica. When the Iceland spar is placed in



the diagonals $A C$, $B D$ of the plate, the polarized light is depolarized,

and hence these diagonals may be called depolarizing axes. If we examine a polarized image by the prism of Iceland spar, placed upon the vertical neutral axis of the mica, the polarity of the light will of course continue, and only one image will be seen; but if we incline the plate of mica forwards, so as to make the polarized light fall upon it at an angle of about 45° , the image that was formerly invisible starts into existence, and therefore the light from which it was formed has been depolarized. If the same experiment is made upon the horizontal neutral axis, no such effect is produced; and hence it follows that the vertical neutral axis is accompanied by an oblique depolarizing axis. By making the same trials with the depolarizing axes, it will be found that each is accompanied by an oblique neutral axes; and therefore each plate of mica possesses two oblique neutral axes, and one oblique depolarizing axis. The oblique depolarizing axis is represented by the line $o n$, and the two oblique neutral axes by the lines $o m$ and $o p$. The angles $G o n$, $G o m$, $G o p$, being about 45° , and the planes of these angles being perpendicular to the plate of mica. Topaz was found to exhibit the same phenomena to a limited extent; but no other substance tried.

ON THE FORMATION OF SULPHUR IN INDIA.

[By *Benj. Heyne*, M. D. &c. communicated to the Editor of the *Philosophical Magazine*.

“SULPHUR has been considered to be indigenous only where deep seated mines of metals are found, or where volcanoes or earthquakes have ravaged the bowels and surface of a country. Nothing therefore is known of its formation, nor have analytical experiments afforded any other than distant hints, and these so very indistinct that our modern chemists have ranked it among simple substances.

“Circumstances requisite for the production of any particular substance sometimes, however, unite at accessible places, and it then becomes possible for an attentive observer to penetrate into such mysteries, and to develop them where or when least expected. I will not say that this is precisely the case here, but I trust that what I have observed on this subject will not be thought altogether unworthy of notice.

“I must premise, that I have nowhere found brimstone on the peninsula of India, though always travelling and inquiring into subjects of natural production and curiosity; nor has it been discovered, as far as I know, by any other person, either in a simple state or in combination. Once indeed I understand, from very respectable authority, that a large lump of very fine brimstone was found at Condapitty in the Masulipatam circar, in the trunk of a Margosa tree, (*Melia azedaracta*) torn up, and (as was sup-

posed) shattered to pieces by lightning; I was therefore not a little astonished when a substance in powder or small pieces evidently brimstone was shown me in the Northern circars, with the intimation that it had been collected on the banks of the Godavery.

“The place to which I was directed is not far from Maddepolam and Ammalapore, places situated about half way between Coringa and Masulipatam, and between the branches of the river Godavery, known for the manufacture of fine long cloth, which is carried on to a great extent in this part of the country; but, even there, this circumstance was unknown to all with whom I conversed. My guide however convinced me soon of the truth of this assertion, by conducting me to a small village about twelve miles east of Ammalapore, called Soora-Sauny-Yanam, belonging to the Bommadaurum Mootak, one of the Peddatore rajah's districts. Hard by is a lake in which I found the confirmation of my researches. It is a narrow lake extending several miles in the direction from south to north along the village, and seems to be every where very shallow. At its southern extremity it communicates with a branch of the Godavery and a salt-water creek, from which it receives its water in the rainy monsoon.

“In the hot season it is nearly dry, and the mud then exposed to the

the sun exhales a disagreeable smell, which at some places I thought was like that of a sulphuret.

“The first excursion I made with my guides was to a place due west of the village, where they went trampling up and down in the water, and at times taking up a handful of mud, which, on examination certainly had a faint smell of brimstone, but did not at all resemble the substance which had been shown to me some time ago, and which had induced me to make this expensive excursion.

“Under the full impression of disappointment, I was sitting after my fruitless return to the village in my palanquin, scarcely observing that it was surrounded by a number of inquisitive visitors, when on a sudden my attention was attracted by the clamorous vociferations of a woman in the pursuit of all my palanquin bearers, who had robbed her little garden of a pumpkin. She appealed to the renter for protection; but he, like many in his situation in absolute power, magnanimously made a present of it to the strangers, who were carrying their booty off in great triumph. Unluckily for them, however, I interfered, and ordered them to restore the stolen goods, which brought on a slight, but friendly altercation between me and the renter; and this ended in the payment for the pumpkin, and an offer of all the bystanders to conduct me to the place from which they collected brimstone.

“I then followed a man whom they procured, immediately to the northern extremity of the lake, where we found without much searching brimstone in small heaps and in abundance.

“I was told that this substance was to be found further north in

the same lake, and in small quantities only to the southward, where the lake gets soonest dry. There it is collected in a loose soft form, or in semi-indurated nodules of a grayish yellow colour after it is dry; and never deeper than a foot from the very surface of the ground on which the water stands.

“This salt lake, I learnt, was but of recent formation. Only fifty years ago, the spot where it is now found was under cultivation. The country for a great number of miles in all directions is quite plain; nay, I may add that not a hillock is to be seen within fifty miles.

“Stones of all kinds are nearly as scarce, except some indurated marl which I found in the stratum below the superficial one.

“The soil all over this part of the country is either a rich red earth mixed with vegetable mould, which renders it very productive; or it is the black vegetable cotton soil, which is always accompanied with a stratum of marl. This is also the soil which I observed on the spot where the lake is.

“Earthquakes are entirely unknown here, and volcanic substances are not to be found.

“It might be supposed that the brimstone found here was deposited by the water of the Godavery, as the lake is in conjunction with one of its smaller branches; or that it had been thrown up from the sea, with which it is also connected. Against the former supposition may be adduced, that it is found in none of the manifold beds of that river, or in its vicinity; and against the second, that it is not observed in any other creek or inlet, and here only where it is remotest from the sea.

“Against the existence of extinguished

guished volcanoes, or earthquakes, may I think strongly be urged the confined compass of the spot where this substance is found; besides what has been observed before of the appearance of the country in general, and its minerals. The only way to account for its existence in the humid way therefore is, in my opinion, the supposition of its having been formed here. The substances we have then to consider are sea water, lime, and vegetable mould.

"I filled some bottles with the water of this lake, and having carried them along with me for further examination, I found that neither the nitric nor sulphuric acids had any visible effect on it.

"Soda precipitated immediately a plentiful white sediment. Oxalic acid produced a copious sediment. Muriate of barytes caused also a plentiful precipitate.

"All I wished to ascertain was,

whether this water contained alkali or calcareous sulphurets, or the sulphuric acid in a free state.

"From the few experiments above noted, it appears however that it is not impregnated with sulphurets of any description, as these would have been precipitated both by the sulphuric and nitric acids; but that, like most sea waters, it contains some sulphates; and probably the sulphate of lime, as the latter basis was indicated by the oxalic acid, and the former by the sulphuric acid and the muriate of barytes. I will not enter upon any theoretical disquisitions; but I cannot help observing, that the presence of brimstone in substances which not only can, but actually do produce hydrogen gas in such abundance, has suggested to my mind that sulphur itself may be a product of them, and possibly only a modification of hydrogen.

PROCESS FOR ARTIFICIAL STONE CHIMNEY PIECES.

[By Mr. *Wilson*, Southwark, communicated to the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c.]

"TAKE two bushels of sharp drift sand, and one bushel of sifted slacked quicklime, mix them up together with as little water as possible, and beat them well up together for half an hour, every morning for three or four successive days, but never wet them again after their first mixture.

"To two gallons of water, contained in a proper vessel, add one pint of single size, made warm; a quarter of a pound of alum, in powder, is

then to be dissolved in warm water, and mixed with the above liquor.

"Take about a shovel full of the first composition, make a hole in the middle of it, and put therein three quarters of a pint of the mixture of alum and size, to which add three or four pounds of coarse plaster of Paris; the whole is to be well beaten and mixed together rather stiff; put this mixture into the wooden moulds of your intended chimney-piece, the sides, ends and

and tops of which moulds are made of moveable pieces, previously oiled with the following mixture.

“ Take one pint of the droppings of sweet oil, which costs about one shilling the pint, and add thereto one pint of clear lime water, made from pouring boiling water on lumps of chalk lime in a close vessel till fully saturated: when the lime water becomes clear, it is proper to be added to the oil as above mentioned, and on their being stirred together they will form a thick oily mixture, or emulsion, proper to apply upon the moulds.

“ In forming the side or jamb of a chimney-piece, the mould is to be first half filled with the sand-lime and plaster composition, then two wires wrapped round with a thin layer of hemp, and which wires are nearly the length of the piece to be moulded, are to be placed in parallel lines, lengthways, in the mixture or composition in the mould, and afterwards the mould is filled up with more of the composition, and if there is any superfluous quantity, it is to be struck off with a piece of flat board.

“ The lid or top part of the mould is then to be placed upon it, and the

whole subjected to a strong pressure from weighted levers or a screw press. The composition is to remain under this pressure for twenty or thirty minutes; the precise time necessary may be known from examining a small specimen of the composition reserved purposely to determine the time it requires to harden and set firm.

“ The sides of the mould are to be held together by iron clamps and wedges.

“ The wires above mentioned answer a double purpose, by giving strength to the jambs, and retaining the whole mass together in case it should at any time be cracked by accident.

“ The chimney-pieces may be made either plain or fluted, according to the mould, and when moulded, they are finished off by rubbing them over with alum water, and smoothing them with a trowel and a little wet plaster of Paris.

“ A common plain chimney piece of this composition is sold at only seven shillings, and a reeded one at twenty-eight shillings, completely fitted up.

ON MORTARS AND CEMENTS.

[By Mr. B. G. Sage, from the Papers of the French Imperial Institute.]

“ **H**AVING found that an alkaline lixivial gas was evolved from a mixture of three parts of sand and two of lime slacked by immersion; and desirous of ascertaining, whether the products of the three kingdoms, mingled in the same proportions,

would afford a similar gas; Mr. Sage made a number of experiments, which taught him, that the force of cohesion contracted by slacked lime was greater with metallic oxides in general, than with any other substance. These trials led him to new facts, which enabled him

him to discover mortars, and cements, at least as solid and impermeable as those made with the best puzzolana, which is of the greatest use, particularly in hydraulic structures.

"The work we announce points out also a prompt and easy method of ascertaining the solidity and impermeability of mortars or cements, which cannot but be highly interesting to builders.

"We must not always judge of the goodness of a cement from its having acquired a great deal of solidity in the open air, for it frequently loses this in water, in which it diffuses itself. Buildings made with such mortar soon tumble to pieces.

"The necessity of a minute division of the substances, that enter into a cement, cannot be insisted on too strongly. They should first be mixed together uniformly while dry; and they must not be drowned in water, which must be added gradually, till the mixture is reduced to a soft paste.

"It is of the greatest importance to determine, with precision the quantity of lime employed to obtain the most solid mortars or cements; and in general to use no lime but what has been made from pure limestone, and which has been kept well secured from the air after it is slacked.

"In the experiments of Mr. Sage he always employed two parts of lime to three of puzzolana, of sand, &c., which afforded him very hard and impermeable mortar: and he thinks this proportion of lime may even be lessened, when the architect is fully convinced of the impropriety of leaving the preparation of mortar to bricklayer's labourers, since the strength and solidity of

hydraulic structures depends so much on it.

"The author has divided his experiments into five classes. 1. Mortars or cements made with substances, that have undergone the action of fire. The ashes of vegetables, whether lixiviated or not, being mixed with two thirds of lime slacked by immersion, forms one of the most solid and impermeable cements: a property which they appear to derive from the minutely divided quartz, which these ashes contain in the proportion of one fourth.

"2. Mortars or cements made with metallic substances. Iron adds to the hardness of all mortars; and of itself, in rusting, concurs in the agglutination of gravel and pebbles, as we see on the sea-shore. According to the state in which the iron is, that is combined with two parts of slacked lime, its force of cohesion is more or less considerable.

"3. Mortars or cements made with stones of different natures. Gæstein, chalcedony, sandstone, and gravel, form very hard and impermeable mortar with lime. Feldspar, better known by the name of petuntze, being mixed with two thirds of slacked lime, produces an impermeable and solid mortar.

"4. Mortars or cements that alter in water. Vegetable earth, or mould, is essentially composed of minutely divided quartz, clay, and iron. Mixed with two parts of slacked lime, and water enough to form a soft paste, the brick produced from it, when dried, has some solidity, which it loses under water, where it cracks.

"5. Mortars or cements made with combustible substances. Mortar, or cement, made with sulphur and

and two parts of slacked lime, forms a hard and very sonorous brick, which is not altered under water; while mortars made with pulverised vegetable charcoal, or pitcoal, though

they produce hard and sonorous bricks, soon fall to pieces in water; as do bricks made with sawdust, or raspings of ivory.

ON THE ART OF MAKING COFFEE IN THE HIGHEST PERFECTION.

By *Benjamin Count of Rumford*, F. R. S. Abridged by the Editor of *Nicholson's Journal*.

“THE count begins his essay with an eulogium in coffee. He celebrates it as uncommonly agreeable in its taste, salubrious in its effects, and producing exhilaration which lasts many hours, and is not followed by sadness, languor, or debility. The glow of health, the consciousness of increased vigour of mind it affords, and the uniform experience of many able, brilliant, and indefatigable men of the first talents in its favour—are among the topics on which the animated writer dwells in his praises of this most delightful vegetable. He acknowledges his own obligation to its powers, and society will admit that a more cogent instance could scarcely have been adduced in support of his argument.

“But there is no culinary process so uncertain in its results as that of making coffee. The same materials, in the same proportions, shall produce good or bad coffee according to the management. If the peculiar aromatic flavour of coffee be dissipated and lost, its exhilarating quality is gone, and all that would have made it valuable. To prepare it as it ought to be done, is the object of the Essay before us.

1813.

“Great care must be taken not to roast coffee too much. As soon as it has acquired a deep cinnamon colour, it should be taken from the fire and cooled: otherwise much of its aromatic flavour will be dissipated, and its taste will become disagreeably bitter.

“In some parts of Italy, coffee is roasted in a thin Florence flask, slightly closed by a loose cork, and held over clear burning coals with continual agitation. No vapour issues from the coffee sufficient to prevent the progress of its roasting from being clearly seen. The count has adopted this process by using a thin globular vessel of glass, with a long neck, which he closes, when charged, with a long cork, having a small slit on one side, to allow the escape of the vapours, and projecting far enough out of the neck to be used as a handle to turn the vessel round, while exposed to the heat of a chafing dish of coals. This vessel is laid horizontally, and is supported by its neck so as to be easily turned round; which may be done without the least danger, however near the coals, provided the glass be thin, and kept constantly turned.

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“ In order that the coffee may be perfectly good, and very high flavoured, not more than half a pound of the grain should be roasted at once; for when the quantity is greater, it becomes impossible to regulate the heat so as to be quite certain of a good result. The progress of the operation, and the moment most proper to put an end to it may be judged and determined with great certainty; not only by the changes which take place in the colour of the grain; but also by the peculiar fragrance which will first begin to be diffused by it when it is nearly roasted enough.

“ If coffee in powder be not defended from the air, it soon loses its flavour and becomes of little value; and the liquor is never in such high perfection as when the coffee is made immediately after the grain is roasted. This fact is well known to those who are accustomed to coffee in countries where the use of it is not controlled by the laws; and if a government be seriously disposed to encourage the use of coffee, the count considers it as indispensable that individuals should be permitted to roast it in their own houses. But as the roasting and grinding of coffee take up considerable time, the author describes a contrivance of a canister to keep it in, which has a double cover. This vessel is a cylinder of tin, having a sliding piston within, of the same material, formed like the cover of a box, but having several slits in its sides, by which they are sprung outwards and cause it to retain its place in the cylinder with considerable force. The piston being pressed down upon the coffee retains it and defends it from the air, while the same object is more

completely secured by a common well-fitted cover at top. It may be here remarked—that this kind of canister has the advantage of confining the article without including any air in the same space, except what may be diffused between the particles;—but that, with this exception, a well-corked bottle or other fit vessel may answer the same purpose.

“ After giving instructions for roasting the coffee and keeping it for use when ground, the preparation of the liquor constitutes the next subject of inquiry. Why this should be so uncertain can only be explained by reference to the circumstances on which those qualities depend which are most esteemed in coffee.

“ Boiling hot water extracts from coffee, which has been properly roasted and ground, an aromatic substance of an exquisite flavour, together with a considerable quantity of astringent matter of a bitter, but very agreeable taste; but this aromatic substance, which is supposed to be an oil, is extremely volatile; and is so feebly united to the water that it escapes into the air with great facility.

“ If a cup of the very best coffee prepared in the highest perfection, and boiling hot, be placed on a table in the middle of a room, and suffered to cool, it will, in cooling, fill the room with its fragrance; but the coffee, after having become cold, will be found to have lost a great deal of its flavour. If it be again heated, its taste and flavour will be still farther impaired; and after it had been heated and cooled two or three times, it will be found to be quite vapid and disgusting.

“ The fragrance diffused through
the

the air is a proof, that the coffee has lost some of its most volatile parts; and as that liquor is found to have lost its peculiar flavour, and also its exhilarating quality, it is inferred, that both these qualities must undoubtedly depend on the preservation of those volatile parts which so readily escape.

If the liquid were perfectly at rest, the particles which could escape from its surface, would be incomparably less in quantity, than would escape by agitation, which would continually present new portions of the fluid to the air. But all fluids, while heating or cooling, by partial communication, are known to be agitated; a fact long and well known, but particularly explained and insisted upon by our author, in many of his valuable works, and which he again perspicuously and familiarly explains in the present essay. His object is to indicate by what means the heat of the liquor may be uniformly kept up in all its parts: for the consequence being, that the parts will, in those circumstances, be at rest, the motions by which the aromatic parts might have been dissipated, will not take place.

“By pouring boiling water on the coffee, and surrounding the containing vessel with boiling water or with the steam of boiling water, the coffee itself will be kept permanently at the same heat, and will not circulate, or be agitated.

“The count observes, that from the well-known fact, that boiling water is not the most favourable for extracting the saccharine parts from malt in brewing, he was induced to try a lower temperature than the boiling heat in making coffee; but the coffee did not prove so good. The cold infusion of coffee, which

he also tried, was of very inferior quality.

“The common method of boiling coffee in a coffee pot, is neither economical nor judicious. A large quantity of the material is wasted in this method, and more than half of the aromatic parts, so essential to its good qualities, are lost.

“One pound of good Mocha coffee, which, when properly roasted and ground, weighs only fourteen ounces, will make, by proper management, fifty-six full cups of the very best coffee that can be made.

“If it be not ground finely, the surfaces of the particles only will be acted upon by the hot water, and the waste will be very great, from the large proportion of coffee left in the grounds.

“The size of a coffee cup in England usually answers to $8\frac{1}{3}$ cubic inches, but the count considers the gill measure as a proper standard for a cup of coffee, which he therefore adopts. This will fill the former cup to seven-eighths of its capacity, and a quarter of an ounce of ground coffee will be fully sufficient to make a gill of the most excellent coffee.

“It is well known to chemists, that any solvent already in part charged with a substance intended to be taken up, will be less disposed than before to take up any additional quantity; and upon this is founded the process of percolation or straining, as is practised in brewing and other arts, and has been for some time recommended and used in making coffee. To this the count gives this approbation. He finds, by experience, that the stratum of ground coffee to be laid upon a perforated metallic bottom of a vessel or strainer, ought to be about two-thirds of an inch thick, and to be

reduced by pressure by a piston or flat plate of metal (after levelling it) to less than half an inch. From the data he infers, by a chain of observations, that if the height of a cylindrical vessel or strainer be taken constantly at $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the diameter of its bottom must be—
 To make 1 cup of coffee = $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch
 — 2 cups = $2\frac{1}{2}$ — 3 or 4 cups = $2\frac{3}{4}$
 — 5 or 6 = $3\frac{1}{2}$ — 7 or 8 = 4 — 9 or 10 = $4\frac{5}{8}$ — 11 or 12 = 5.

“These strainers are to be suspended in their reservoirs or vessels for containing the coffee, and the whole included in another vessel called the boiler, which is to contain boiling water, kept hot by a lamp, or otherwise. The forms of these are given with drawings, upon which it does not seem needful to enlarge in the present abridgment, because there are several vessels of this description, with the exception of the surrounding boiler, to be found in our shops.

“The reader must have recourse to the essay itself for these and other particulars of considerable interest, and delivered in the familiar and perspicuous style which distinguishes the writings of this author. The poor, and those who prefer simplicity of structure to the extremes of perfection, will be gratified by a description of his last apparatus, fig. 8. It is a porcelain, or earthen jug, with a tubular spout, not unlike those which we call milk jugs, except that these commonly have a lip-spout (which would answer nearly as well). Into the mouth of this is fitted a tin vessel, which fits and descends a little way down. It has a flat bottom perforated with many holes, and a good close cover;

and it would be well to have a round plate or rammer, to compress the coffee on its bottom, and defend it from the stream of hot water, when poured in. These several parts are to be dipped in boiling water before using, and the difference between coffee made by this simple and cheap apparatus, of which the mug may also be applied to other uses, and that made by the most perfect machines, will scarcely be distinguishable.

“Sufficient length has already been given to our abstract, to forbid us to follow the count in the explanation of his views directed to the benefit of society, with relation to the comforts of individuals, as well as to the economy of the political aggregate. That it would be preferable to consume an article produced by the colonies of European nations, who demand the manufactures and products of the parent state, instead of sending bullion to China for an article of less value: that it would be preferable that the poor should enjoy the innocent exhilaration of coffee, and the nutriment of sugar, instead of forgetting their hardships during the momentary intervals of insanity, produced by fermented and distilled liquors; that they should be cheerful, benevolent, animated, healthy, and industrious with coffee, instead of becoming outrageous, mischievous, diseased, idle, and sunk in languor and debility with gin, &c. &c. These are among the meditations interspersed through this little work, which the reader will be gratified in consulting, and will probably be induced to make others in his turn.

ON THE PROCESSES EMPLOYED FOR DEFACING WRITING ON PAPER, FOR
DETECTING, AND REVIVING IT; AND A NOTICE OF AN INDELIBLE
INK.

[By *B. H. Tarry*, M. D. as abridged by *M. M. Berthollet*, *Vauquelin*,
and *Deyeux*.]

“ **W**RITING is removed either by scraping with a knife, or by means of acids. When writing has been scratched out, commonly pounce or size is applied to the paper, that the ink afterward used may not run. If pounce have been employed, the strokes of the same pen will appear more slender, if size, more full, than on other parts of the paper. Immersion in warm water for a few minutes will dissolve and wash away size: alcohol will have the same effect on pounce. After the paper is taken out, it should be dried slowly; at first in the shade, till three parts dry; and afterward between the leaves of a book, or a quire of paper. While it is drying the ink last used will spread and sink into the paper more or less. Generally indeed close inspection with a good lens will show where any writing has been scratched out, by the appearance of some loose or torn filaments.

“ If the means employed to obliterate writing have been such as to remove the whole of the iron from the paper, every attempt to restore the writing must be vain. If some ferruginous compound remain, the characters may be re-produced in their original form; though the colour will vary, according to the nature of the compound in which the iron is concealed, and of the re-agent employed.

“ In some cases the gallic acid is capable of recomposing the writing, that has been made to disappear by chemical means; but its attraction for the oxide of iron is not so strong as is commonly supposed. The red or brown oxide of iron, obtained from the sulphate or nitrate by means of alkaline carbonates, cannot combine with the gallic acid to form ink, unless the carbonic acid have been expelled from the oxide of iron by some more potent acid. It is the same with respect to the oxalic acid, and acidulous oxalate of potash: when this acid or this acidulous salt has seized the oxide of iron, the gallic acid cannot destroy the combination, because it has an inferior attraction for the oxide of iron.

“ If the writing have been destroyed by nitric or oximuriatic acid, the gallic acid in tincture, infusion, or decoction of galls will revive it.

“ Liquid prussiate of lime or potash is a good re-agent, to detect the presence of iron. If the ink have disappeared in consequence of the decomposition of gallic acid, as when oximuriatic acid has been employed, either of these will render it legible, causing it to appear of a light greenish blue while wet. If oxalic acid have been employed to obliterate the writing, the prussiates will restore it of a reddish brown colour.

colour. If nitric or sulphuric acid have been employed, the prussiate of lime will show this by staining the paper blue, but it cannot produce the writing.

“ Hidroguiretted sulphurets of the alkalis, or of the alkaline earths, are very prompt and powerful tests of ferruginous salts. The alkali, or earth, combines with the acid; and the sulphuretted hydrogen with the oxide of iron, forming an hidroguiretted sulphuret of iron. Iron in the state of red oxide is partly dis-oxidated by the hydrogen, water is formed, and the iron passes to the state of black oxide. This is the case with writing turned rusty: these re-agents immediately change it to a green black, much deeper than gallic acid would give. A solution of sulphate of iron mixed with an hidroguiretted sulphuret produces a very deep green black ink.

“ The same attractions are exerted when the hidroguiretted tests are applied where writing has been obliterated by the oxalic acidule or the oximuriatic or nitric acid. If the oxalic acidule were employed, the characters will reappear of a green black or brown red. If the oximuriatic acid, of a green black or pale rust colour. The less the revived writing approaches a black, the more the iron was oxidized in the metallic salt decomposed, or the less the iron was disoxidized by hydrogen. The writing on which nitric acid has acted strongly cannot be reproduced: but on passing sulphuretted hydrogen over the paper where it was, waving lines of a green black will be formed on the remotest parts to which the sulphuretted hydrogen penetrates. These lines may be produced in great number, and in different

directions. They are owing to the sulphuretted hydrogen combining with the oxide of the ferruginous nitrate. If the undulating lines, or the letters that have been restored, should disappear, they may be reproduced by dipping the paper into cold water. Beside the traces of writing, and the undulating lines just mentioned, the paper takes a yellow colour when it is not impregnated with an acid, and a green more or less deep when it is. The green colour will be deeper, in proportion as the acid was stronger, or in larger quantity. In all cases the paper retains the colour of fresh butter after it is dry. The hidroguiretted sulphurets should be diluted with half or two thirds their quantity of water before they are used, as in their ordinary state they are too strong.

“ From what has been said, we may hope to restore writing, that has been obliterated by any agent except the nitric acid: and if this have been employed only in small quantity, without the assistance of any other acid, and its action has not been too long continued, on holding the paper to the fire the writing will reappear of a rust colour.

“ With regard to the improvement of ink, little progress has been made since the time of Lewis. Inks made by infusion, and with green sulphate of iron, are of a Prussian blue colour, light, pale when written with, but growing black as they dry on the paper. Those made by decoction are blacker, thicker, and form a more copious sediment, which is of a dirty Prussian blue colour. Decoction extracts from galls all the soluble parts; infusion takes up chiefly the gallic acid, and mucilage,

lage, with a little extract and tannin. In the decoction the iron of the green sulphate becomes more oxidized, and the extract and tannin acquire oxygen, by absorption from the atmosphere; and the iron in a higher state of oxidation, and the oxygenized extract, produce a deeper black with the gallic acid and tannin. The more abundant sediment is owing to a larger quantity of extract and tannate of iron. In inks made by infusion, the oxide of iron, extract, and tannin, increase their oxygenation very little, till they come to dry on paper. Nitric acid immediately obliterates writing with ink made by infusion, but that which has been made by decoction resists its action much longer, on account of the larger quantity of extract in it.

“In proportion as the infusion or decoction of galls grows old, its surface is covered with mother, which is the mucilaginous principle separated. This mother ceases to form in about a year, during which the pellicle produced on the surface should be removed three or four times. The infusion or decoction of galls grows brown as it becomes oxygenized, takes an amber colour, and emits a pleasing smell; and, when combined with green sulphate of iron, no longer produces a Prussian blue, but a green black. The amber colour of this infusion or decoction is owing to the oxygenized extract and tannin. The green colour of the ink arises from the mixture of the black of the gallate of iron with the fawn colour of the oxygenized tannin, which in this state can no longer combine with the oxide of iron. If the tannin be separated from the infusion or decoction by means of an alkali, the green or red sulphate of iron

forms with it a very black and purer ink; and the alkali in the solution facilitates the union of the oxide of iron with the gallic acid, by combining with the sulphuric acid of the sulphate. The oxygenized extract concurs in rendering the ink blacker, as does the oxide of iron more highly oxidized.

“Infusion of galls is preferable to the decoction, as it dissolves the principle, that is essential to the composition, and very little of those that are foreign to it. Logwood browns the ink, and loads it with its colour; it is better therefore, to use in its stead a small quantity of galls in addition to that directed by Lewis. The following is the composition of a good ink.

“Infuse in one litre [a wine quart] of rain or river water 125 gram. [4 oz. troy] of bruised galls, letting them stand in the sun four hours in summer, or six hours in winter. This infusion may be used immediately after straining; but it is better to let it stand four or six months, removing the mother that forms on the top now and then, and finally separating by filtration both this and the tannin that has fallen to the bottom. In this dissolve 32 gr. [a troy ounce] of powdered gum arabic; then add the same weight of finely powdered sulphate of iron, superoxygenized by calcining it till it grows reddish; and continue shaking the mixture till this is completely dissolved. The ink thus made is fine, light, and of a purple tinge, but black when dried on the paper. It is nearly, if not precisely, the composition of Guyot's ink.

“Dr. Tarry next proceeds to his indelible ink, the composition of which however he does not disclose. He says only, that it contains neither
galls,

galls, nor logwood, nor brazil, nor gum, nor any preparation of iron; that it is entirely vegetable; and that it resists the action of the most powerful acids, of alkaline solutions in their most concentrated state, and of all solvents. He sells it in a solid form; and for use it is to be mixed accurately in a mortar with eight parts of water, and then put into a bottle left at least one third empty, for the purpose of shaking it, which is to be done every six or eight hours for a couple of days. It soon softens quills, but metallic pens are well adapted to it, as it contains no acid. There is no danger from putting the pen into the mouth, as it contains nothing deleterious.

“Nitric acid has very little action

on this ink. Oximuriatic acid only changes it to the colour of goose dung. After it has been acted on by this acid, caustic alkaline solutions give it the colour of carburet of iron. The letters however still remain unchanged in form, and these effects require a long maceration for their production.

“From the report of the committee it appears, that the ink of Dr. Tarry possesses the properties he ascribes to it; but they add, it has one of the faults common to all the indelible inks proposed, that of pretty quickly forming a considerable sediment, which deprives the supernatant fluid of its properties, so that it requires to be shaken every time it is used.”

ON THE SENSE OF SMELL IN FISHES.

[By *M. C. Dumerie*. From a Paper read to the French Institute.]

“ALMOST all the fishes hitherto observed have nostrils. At least this name is given to two deep holes, which are generally found in the heads of these animals between their eyes and lips. These cavities have a single slender orifice; and within they are lined with a mucous membrane, having numerous folds. The first pair of nerves from the brain enter into the substance of this membrane, ramify in it, and there terminate. Analogy therefore seems to indicate, that the nostrils of fishes are particularly intended for the organ of smell, as in all other animals with vertebræ. Against this opinion however, adopted by all naturalists and physiologists, I have some facts and re-

flections to offer, which perhaps will seem more consistent with our knowledge in comparative anatomy and physiology.

“I propose to show, that the organ of smell does not and cannot exist in the mouths of fishes, from their manner of breathing: that the organs, hitherto considered as adapted to the sense of smell in these animals, are intended for the perception of a sensation analogous to that of taste: and that there can be no true smell for an animal habitually immersed in a fluid.

“In animals with vertebræ, anatomy easily distinguishes among the nerves, that lead to the organs of sight, hearing, and smell, the trunks of those peculiarly intended to transmit

mit the sensation : but it is not the same with the organ of taste. We know indeed, that, at least among the mammalia, the gustatory faculty resides in the surface of the tongue : but, as this fleshy substance has other functions, and as its movements are particularly connected with the organs of speech and deglutition, it receives several nerves, and these greatly ramified, proceeding from three different regions of the brain. Hence anatomists have not been able precisely to determine, whether the sensation be imparted through the medium of the lingual branch of the fifth pair, that of the glossopharyngean, or that of the great hypoglossal nerve.

“ It is true the majority agree in considering the lingual branch of the inferior maxillary nerve as the only one capable of transmitting the sensation of taste ; and most of them adduce in support of their opinion the observation of Colombo, who did not find this branch in a man destitute of the sense of taste. Soemmering, however, questions the circumstances of this fact, as well as of a similar one cited by Rolsink.

“ On the other hand some physiologists, at the head of whom is the great Boerhaave, have ascribed the gustatory faculty to the great hypoglossal nerve. These too rest their opinion on some anatomical observations, particularly on a case in pathology quoted by Hevermann, where the sense of taste was destroyed on the extirpation of a gland, with which the nerves, called at that time the great gustatory, or ninth pair, were removed.

“ The particular subject of physiology and comparative anatomy before us, therefore, may throw some light on a question not yet completely resolved.

“ Though the sense of taste is^s essentially necessary to animals, and must be the last obliterated, since on its decisions depend their preservation, by instructing them in the nature of the substances proper for their food, and the selection of them ; at first sight, however, it would appear, that fish are destitute of it, if we seek for this organ in the parts where it is commonly seated.

“ In fact the inside of the mouth in fishes is lined with a thick, smooth, and polished membrane : of a very close texture, resembling that of the skin ; and most commonly of the same colour with it. Sometimes this membrane is completely detached from the bones of the palate, or retained merely by a few vessels ; as I have observed in the cod, frogfish, bullhead, ray, and shark : and I have never seen in it papillæ, or salivary glands.

“ The tongue of fishes is seldom movable. A bone supports it throughout its whole length. Its point can neither turn backward, nor toward the sides. In general the lips, palate, tongue, and branchiostegous rays are covered with bony points, or laminæ of different forms, which prevent the intimate contact of substances taken into the mouth. It is true in the muscles of the hyoides and of the branchiostegous rays, placed at the lower part of the mouth, we find all the ramifications of the nerves of the fifth pair, as well as those of the indeterminate nerve, which evidently has the place of the glossopharyngean. Yet neither I nor Mr. Cuvier could ever meet with the great hypoglossal nerve in fishes, notwithstanding our most attentive searches, when I enjoyed the advantage of editing his lectures on comparative anatomy.

anatomy. Besides, as this fact was of great importance to the subject of the present paper, I think it proper to add, that I have again satisfied myself of it by fresh anatomical researches.

“It is easy to imagine, that the water, by its continual entrance into the mouth, and the compression it there undergoes, as often as the fish exerts on it the action of deglutition necessary to force it through the gills, must exert a friction so often repeated, as to deaden all the sensibility of these parts.

“Now since the integuments of the inside of the mouth are coriaceous, destitute of salivary glands, and frequently roughened with teeth or horny points; the tongue adherent, bony, and immovable; the great hypoglossal nerve wanting; and water continually exerting a friction on it: it is very probable, that the organ of taste cannot exist there. This was the first point I proposed to examine.

“As the organ of taste appears not to reside in the mouths of fishes, and this sense is indispensable to animals, we must meet with it elsewhere: and since tastes in general bear a considerable analogy to smells, let us inquire whether the sense of smell be not to a certain degree converted into that of taste. But, before we enter on this investigation, let us examine the nature of these two sensations.

“Natural philosophers, chemists, and subsequently physiologists, have generally attached to the idea of smell, that of the sensible existence of corporeal atoms of extreme minuteness. Though art has not yet been able to imitate an instrument so perfect as that met with at the entrance of the respiratory organ in animals that live in the air, we have

some means of proving chemically the material existence of those smells, the nature of which is best known. Thus the exhalations from nitrous gas, volatile oils, and ether, for example, may be destroyed by the combination of some of their principles with oxygen; and muriatic acid gas renders sensible to the eye the particles of ammonia, which cease to be odorate the moment this acid combines with them in the open air.

“The most perfect animals, those that possess all the five senses, are so organized as to perceive the principal modifications of the bodies surrounding them. They have sight, to enjoy the effects of light; feeling, to appreciate the solidity of palpable objects; hearing, to distinguish the vibrations of elastic bodies; taste, to discriminate the qualities of bodies capable of becoming liquid; and lastly smell, to collect the emanations of substances, that have the properties of a gas.

“Light exerts its action only on the eye; not on the tongue, nostrils, ears, or skins. It is the same with most smells, which do not act on the sight, taste, hearing, or touch. Each of the organs of sense then has its particular function, fixed and determined beforehand by the arrangement of its apparatus: for the sentient principle appears to be identical, and placed, as we may say, on the watch on the inside of each instrument, in order to collect and transmit the slightest modifications in the qualities of bodies.

“The sensations of smell and taste however, are most analogous, both in respect to the mode of action on our bodies, and to the apparent end at least for which nature seems to have given us organs to perceive them. The odorate and
sapid

sapid particles are conveyed either by the airs that serve for respiration, or the solid and liquid aliment that must enter the stomach. Stopped on their passage through the nostrils or the mouth, these particles touch the nerves distributed on those parts, and thus give notice of their presence. The nerves immediately excite the ideas of the sensations they perceive, and excite us to admit or reject the air or food, according as the impression produced on the organ is agreeable or not. The sapid and odorate qualities of bodies then are discriminated by the tongue, when they are contained in a liquid; and by the pituitary membrane, when they are suspended in a gas.

“From these general considerations of the nature of smells and tastes, it appears, that liquids cannot intrinsically possess smell, since this quality of bodies is inherent in their state of gas, or vapour. We are justified therefore in presuming, that an animal, which from its nature must be immersed in a liquid all its life, does not possess a sense of which it can make no use: and this is the case with cetaceous animals, fishes, most of the molluscæ, a great number of crustaceous animals and worms, and all the zoophytes.

“In a former paper I have pointed out the analogy between fishes and cetaceous animals, with regard to the mechanism of respiration. It is in consequence of this mode of respiration, if I may so say, and of their necessary abode in water, that the organ of smell appears to be annihilated in these animals; for as Daniel Major and John Hunter first observed, though only in a few species, and Cuvier has since shown generally and more at large, there are no olfactory nerves, and no eth-

moidal foramina, in the cetaceous animals. The pituitary membrane, that lines their nostrils, is smooth, dry, and coriaceous: it appears to have become insensible from the constant friction on it occasioned by the rapid and violent action of the water, that pervades the cavity of the nostrils. It appears however, that the organ of taste here supplies the place of that of smell; for, by a slight modification of the organs, the olfactory nerves of fishes may have another use, and be destined to make them sensible of tastes.

“From the ideas we have formed of the nature of smells, it necessarily follows, that fishes cannot receive impressions similar to those they occasion in animals that breathe air. Yet we know, that fishes are attracted by the emanations, that escape from several substances immersed in water, as is demonstrated by various baits employed in fishing; the salted roes of cod and mackarel, the broiled or stinking flesh of certain animals, old cheese, and many other things of strong smell.

“Aristotle was acquainted with most of these facts, and even recites them at large in his *History of Animals*: yet he says positively, “fishes have no distinct organ of smell, for there is but one orifice to the apertures they have in the place of the nostrils.” And elsewhere, “we see in them no external organ of hearing or smell, not even an aperture.” Mr. Schneider, in his *Synonymes of Artedi's Fishes*, reproaches Aristotle with entertaining this opinion, after having so well described the olfactory organ and nerves in these animals. It is in some measure therefore a defence of Aristotle's opinion, if I endeavour to show, that every emanation in water must produce

on the nerves, with which it comes into contact, a sensation analogous to that of taste.

“ Since there are no real smells in water, the exhalations, that escape from bodies immersed in it, either rise to the surface in the form of gas, and consequently do not remain in the liquid; or they are suspended in it or combined with it, and they participate in all the properties of liquids. If however the qualities of these particles, thus dissolved, be perceptible, they necessarily come under the same circumstances as sapid bodies; and therefore it would be useless for fishes, which live habitually in water, to be endowed with the organ of smell.

“ To prove the accuracy of this reasoning, it is necessary to investigate the use of the nervous apparatus, which has hitherto been supposed to be intended for the perception of smells: and to this I shall proceed, treating it more minutely than in the beginning of this paper.

“ The cavities termed nasal are always situate before the eyes, in the space between the nasal bones and those of the upper lip. Sometimes they are in the substance of the bones of the nose themselves, or between these and the pieces which Artedi has called hypophthalmic. The heterosome fishes, as the pleuronectes, the only animals with vertebræ that are not symmetrical, are the only ones that have both nostrils on one side of the body, in some on the right, in others on the left, and unequal. Lastly, though most of these species have these cavities on the top of the head, in the forehead; they are found beneath, and most frequently communicating with the

mouth, in all the plagiostomes, the ray, the shark, &c.

“ In all fishes these cavities present a kind of sinus, or cul-de-sac with a narrow opening; most commonly divided into two portions, sometimes into three, as in the eel, by a membranous septum, variously convoluted, which ichthyologists have frequently noticed as characteristic of species.

“ We know from the observations of Monro, that these valves or curtains may be moved according to the will of the animal; and that under certain circumstances the orifice may be nearly covered by the septum. It is easy to observe this in live fishes, as I have seen in the goldfish and stickleback. It is then apparent, that the motion of the septum seems to be the consequence of the protraction of the lips; since at each inspiration the cavity opens and dilates, while it contracts and is covered as often as the mouth is closed: whence it seems to follow, that at every inspiration the fish causes a small quantity of water to enter on each side, which it may be said thus to analyse.

“ Each of these perforations exhibits within a cavity, very spacious in proportion to its orifice; and on this is spread the sentient membrane covered with mucus, in the substance of which is expended the whole of the first pair of cerebral nerves, and one or more large branches of the fifth pair, according to the observation of Collins quoted and corrected by Cuvier.

“ Nor must I forget to remark, as a circumstance particularly deserving notice, that these pretended nasal cavities are always separated from the canal of respiration; and that

that it is only in the rays, and some neighbouring genera, which have spiracles, that they are observed almost in the mouth. In fact it is to be presumed, that the liquid, in traversing them, would have deadened the sensibility of their surface by the rapidity of its motion, and the friction of its particles.

“Now are these peculiarities of structure, which I have mentioned, of such a kind as to lead us to abandon our first opinion, deduced from the knowledge of physics, that smells cannot be perceived in water? or is not this supposed organ of smell in fishes better adapted to excite in them the sensation of tastes? These questions I shall proceed to examine.

“Tastes and smells are nearly of the same nature: both sensations are produced by the physical and chemical qualities of bodies. We know, in fact, that very minute particles are continually separating from certain substances, which, without being decomposed, come to act immediately upon animals at that point of their surface alone, where they can manifest their presence. This phenomenon is effected by the in-

tervention of a fluid medium, and a sort of contact.

“All the conditions necessary for the impression or sensation of taste are united therefore in the organ under examination, and the nature of the substances that may produce it. First, the organ is placed secure in a cavity: it opens and shuts at the will of the animal, it admits or rejects emanations at pleasure. Secondly, the sentient surface receives numerous and bulky nerves from the fifth pair; it is soft, moist, and mucous; and it presents a great surface in a large space. Thirdly, it appears in a certain degree to supply the place of the organ of taste, which cannot exist in the mouth of fishes from the very mechanism of their respiration.

“It seems to follow then from all these circumstances, that the organ of taste in fishes does not reside in the mouth: that the sensation of taste is probably imparted to them by the apparatus, which has hitherto been considered as adapted to perceive the emanations of odorate bodies: and lastly, that no real smell can be perceived in water.

EXPERIMENTS ON THE COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF MEN AND HORSES,
APPLICABLE TO THE MOVEMENT OF MACHINES.

[By *M. Schulze*. From the Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences of Berlin for 1783.]

“THOSE who have occasion to construct machines intended to be moved by men or animals, are sufficiently aware how important it is to be acquainted with the quantity of power that can be attributed to either of them, in order to estimate with accuracy the effect

which it is proposed to obtain from the machine. It is well known, that the arrangement of the whole depends entirely on the ratio of the velocity of the motive force to the resistance. This was the reason that long ago induced experimentalists to take the trouble of determining

mining the strength as well as the velocity exerted by men and animals, when they are made to move machinery; and the results they obtained, which have been commonly made use of in computing the effect of machines, are, that men exert from twenty-seven to thirty pounds, with a velocity of from one and a half to two feet per second; and that a horse has about seven times more strength than a man, with a velocity of from four to six feet per second.

“These are the data which we have been obliged to use whenever it became necessary to compute the effect of a machine moved by men or horses. It is evident that the force must be diminished when the

velocity is increased, and *vice versa*: but we are not yet certain of finding the ratio of the diminution or augmentation of this force to the velocity. Euler has given us two different formulæ to compute this ratio: but no one has hitherto attempted to verify by experiment which of them is to be preferred, although they differ very considerably from each other. If we put *P* for the absolute force which takes place when we simply consider equilibrium, *C* the absolute velocity which takes place when the man or animal moves freely, and without being overcome by the resistance, *p* the relative force, and *c* the corresponding velocity, we have by the first of these formulæ,

$$p = P \left(1 - \frac{c}{C}\right)^2$$
; whereas the second gives us $p = P \left(1 - \frac{c^2}{C^2}\right)$.

“As I am obliged now more than ever to attend to a number of machines, and to compute their effect, it therefore concerns me very much to know exactly in what manner to estimate, compare, and fix the strength and velocity of men and animals, which are used for moving various machines, proper for different purposes.

“With this view I made, with considerable care, the experiments

I am now about to detail, which of course would have been very expensive, had I not had some facilities which other persons may not possess.

“To make the experiments on human strength, I took promiscuously twenty men of different sizes and constitutions, whom I measured and weighed; the result of which is given in the following table:

Order.	Size.			Weight.	Order.	Size.			Weight.
1	5'	3"	4'''	122	11	5'	9"	7'''	132
2	5	2	3	134	12	5	1	4	157
3	5	7	2	165	13	5	3	2	175
4	5	5	0	131	14	5	4	1	117
5	5	11	2	177	15	5	10	8	192
6	6	0	4	158	16	5	0	3	133
7	5	8	3	180	17	4	11	2	147
8	5	2	1	117	18	5	3	9	124
9	5	4	8	140	19	5	6	0	163
10	5	0	4	126	20	5	10	1	181

“ To find the strength that each of these men might exert to raise a weight vertically, I made the following experiments :

“ I took various weights, increasing by 10lbs. from 150lbs. up to 250lbs. All these weights were of lead, having circular and equal bases. To use them with success in the proposed experiments, I had at the same time a kind of bench made, in the middle of which was a hole of the same size as the base of my weights: this hole was shut by a circular cover, which effected this purpose when pressed against the bench, but at other times was kept at about the distance of a foot and a half above the bench, by means of a spring and some iron bars. To prevent the weight with which this cover was loaded during

the experiment, from forcing down the cover lower than the level of the surface of the bench, I had several grooves made in the four iron bars, which sustained the cover at any height at which it might arrive by the pressure of the springs, as soon as the pressure of the weight ceased.

“ After having laid the 150lbs. on the cover, and the other weights in succession, increasing by 10lbs. up to 250lbs. I made the following experiments with the men whose size and weight are given above, by making them lift up the weights as vertically as possible all at once, and by observing the height to which they were able to lift them. The following table gives the heights observed for the different weights marked at the head of the table.

	150	160	170	180	190	200	210	220	230	240	250
1	7" 9'''	6" 4'''	4" 11'''	4" 4'''	3" 8'''	2" 8'''	1" 1'''				
2	7 10	6 6	5 7	4 7	3 11	2 5	0 5				
3	7 9	7 3	6 5	5 9	4 11	4 0	3 0	1" 7'''	0" 3'''		
4	8 3	7 6	7 2	5 10	5 3	4 7	4 0	3 8	3 1	1" 4'''	
5	12 4	11 1	9 7	8 5	7 10	7 1	5 10	4 7	3 2	1 3	
6	14 5	14 0	13 5	12 8	11 5	10 1	8 6	6 6	4 1	0 1	
7	12 11	11 3	10 5	9 3	8 1	6 9	5 3	3 8	1 11	0 2	
8	11 9	10 2	9 4	8 11	8 1	6 11	5 10	5 1	3 2	1 0	
9	2 5	8 3	7 1	5 6	4 1	2 9	1 3				
10	8 1	6 5	4 7	3 9	2 5	1 7	0 4				

“ This table proves to us, that the size of the men employed to raise the weights vertically, has considerable influence on the height to which they severally brought the same weight. We find also by this, that the height diminishes in a much more considerable ratio than the weight increases; and we may therefore conclude, that it is advantageous to employ large men when it becomes necessary to draw vertically from below upwards; and, on the contrary, it is more advantageous to employ men of con-

siderable weight, when it is required to lift up loads by means of a pulley, about which a cord passes, which the workmen draw in a vertical direction, from above downwards. To find the absolute strength of these men in a horizontal direction, I took the following method:

“ Having fixed over an open pit a brass pulley, extremely well made, of fifteen inches diameter, whose axis, made of well-polished steel, to diminish the friction, was three-fourths of an inch in diameter; I passed over this pulley a silk cord worked

worked with care, to give it both the necessary strength and flexibility. One of the ends of this cord carried a hook to hang a weight to it, which hung vertically in the pit, whilst the other end was held by one of the twenty men, who, in the first order of the following experiments, made it pass above his shoulders; instead of which, in the second, he simply held it by his hands.

“I had taken the precaution to construct this in such a manner, that the pulley might be raised or lowered at pleasure, in order to keep the end of the cord held by the man always in a horizontal direction, according as the man was tall or short, and exerted his strength in any given direction.

“I had made the necessary ar-

rangements, so as to be able to load successively the basin of a balance which I attached to the hook at the end of the cord which descended into the pit, whilst the man who held the other end of the cord employed all his strength without advancing or retracting a single inch.

“The following table gives the weights placed in the basin when the workmen were obliged to give up, having no longer sufficient strength to sustain the pressure occasioned by the weight. To proceed with certainty, I increased the weight each time by five pounds, beginning from 60, and intervals of time, having always precisely a space of ten seconds between them. The result of these observations, repeated several days in succession, is contained in the following table:

“When the cord passed over the shoulders of the workmen :

Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.
1	95	6	100	11	95	16	95
2	105	7	115	12	100	17	100
3	110	8	105	13	110	18	90
4	100	9	95	14	90	19	110
5	105	10	90	15	110	20	105

“When the cord was simply held before the man :

Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.	Order.	lbs.
1	90	6	100	11	90	16	90
2	105	7	110	12	90	17	90
2	105	8	100	13	100	18	85
4	90	9	90	14	85	19	100
5	95	10	85	15	105	20	100

“These two tables show, that men have less power in drawing a cord before them than when they make it pass over their shoulders : it shows us also that the largest men have not also the greatest strength to hold, or to draw in a horizontal direction by means of a cord. To obtain the absolute velocity of these twenty men, I proceeded as follows:

“Having measured very exactly a distance of 12,000 Rhinland feet, in a plain nearly level, I caused these twenty men to march with a good pace, but without running, and so as to continue during the space of four or five hours. The following is the time employed in describing this space, with the velocity resulting from each of them.

Ord.

Ord.	Time.	Veloc.	Ord.	Time.	Veloc.	Ord.	Time.	Veloc.
1	40' 18	4' 94	8	40' 9	4' 99	15	36' 17	5' 51
2	41 12	4 85	9	40 20	4 96	16	41 28	4 82
3	39 8	5 55	10	40 51	4 90	17	42 25	4 71
4	39 40	5 04	11	36 17	5 51	18	40 19	4 98
5	34 19	5 83	12	38 11	5 24	19	39 57	5 01
6	35 11	5 68	13	38 5	5 25	20	37 51	5 29
7	38 7	5 25	14	37 1	5 40			

"It is necessary to mention, with regard to these experiments, that I took care to place, at certain distances, persons in whom I could place confidence, in order to observe whether these men marched uniformly and sufficiently quick without running.

"Having thus obtained, not only the absolute force, but the absolute velocity also, of several men, I took the following method to determine their relative force.

"I had made use of a machine composed of two large cylinders of very hard marble, which turned round a vertical cylinder of wood, and moved by a horse, which described in its march a circle of ten Rhinland feet. This machine appeared to me the most proper to make the following experiments, which serve to determine the relative strength that the men had employed to move this machine, and which I use hereafter to determine which of Euler's two formulæ ought to be preferred.

"To obtain this relative force, I took here the same pulley which served me in the preceding experiments, by applying a cord to the vertical cylinder of wood, and attaching to the other end of the cord, which entered into an open pit, a sufficient weight to give successively to the machine different velocities.

"Having applied in this manner a weight of 215lbs. the machine acquired a motion which, after be-

ing reduced to an uniform motion, taking into account the acceleration of the weight of the friction, and of the stiffness of the cord, gave 2.41 feet velocity; and having applied in the same manner a weight of 220lbs. the resulting uniform motion gave a velocity of 2.47 feet. I only mention these two limits, because they serve as a comparison with what immediately follows. I began these experiments with a weight of 100lb. and increased it by five every time, from that number up to 400lbs.

"I made this machine move by the seven first of my workmen, placing them in such a way, that their direction remained almost always perpendicular to the arm on which was attached the cord which passed over their shoulders in an almost horizontal direction.

"Thus situated, they made 281 turns with this machine in two hours, which gave for their relative velocity $c = 2'45$ feet per second. We have also the absolute force, or P , from these seven men by the above table = 730lbs. and their absolute velocity, or $C = 5'30$ feet.

"Therefore, by substituting these values in the first formula, we find the relative force $p = 250$ lbs. which agrees very well with what we have just found above.

"If instead of this first formula, the second be taken, it gives $p = 153$ lbs. which is far too little.

"By this it is evident, that the

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first

first of Euler's two formulæ is to be preferred in all respects. I have also made a great number of combinations, and I almost always found the same effect.

“ Dividing the 205lbs. which we have just found, by seven, the number of workmen, we get 29lbs. for the relative force, with 2.45 feet relative velocity for each man, which is rather more than the values commonly adopted in the computation of machinery. A number of other observations on different machines, which I intend to relate another time, have given me the same result; that is to say, we must value the mean human strength at 29 or 30lbs. with a velocity of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per second.

“ To obtain the ratio of the strength of a horse to that of a man, I had the same machine moved by a horse, without altering any thing; and I found by ten different horses

which I used successively, that a horse makes 603 turns in two hours instead of 281; therefore, by supposing the static motion of a horse seven times greater than that of a man, we find that the former has 5.3 feet per second of velocity.

“ By this it is evident, that the effect of a horse is fourteen times greater than that of a man, or, which amounts to the same thing, fourteen men must be used instead of one horse. Hence it appears, that it is much more advantageous to employ horses than men in moving machines, if other reasons did not require us to prefer men.

“ I have also made a number of other interesting observations on horses and oxen, which are likewise used in moving machines; but as I am now waiting for observations of this kind, which other persons are making according to my plan, I shall reserve them for another memoir.

ON TRANSITION FORMATIONS.

[By Professor *Jamieson* : from Dr. Thomson's *Annals of Philosophy*.]

“ ON a general view of the materials and structure of the crust of the earth, we are struck with the simplicity of the whole. Not more than 250 species of simple minerals have hitherto been discovered; and if we abstract the metalliferous, saline, and inflammable species, there remain not more than 134 species of earthy minerals. Still, with this small number of species, nature might have formed many hundred distinct, compound, and simple rocks; but it is otherwise. She employs almost exclusively a few species in the

composition of all the rocks, both simple and compound, of which the crust of the earth is composed. Felspar, quartz, mica, minerals of the hornblende family, and limestone, are the most frequent and abundant: of these nearly the whole crust of the earth is composed; thus granite, gneiss, mica slate, clay slate, gabbro, porphyry, sienite, greenstone, basalt, serpentine, sandstone, are composed of one or more of the four first mentioned substances; and the various primitive, transition, and floetz limestones, that often form extensive ranges of mountain

mountain and tracts of country, are composed of carbonate of lime. Indeed, all the mountain rocks, at present known, do not exceed 50 or 60; and amongst these are several enumerated in the list of simple earthy minerals. Some mineralogists have considered them as more numerous; and have described every variety of composition as a distinct species, and in place of 50 or 60 species have enumerated several hundred. But the greater number of these are mere varieties of the common mountain rocks, of limited extent, often not exceeding a few fathoms in length and breadth. This error is owing to a misconception of what is understood by a mountain rock. A mountain rock is distinguished by its position in regard to other rocks, its magnitude, under which I include its length, breadth, and thickness, in the tract where it occurs, and the proportion and kind of minerals of which it is composed. Viewing them in this manner, it is not sufficient that they exhibit varieties in structure or composition, they must also have a determinate position and considerable magnitude, and the certainty of the distinction is augmented if they possess universality of distribution. Most of the mountain rocks are universally distributed; thus the compound rock, known under the name granite, and which is so abundant in Europe, occurs in China and Van Diemen's Land, at the Cape of Good Hope and in Bengal, in Brazil, Mexico, and Canada; and in all these countries it has the same characters. From this fact it follows that we can with confidence draw inferences in regard to the geognostic characters of rocks in one country from what has been observed in

another, and consider these as applicable, on a general view, to the whole crust of the earth. Experience does not contradict this inference; on the contrary, it is confirmed by the investigations of geognosts in the most distant countries. This universality of the distribution of formations, consequently of the laws of the formation of the earth, has procured for geognosy a place amongst the physical sciences; and in it lies that which leads so irresistibly to geognostic investigations, as soon as we begin to occupy ourselves with the study of this branch of knowledge. It would wear out the patience of the most persevering inquirer, and would convey no very satisfactory information of a new set of rocks, or a new arrangement, if those already known were to be studied in every small tract of country. We might as well pretend to arrange and number the grains of sand on the sea shore. In every country of considerable extent we find the outline of the structure of the whole globe.

“Some series of rocks, however, do not possess this universality; they appear in basin-shaped hollows, or in countries that have been formerly in the state of lakes, or in level plains resting on alluvial matters: their extent is, comparatively, inconsiderable; and all the phenomena they present attest the partiality of their deposition. We cannot, from these appearances, infer any thing in regard to the general structure of the earth; and however interesting they may appear to us, it would lead to erroneous views were we to deduce from them general inferences in regard to the structure of the earth; for every general inference of the kind from a local appearance must

be false. These series of rocks, to distinguish them from the more widely distributed or universal, are denominated partial or local formations. This interesting division was first pointed out by Werner. He was led to it by the examination of a series of rocks at Wehrau, in Lusatia. To the common observer these rocks might have passed for members of the universal series; but his judgment and penetration led him to ascertain that their characters were of such a nature as to afford proofs of the existence of a kind of formation of solid rocks hitherto unsuspected. The idea was not lost with him; for he inferred that such formations would be found in other similar situations, and that the bottoms of lakes, the sides of rivers, &c. would frequently present appearances of this kind. These local formations are less striking in low and flat countries than in mountainous regions—where they are contained in valleys, and their boundaries strongly marked. Hence we must be careful in describing the rocks of low and flat countries, not to confound partial or local with universal formations.

“The celebrated Von Buch, in one of the numbers of the magazine published by the Society of the Friends of Natural History in Berlin, describes an uncommonly interesting local formation which he discovered at Locle, in the district of Jura. It is contained in a high enclosed valley, situated 1665 Fr. feet above the level of the lake of Neuchâtel, and 2959 Fr. feet above the level of the sea. The valley, and the strata it contains, are about two miles and a quarter long, and about a mile broad. It is surrounded with high mountains of white compact limestone; and its bottom is of the

same species of rock. It is completely enclosed; and the water that falls in it escapes by subterraneous unknown canals. These canals may have opened for the first time not many centuries ago, before which period the whole valley of Locle must have been a lake. Even still the canals are so narrow that the valley is frequently overflowed: this circumstance induced the inhabitants in the year 1802 to cut long levels into the sides of the bounding mountains in order to permit the water to escape into the lower valleys. This undertaking succeeded completely. The valley contains many small hills, from 200 to 300 feet high. The lowest stratum of these hills, which rests immediately on the limestone, is a very coarse conglomerate of masses of the neighbouring limestone. On it rests a pretty thick bed of marly limestone, which has a white colour, is fine, earthy, and almost friable. Throughout its whole extent it is intermixed with small river shells, which still retain their natural shell. Small reeds also occur every where in this bed. It is the most characteristic and extensive rock of the whole formation. In the middle of it we meet with beds of smoke-grey hornstone, which has a fine splintery, or imperfect conchoidal fracture. These beds are the more remarkable, from the circumstance of siliceous beds occurring very rarely in the limestone of Jura; and when they do appear, are never so pure and distinct as in the partial formation of Locle. The same species of fresh water shells as occur in the marly limestone, also appear in the hornstone: amongst these can be distinguished the *Helix cornua*, a species frequent in the Lower Rhine, but which has
not

not hitherto been found in Switzerland. Below the hornstone lies a bed of opal, which is of a brownish black colour, glistening lustre, and perfect conchoidal fracture. This, Von Buch observes, is a remarkable production to be formed in the water of a lake; and is, in his opinion, a hornstone coloured with the coally matter of decayed vegetables. To this opal succeeds a bed of bituminous shale, which contains many impressions of reeds; and next a bed of coal, including numerous bivalve shells. This coal burns badly; yet it is used by blacksmiths, when a strong fire is required. These beds are in general but a few inches thick, but alternate two or three times as we descend; and it is said they sometimes attain the thickness of two feet. The whole of these minerals are the produce of a small enclosed lake; for not a trace of these rocks is to be seen beyond the mountains that surround Locle. We thus see what lakes have produced; hills of 300 feet in height, and compact siliceous beds which are almost crystalized. Indeed, crystals of quartz sometimes occur in the fissure of the hornstone.

“ Another very curious local formation occurs at *Æningen*, on the Rhine. The remarkable limestone rocks of that spot have long engaged the particular attention of mineralogists. The celebrated quarries of *Æningen* were said to contain organic remains from every quarter of the globe, and in them it was supposed we could read the whole history of the earth. The acute and learned Blumenbach, however, after examining this formation, conjectured that it was of very new date; that it was formed by one of those partial local revolutions which, ac-

cording to him, have taken place since what he calls the last general catastrophe which our earth has experienced. Von Buch is of opinion that it is a local formation, a deposition which had taken place in a previously existing lake from the rivers and rivulets having deposited slime from the adjacent country over fishes, insects, leaves, and other organic bodies, and gradually enveloped them in thin beds of mud: probably long after these places were inhabited; probably even after the erection of the neighbouring churches and cloisters. Similar depositions take place at this day in limestone countries where calcareous tuff is formed; and it is well known that in the Travertine rock of Rome, a formation of the latest period, we find leaves, &c. of the various trees which now grow in the adjacent country. This very probable opinion of Von Buch's is founded on the excellent description of *Æningen*, published by Dr. Karg, of Constance, which contains the first accurate view of the country of *Æningen*.

“ The petrifications are contained in a slaty limestone of loose texture. It extends about a mile in length, and fills a hollow in the limestone rocks, and not a trace of it is to be seen in the neighbouring country. The valley appears to have emptied itself at no very remote period, and left exposed at its bottom the limestone slate of *Æningen*.

“ Dr. Karg gives an accurate and interesting systematic catalogue of all the petrifications hitherto found in this limestone, and shows how observers have been deceived, particularly when they imagined that they had before them American and Indian, even entirely unknown organic forms; and declares, after a
careful

careful and accurate examination of many hundred petrifications, that he is not inclined to consider any of them as exotic. That is, as not existing in the country *anterior* to the formation of the rock. Indeed, we cannot but consider this opinion as well founded, when we attend to the many remarkable histories given by Dr. Karg of *Æningen* petrifications. Thus Scheuchzer's *Homo diluvii testis*, which probably lived at a later period than the building of the neighbouring cloisters of Petershausen, even during Scheuchzer's lifetime, was by himself admitted to be but a quadruped. An exotic porpoise, under the hands of Dr. Karg, proved to be the common pole-cat; and the shoots and leaves of the vine, which Walsh describes as occurring in this limestone, prove to be nothing more than branches of the black poplar. Among the great number of bivalve shells that occur in the slate of *Æningen*, Dr. Karg did not find a single species of marine origin; all were of fresh water growth. He also found that all the roots, woods, and leaves, that are enclosed in this rock, belong to some of the vegetable species that now grow in the vicinity. He found very distinct specimens of the branches, leaves, and nuts of the walnut tree (*Juglans Regia*). But it is said that the walnut tree was imported from Armenia into Italy, and from thence distributed over Germany. This interesting fact, Von Buch remarks, leads us very near to the period when the *Æningen* petrifications took place, and renders it probable that the formation is of very recent date.

“What then can we deduce from the emptying of a lake, and the operations took place at its

bottom in regard to the structure of the earth and its history? We learn nothing more than what took place where the lake was situated.

“Even supposing the lake to have been of considerable extent, still what took place within it could not afford us general laws, such as we obtain by considering the universal formations, as clay slate, grey wacke, gneiss, mica slate, &c.

“The formation of *Æningen*, as Von Buch well remarks, affords a most striking example of the necessity and importance of distinguishing general from partial or local formations. Had naturalists known that the limestone slate of *Æningen* was a local formation, we should not have had so many erroneous views and absurd inferences drawn from the petrifications it contains.

“Another set of formations, which of late has excited much attention, shall next be noticed. It is the series of new floetz rocks around Paris, and which is by some naturalists, although probably incorrectly, conjectured to be a partial or local deposit. When I first turned my attention to the descriptions of this tract of country contained in the continental journals, I was led to conclude that it differed from any of those contained in the arrangement of Werner, and stated it, as my opinion, that it appeared to be of comparatively recent origin. This inference, the truth of which has been demonstrated by the observations of Cuvier and Brongniart, I was enabled to make by applying the principles of the Wernerian geognosy to the accounts that had been published. From these it appeared that this tract of country was composed of alternate beds of sand, clay, marl, earthy soft limestone, sandstone, and gypsum; in which

were

were contained numerous petrifications of quadrupeds, birds, and other organic remains. Now as Werner has ascertained that the older formations are compact and solid, the newer in general loose and earthy; further, that remains of quadrupeds and birds occur only in the newer formations; I concluded, from the looseness of the texture of the Parisian strata, and their containing remains of quadrupeds and birds, that very probably they belonged to a new formation, or formations, more ancient than the oldest alluvial deposit, but newer than chalk.

"It would appear from the late observations of Cuvier and Brongniart in their "*Essai sur La Géographie Minéralogique des Environs de Paris*," that the rocks of these formations are deposited in a hollow or basin of chalk, which forms the fundamental rock, or immediate basis of the district. These formations, according to the French naturalists, are eleven in number, viz.:—1. Chalk; 2. Plastic clay; 3. Coarse limestone; 4. Siliceous limestone; 5. Gypsum, of the first fresh water formation; 6. Marine marl; 7. Sand and sandstone, without shells; 8. Sandstone, of marine formation; 9. Millstone, without shells; 10. Second fresh water formation of marl and millstone; 11. Alluvial.

"1. Chalk.—The chalk, which is the oldest and lowest member of the series, contains a considerable number of petrifications: of these the most characteristic is the belemnite: 22 species of petrifications are enumerated, but not one of these has been discovered in the superincumbent formations.

"2. Plastic clay.—This clay varies in purity: the lower bed is the purest, and contains no petrifica-

tions: the upper bed, that next the limestone, is sandy, of a blackish colour, and sometimes contains organic remains. It varies in thickness, from seventeen yards to a few inches. It is distinctly separated from the chalk. There is no transition from the one into the other; on the contrary, the clay contains fragments of the chalk, a proof that the chalk must have been consolidated before the clay.

"3. Coarse limestone, and its marine shell sandstone.—This rock rests on the clay; but it does not every where immediately rest on it, being sometimes separated by a bed of sand, varying in thickness. The lower bed of limestone is mixed with sand; sometimes, indeed, contains more sand than lime. This limestone formation is composed of alternate beds of coarse limestone more or less pure, clay marl, very thin slaty close marl, and calcareous marl, arranged in a regular and determinate order. It is filled with petrifications: of these upwards of 600 have been already described by La Marsk and others. The lowest beds contain petrifications that do not occur in the middle beds: and in the middle beds we meet with petrifications that are wanting in the upper beds. It also appears that the number of petrifications diminish as we approach to the uppermost beds, when they entirely disappear. The middle and upper beds of limestone contain beds of sandstone and hornstone filled with marine shells; and the sandstone sometimes contains both fresh water and marine shells.

"4. Siliceous limestone.—This formation is composed of strata of limestone, penetrated with silica. It is often cavernous, and the cavities are lined in some instances with siliceous

siliceous stalactites and crystals of quartz. It contains no organic remains. In this formation occurs one variety of the mineral called buhrstone, used for millstones. The authors of the essay are of opinion that the buhrstone is the siliceous skeleton of a limestone: the quartz being deprived by some unknown cause of its lime, there remains now a porous mass, very hard, and containing in its cavities a clay marl.

“5 & 6. Gypsum of the first fresh water formation, and marine marl.—The gypsum rests on the siliceous limestone. The formation, however, is not entirely gypseous; but consists of alternate beds of that mineral and of calcareous and argillaceous marls. We have an excellent example of this formation at Mont Martre. There we observe three masses of gypsum. *First Mass.* Rests on the limestone. The lowest part is composed of alternate thin beds of gypsum, including crystals of selenite, and solid calcareous marl, and very thin slaty clay marl. In the gypsum large lenticular crystals of gypsum occur, and in the marl menelite. The gypsum contains sometimes fresh water, sometimes marine shells.—*Second Mass.* In this mass the strata of gypsum are thicker than in the preceding, and the beds of marl less numerous. In clay marl petrified fishes occur, and also masses of sulphate of strontian.—*Third Mass.* This is the thickest of the three masses, being in some places thirty mètres thick. It contains but few beds of marl. The lowest strata of this mass contain silex impregnated with the gypseous matter. The intermediate strata are divided into large columns. The upper beds are penetrated with marl, and also alternate with it. It contains in general five beds of marl. It is

in this third mass that the remains of unknown quadrupeds and birds are found. To the north of Paris these petrifications occur in the gypsum; but to the south, often in the beds of marl that alternate with the gypsum. This gypsum also contains bones of the tortoise, and skeletons of fish, and also fresh water shells. This third mass is essentially characterised by the presence of the skeletons of quadrupeds. These remains serve to determine it when it occurs isolated, for no such remains have hitherto been found in the lower masses. Above the gypsum occur thick beds of calcareous and argillaceous marls. It is in the calcareous marl that we meet with trunks of palm-trees penetrated with silica. In the same beds there occur shells of the genera planorbis and limneus, that scarcely differ from those that live in our marshes. These petrifications are alleged to prove that these marls are of fresh water origin, like the gypsum on which they rest; and it is remarked that the gypsum, the beds of marl that occur in it, and those that cover it, constitute the first or oldest fresh water formation of the Parisian series of rocks. Above these marls we observe numerous and often thick beds of argillaceous and calcareous marls. They contain no petrification, and the formation to which they belong has not been determined. Above these we meet with a yellowish slaty marl, which towards its lower part contains balls of sulphate of strontian, and a little above a thin bed of small bivalve shells belonging to the genus cytherea. It is said that it serves as the limit of the fresh water formation, and marks the beginning of a new marine formation. In short, all the shells we find above it are marine. It is about
a metre

a metre thick, and contains in its upper layers also cerites, spirobes, and bones of fish. Over this rests a thick bed of green marl. It contains no petrifications, but nodula of sulphate of strontian. Four or five beds of marl succeed the green marl, and appear to contain no petrifications; but these beds are covered with a bed of argillaceous marl, which is filled with fragments of sea shells of the genera *cerita*, *trochas*, *mastra*, *venus*, *cardium*, &c.; also fragments of the palate of two species of ray. The beds of marl that succeed these contain principally bivalve marine shells; and in the latter beds, those immediately under the argillaceous sand, contain two beds of oysters. These oysters appear to have lived in the place where we now find them, for they are united together as in the sea; the greater number are quite entire; and if we extract them with care, we find that the greater number have both valves. The gypsum formation is often terminated by a mass, more or less thick, of argillaceous sand without shells.

“ 7. Sand and sandstone without shells. — The sandstone without shells is one of the last formations. It constantly covers those already described.

“ 8. Upper marine sand and sandstone. — This is termed the last marine formation of the series, and covers the preceding rocks. The sandstone varies in colour, being sometimes grey, sometimes red. It contains marine shells; and these are sometimes different from those of the lower marine formation. It thus appears that there are in the vicinity of Paris three sorts of sandstone, sometimes very similar to each other in mineralogical characters, but differing in their geognos-

tical position. The first, or lowest makes part of the beds in the coarse or marine limestone, and contains marine shells: the second rests on the gypsum formation; and even the marine marl that covers it is the most extensive, but contains no shells: and the third is only covered by what is termed the last fresh water formation, and immediately follows the second. It is the least frequent of the three, and like the first contains many marine shells.

“ 9. Mill or buhrstone formation without shells. — This formation consists of ferruginous argillaceous sand, clay marl, and millstone. Thus these substances do not appear to follow any determinate order in their superposition. The millstone is a quartz, containing numerous irregular cavities that do not communicate with one another, and which are traversed by siliceous threads, disposed somewhat like the reticulated structure of a bone, and lined with a crust of red ochre. These cavities are sometimes filled with clay marl, or sand: they are never lined with siliceous incrustations, like calcedony, nor with crystals of quartz. These last characters, independently of its position, are sufficient to distinguish it from the millstone beds of the siliceous limestone formation already mentioned. Another geognostic character of this rock is the want of petrifications.

“ 10. Second fresh water formation. — This formation rests on that last described, and is composed of two kinds of rock, the one siliceous, the other calcareous. The siliceous mineral is sometimes like flint, sometimes like jasper, and at times it is vesicular, like burhstone. The limestone is sometimes compact, sometimes marly; often contains irregular

irregular cylindric cavities, nearly parallel, though crooked. They resemble exactly the cavities that would be formed in a bed of mud by bubbles of gas rising from the bottom to the surface. This limestone, when fresh gathered from the quarry, has often the property of disintegrating by the influence of the air and water, and hence is used as marl. But a principal character of this formation is the presence of fresh water shells: these are different species of helix, planorbis, limneus, potamides, cyclostoma, gyrogonites, and bulimus.

“ 11. Alluvial.—The alluvial, or uppermost formation, is composed of variously coloured sand, marl, clay, or a mixture of these substances impregnated with carbon, which gives the mixture a brown or black colour. It contains rolled stones of different kinds, but is most particularly characterised by containing the remains of large organic bodies. It is in this formation that we find large trunks of trees, bones of elephants, also of oxen, rein-deer, and other large mammalia. This alluvial matter is deposited in hollows that have been scooped out of the solid rocks we have just enumerated. It is a very old deposit, as it appears to have been formed before the commencement of our history, because it contains remains of trees and animals different from any that exist at present in the neighbouring country, or in the globe.

“ From the preceding account it would appear that the strata around Paris are of clay, gravel, sand, sandstone, millstone or buhrstone, marl, limestone, chalk, and gypsum; and these are said to constitute eleven different formations. It would probably simplify our view of this tract of country, and be equally

correct, if we diminished the number of formations in the following manner:—

“ 1. Chalk formation. 2. Coarse marine limestone formation, under which we would include not only the coarse limestone, but also the siliceous limestone, plastic clay, and sand, because this latter is intermixed with the limestone, and there is an uninterrupted transition from the one into the other. 3. Gypsum formation, or first fresh water formation. 4. Sandstone formation, under which might be included the sand and sandstone without shells, the upper marine sandstone, and the buhrstone without shells. 5. Second fresh water formation, composed of limestone and flint. 6. Alluvial formation.

“ From the intermixture of fresh and salt water, organic productions in these formations, we may suppose that both these fluids must have contributed each their part in their formation. Cuvier is of opinion that the first two formations, viz. the chalk and limestone, are of marine origin, because they contain principally sea shells; but the limestone contained also many fresh water shells. The third formation, the gypsum, from its containing remains of land quadrupeds, birds, and fresh water shells, is conjectured to have been deposited from fresh water; but it also contains marine shells. The fourth, or sandstone formation, from its containing principally marine shells, is said to be of marine origin. The fifth formation, from its containing principally fresh water shells, is conjectured to have been deposited from the water of a lake. The sixth, the alluvial formation, has been formed in the same manner as other alluvial deposits. According to Cuvier and Brongniart there appears

appears to have been an alternate appearance and disappearance of fresh and salt water, an opinion which is not borne out by the facts stated in the essay. The opinions of Braard, La Metherie, and others, in regard to the kind of fluid from which these strata have been deposited, like the hypotheses of the authors of the essay, are sufficiently ingenious, but unsatisfactory.

“ Having premised this short account of the formations around Paris, we shall next notice some objections that have been started against the Wernerian geognosy, from the appearances presented by these rocks. It has been said, “ The authors of the description of the country around Paris have themselves remarked that the appearances exhibited in that country are not consistent with the doctrines of the Wernerian school. We must add, that to us they appear most adverse to the theory of universal formations, the favourite and distinguishing dogma of that school. Eleven formations are here enumerated, and shown to succeed one another in one uniform order. They do so, however, only over a certain tract; and have none of them the least pretension to be reckoned universal.” The authors of the essay have in no part of it said that the appearances they describe are inconsistent with the doctrines of the Wernerian school: on the contrary, it is evident that they consider their descriptions as adding a new set of rocks to that system, by means of which they have been able to render their investigations so interesting. It is true that a considerable series of formations succeed one another in one uniform order; but they are not confined to a small tract of country; part of the series has already been traced through France

to the confines of Switzerland, and by one of the authors of the essay; and we are informed by Dr. Steffens, that the gypsum of Mont Martre occurs at Kiel in Holstein, on the shores of the Baltic: and now that the attention of mineralogists has been particularly directed to these rocks, we may expect to hear of their being found in other quarters of the globe. Even allowing, for the sake of argument, that this series of rocks had not been traced further than the gates of Versailles, I ask, should we be entitled from thence to conclude, from the mere extent of the mass, that it would not on examination prove to be an universal formation? I apprehend we could not, for this reason, that many of the formations now acknowledged to be universal were at first observed extending over very inconsiderable tracts of country. But the formations might be local ones, and therefore would not extend far; and yet such an appearance, instead of militating against this doctrine of the Wernerian school, would be an illustration of the truth of it.

“ It has been remarked ‘ that this same survey of the country around Paris is equally adverse to another doctrine of the school of Freyberg, closely connected with the former. The mineralogists of that school, it is said, have boldly ventured to assign to every stratum its individual place; and to fix, with more than prophetic skill, the order in which the different formations of the mineral kingdom will be found to succeed one another over the globe. If these pretensions are well founded, nothing in the science of mineralogy can be so valuable as the knowledge they must confer: if they are ill founded, nothing can be more pernicious than the errors into which

which they will betray. Every thing, therefore, is of importance, that brings them to them to the test of experience. Now it is remarked by Brongniart, that the order laid down by Werner is inverted in the case of the chalk. That substance is made the fifth of the floetz formation, and is placed above the highest floetz gypsum. Here, however, it appears far below it, with several formations between. The rule of Werner, therefore, does not hold in this instance; and it has been proved, that though the gypsum of Mont Martre agrees pretty nearly in its mineral characters with the newest gypsum formation of Werner, it differs entirely in its geological position. Again: the chalk described in this essay is not only covered by gypsum, but by limestone, and the gypsum by a second stratum of limestone and of sandstone, besides the siliceous millstone, all which is quite inconsistent with the Wernerian arrangement. All this shows how very imperfect that arrangement is, notwithstanding its pretended infallibility.' If the limestone and gypsum of this series of rocks had been precisely the same with the second floetz limestone, and the second floetz gypsum, then there might have been a shadow of plausibility in the remarks just stated; but the preceding descriptions demonstrate that they differ most completely from these formations, not only in their eryctognostic, but also in their geognostic relations. Brongniart, indeed, was so convinced of the truth of this, that far from viewing them as proofs of the fallacy of the geognosy, he describes both the limestone and gypsum as new and distinct formations: the one he names coarse limestone, to distinguish it from the older

floetz limestones: the other he names the third floetz gypsum, to show that he considers it as different from the fibrous, or second floetz gypsum; and he places both above chalk. (Vid. Brong. Mineralogie.) If Werner had had the folly and presumption to maintain that his system was complete, and that no other rock was to be discovered, that therefore he had fixed and ascertained the individual place of every stratum around the whole globe, he would have justly merited the severe and bitter censure of the reviewer of the essay of Cuvier and Brongniort.

"But the author of the remarks is not satisfied with this commentary on the system itself; in his zeal he ventures still further, and maintains that the disciples of the Wernerian school so cloud their descriptions of the mineralogy of countries with a barbarous and uncouth nomenclature, that we must turn from them in disgust. He says, 'The clearness with which this essay is written, and the absence of all technical language, except where it is absolutely necessary, we consider as great recommendations. The geologists of the Wernerian school follow a method directly opposite to this; they affect a phraseology peculiar to themselves, and employ a vocabulary, of which the harsh and uncouth terms, when closely examined, have not the precision to which every other consideration appears to be sacrificed. Descriptions drawn up in this way excite little interest, and render a branch of knowledge extremely inaccessible, which in its own nature is calculated to be very generally understood. The darkness which the language of Werner has thrown round all his doctrines seems as if intended

intended to protect them from the eyes of the vulgar and uninitiated; and it may be doubted whether the Eleusinian rites threw a darker veil over the opinions of the Greek mystics, than the vocabulary of Freyberg does over the dogmas of the Saxon school. The consequence is, that of all the mineralogical descriptions which the Wernerian school has produced, we are persuaded none will be found so satisfactory as that which is now before us.'

"If this Wernerian nomenclature be so barbarous and unseemly, so totally unfit for the purposes of science, and so repulsive to good taste, how does it happen that Cuvier and Brongniart, so justly panegyrized by the reviewer, use it throughout their whole essay. The technical words that occur in it are but few in number, because the series of rocks consists of but few separate species, and they do not include many simple minerals. The following are the rocks and minerals mentioned in the treatise: chalk, limestone, marl, gypsum, clay, sand, sandstone, millstone, menelite, hornstone, flint, jasper, and silinite. Now this nomenclature is precisely the same as that used by the Wernerian school. Even the reviewer himself, in spite of his antipathy to every thing Wernerian, is forced to use the same nomenclature; for he speaks of transition rocks, greenstone, &c. &c.; terms which he formerly considered as barbarous in the extreme, and worthy the school where they originated. But not only is the nomenclature for rocks and simple minerals used in this essay the same as that employed by Werner, but the authors also invariably employ his geognostic phraseology; thus the word formation is used throughout in the Wernerian

signification, and the fundamental rock or bason of the district is described according to the method of the geognosy. Even the order followed in the description of the formations is that of the Wernerian school, beginning with the oldest, and finishing with the newest; and the difficulties that occur in the investigation are resolved by an appeal to the rules and method of the geognosy. The very map which is attached to the essay is executed according to the plan of Werner; and its title shows that Cuvier and Brongniart do not consider the nomenclature as barbarous, for it is entitled a geognostic, not a geological map.

"If then this essay be so pure in its nomenclature, and perfect in its descriptions; and if it owes this to the language used, and the method of investigation pursued; it follows that the Wernerian nomenclature, and mode of investigation, although contrary to the intention of the author of the remarks, is proved to be the best, and that which must be employed if our mineralogical investigations shall attract any notice from philosophers, or regard from those interested in the mineralogical surveys of countries.

"Lastly, the author of these remarks touches on a subject of high importance in geognostical inquiries; it is the study of the natural history of shells, as an accessory branch of geognosy. I cordially agree with him in opinion that conchology is a branch of natural history which cannot be sufficiently recommended to the attention of all geognosts, as furnishing important means of ascertaining with accuracy many of the leading facts in the history of the globe. It is a branch of natural history which has been long studied in

in Germany and France, and has of late years, particularly since its importance in geognosy has been ascertained and pointed out, made great advances. But we naturally inquire, to whom are we indebted for our present highly interesting views of the natural history of fossil organic remains in general? It is to Werner. More than thirty years ago he first embodied all that was known of petrifications into a regular system. He insisted on the necessity of every geognostical cabinet containing also an extensive collection not only of shells, but also of the various productions of the class zoophyta, of plants, particularly of sea and marsh plants, and ferns; and an examination of the remains of quadrupeds in the great limestone caves in Germany, soon pointed out to him the necessity of attaching to the geognostical cabinet also one of comparative osteology. As his views in geognosy enlarged, he saw more and more the value of a close and deep study of petrifications. He first made the highly important observation that different formations can be discriminated by the petrifications they contain. It was during the course of his geognostical investigations that he ascertained the general distribution of organic remains in the crust of the earth. He found that petrifications appear first in transition rocks. These are but few in number, and of animals of the zoophytic or testaceous kinds. In the older floetz rocks they are of more perfect animals; and in the newest floetz and alluvial rocks, of birds and quadrupeds, or animals of the most perfect kinds. He also found that the oldest vegetable petrifications were of marine plants, the newer of large trees. A careful study of the genera and species of

petrifications disclosed to him another important fact, viz. that the petrifications contained in the oldest rocks are very different from any of the genera or species of the present time; that the newer the formation the more do the remains approach in form to the organic beings of the present creation, and that in the very newest formations fossil remains of the present existing species occur. He also ascertained that the petrifications in the oldest rocks were much more mineralized than the petrifications in the newer rocks, and that in the newest rocks they were merely bleached or calcined. He found that some species of petrifications were confined to particular beds, others were distributed throughout whole formations, and others seemed to occur in several different formations; the original species found in these formations appearing to have been so constituted as to live through a variety of changes which had destroyed thousands of other species, which we find confined to particular beds. He ascertained the existence of fresh water shells in solid strata, sometimes alone, sometimes intermixed with marine productions. These highly interesting observations having become generally known by means of his pupils, gave a stimulus to the study of petrifications, which in a few years produced important results. They attracted the particular attention of the mineralogist, and roused the curiosity of the zoologist, and botanist. They saw before them a wide field of the most interesting nature. The mineralogist confidently anticipated from this study important elucidations in regard to the various changes the earth has undergone, during the progress of its formation from the earliest

earliest periods to the present time. The zoologist and botanist, by the discovery of new genera and species, hoped to increase the number of natural families, to fill up gaps in the present systems, and thus to perfect more and more the natural system of animals and plants. But this was not all. The philosophic naturalist soon saw that these investigations would also lead to much curious information in regard to the former physical and geographical distribution of plants and animals,

to the changes which the animated world in general, and particular genera and species, have undergone, and probably are still undergoing; and he would naturally be led to speculate on the changes that must have taken place in the climate of the globe during the various changes and revolutions. The writings of Blumenbach, Von Hoff, Cuvier, Brongniart, Steffens, and other naturalists, are proofs of what has been done by following up the views of Werner."

P O E T R Y.

THE ADIEU.

[From Mr. SCOTT'S ROKEBY.]

“ **A** WEARY lot is thine, fair maid,
 A weary lot is thine !
 To pull the thorn thy brow to braid,
 And press the rue for wine !
 A lightsome eye, a soldier's mien,
 A feather of the blue,
 A doublet of the Lincoln green,—
 No more of me you knew,
My love !
 No more of me you knew.

“ This morn is merry June, I trow,
 The rose is budding fain ;
 But she shall bloom in winter snow,
 Ere we two meet again.”—
 He turned his charger as he spake,
 Upon the river shore,
 He gave his bridle reins a shake,
 Said, “ Adieu for evermore,
My love !
 And adieu for evermore.”—

THE HARP.

[From the same.]

I WAS a wild and wayward boy,
 My childhood scorned each childish foy ;
 Retired from all, reserved and coy,
 To musing prone,
 I wooed my solitary joy,
 My harp alone.

My youth, with bold Ambition's mood,
 Despised the humble stream and wood
 Where my poor father's cottage stood,
 To fame unknown;—
 What should my soaring views make good?
 My harp alone.

Love came with all his frantic fire,
 And wild romance of vain desire;
 The Baron's daughter heard my lyre,
 And praised the tone;—
 What could presumptuous hope inspire?
 My harp alone.

At Manhood's touch the bubble burst,
 And Manhood's pride the vision curst,
 And all that had my folly nursed
 Love's sway to own;
 Yet spared the spell that lulled me first,
 My harp alone.

Woe came with war, and want with woe;
 And it was mine to undergo
 Each outrage of the rebel foe:—
 Can aught atone
 My fields made waste, my cot laid low?
 My harp alone!

Ambition's dreams I've seen depart,
 Have rued of penury the smart,
 Have felt of love the venom'd dart
 When hope was flown;
 Yet rest one solace to my heart,—
 My harp alone!

Then, over mountain, moor, and hill,
 My faithful harp, I'll bear thee still;
 And when this life of want and ill
 Is well nigh gone,
 Thy strings mine elegy shall thrill,
 My harp alone!

MODERN GREECE.

[From Lord BYRON'S GIAOUR.]

CLIME of the unforgotten brave!—
 Whose land from plain to mountain-cave
 Was Freedom's home or Glory's grave—
 Shrine of the mighty! can it be,
 That this is all remains of thee?
 Approach thou craven crouching slave—
 Say, is not this Thermopylæ?
 These waters blue that round you lave,
 Oh servile offspring of the free—
 Pronounce what sea, what shore is this?
 The gulph, the rock of Salamis!
 These scenes—their story not unknown—
 Arise, and make again your own;
 Snatch from the ashes of your sires
 The embers of their former fires,
 And he who in the strife expires
 Will add to theirs a name of fear,
 That Tyranny shall quake to hear,
 And leave his sons a hope, a fame,
 They too will rather die than shame;
 For Freedom's battle once begun,
 Bequeathed by bleeding Sire to Son,
 Though baffled oft is ever won.
 Bear witness, Greece, thy living page,
 Attest it many a deathless age!
 While kings in dusty darkness hid,
 Have left a nameless pyramid,
 Thy heroes—though the general doom
 Hath swept the column from their tomb,
 A mightier monument command,
 The mountains of their native land;
 There points thy Muse to stranger's eye,
 The graves of those that cannot die!
 'Twere long to tell, and sad to trace,
 Each step from splendour to disgrace,
 Enough—no foreign foe could quell
 Thy soul, till from itself it fell,
 Yes! Self-abasement pay'd the way
 To villain-bonds and despot-sway.

What can he tell who treads thy shore?

No legend of thine olden time,
 No theme on which the muse might soar,
 High as thine own in days of yore,
 When man was worthy of thy clime.

The hearts within thy valleys bred,
 The fiery souls that might have led
 Thy sons to deeds sublime ;
 Now crawl from cradle to the grave,
 Slaves—nay the bondsmen of a slave,
 And callous, save to crime ;
 Stain'd with each evil that pollutes
 Mankind, where least above the brutes ;
 Without even savage virtue blest,
 Without one free or valiant breast.
 Still to the neighbouring ports they waft
 Proverbial wiles, and antient craft,
 In this the subtle Greek is found,
 For this, and this alone, renown'd.

HASSAN'S HALL.

[From the same.]

THE steed is vanished from the stall,
 No serf is seen in Hassan's hall ;
 The lonely Spider's thin grey pall
 Waves slowly widening o'er the wall ;
 The Bat builds in his Haram bower ;
 And in the fortress of his power
 The Owl usurps the beacon-tower ;
 The wild-dog howls o'er the fountain's brim,
 With baffled thirst, and famine, grim,
 For the stream has shrunk from its marble bed,
 Where the weeds and the desolate dust are spread.
 'Twas sweet of yore to see it play
 And chase the sultriness of day—
 As springing high the silver dew
 In whirls fantastically flew,
 And flung luxurious coolness round
 The air, and verdure o'er the ground.—
 'Twas sweet, when cloudless stars were bright,
 To view the wave of watery light,
 And hear its melody by night.—
 And oft had Hassan's Childhood played
 Around the verge of that cascade ;
 And oft upon his mother's breast
 That sound had harmonized his rest ;
 And oft had Hassan's Youth along
 Its bank been sooth'd by Beauty's song ;
 And softer seemed each melting tone
 Of Music mingled with its own.—

But ne'er shall Hassan's Age repose
 Along the brink at Twilight's close—
 The stream that filled that front is fled—
 The blood that warmed his heart is shed!—
 And here no more shall human voice
 Be heard to rage—regret—rejoice—
 The last sad note that swelled the gale
 Was woman's wildest funeral wail—
That quenched in silence—all is still,
 But the lattice that flaps when the wind is shrill—
 Though raves the gust, and floods the rain,
 No hand shall close its clasp again.
 On desert sands 'twere joy to scan
 The rudest steps of fellow man,
 So here the very voice of Grief
 Might wake an Echo like relief—
 At least 'twould say, "all are not gone;
 "There lingers Life, though but in one—
 For many a gilded chamber's there,
 Which Solitude might well forbear;
 Within that dome as yet Decay
 Hath slowly worked her cankering way—
 But Gloom is gathered o'er the gate,
 Nor there the Fakir's self will wait;
 Nor there will wandering Dervise stay,
 For Bounty cheers not his delay;
 Nor there will weary stranger halt
 To bless the sacred "bread and salt."
 Alike must Wealth and Poverty
 Pass heedless and unheeded by,
 For Courtesy and Pity died
 With Hassan on the mountain side.—
 His roof—that refuge unto men—
 Is Desolation's hungry den.—
 The guest flies the hall, and the vassal from labour,
 Since his turban was cleft by the infidel's sabre!

SEDUCTION.

[From the same.]

AS rising on its purple wing
 The insect-queen of eastern spring,
 O'er emerald meadows of Kashmeer
 Invites the young pursuer near,
 And leads him on from flower to flower
 A weary chase and wasted hour,

Then.

Then leaves him, as it soars on high
 With panting heart and tearful eye :
 So Beauty lures the full-grown child
 With hue as bright, and wing as wild ;
 A chase of idle hopes and fears,
 Begun in folly, closed in tears.
 If won, to equal ills betrayed,
 Woe waits the insect and the maid,
 A life of pain, the loss of peace,
 From infant's play, or man's caprice :
 The lovely toy so fiercely sought
 Has lost its charm by being caught,
 For every touch that wooed it's stay
 Has brush'd the brightest hues away
 Till charm, and hue, and beauty gone,
 'Tis left to fly or fall alone.
 With wounded wing, or bleeding breast,
 Ah ! where shall either victim rest ?
 Can this with faded pinion soar
 From rose to tulip as before ?
 Or Beauty, blighted in an hour,
 Find joy within her broken bower ?
 No : gayer insects fluttering by
 Ne'er droop the wing o'er those that die,
 And lovelier things have mercy shewn
 To every failing but their own,
 And every woe a tear can claim
 Except an erring sister's shame.

SOLITUDE.

[From the same.]

IF solitude succeed to grief,
 Release from pain is slight relief ;
 The vacant bosom's wilderness
 Might thank the pang that made it less.
 We loathe what none are left to share—
 Even bliss—'twere woe alone to bear ;
 The heart once left thus desolate,
 Must fly at last for ease—to hate.
 It is as if the dead could feel
 The icy worm around them steal,
 And shudder, as the reptiles creep
 To revel o'er their rotting sleep

Without

Without the power to scare away
The cold consumers of their clay!

It is as if the desert-bird,
Whose beak unlocks her bosom's stream;
To still her famish'd nestlings' scream,
Nor mourns a life to them transferr'd;
Should rend her rash devoted breast,
And find them flown her empty nest.
The keenest pangs the wretched find
Are rapture to the dreary void—
The leafless desert of the mind—
The waste of feelings unemploy'd—
Who would be doom'd to gaze upon
A sky without a cloud or sun?
Less hideous far the tempest's roar,
Than ne'er to brave the billows more—
Thrown, when the war of winds is o'er,
A lonely wreck on Fortune's shore,
'Mid sullen calm, and silent bay,
Unseen to drop by dull decay;—
Better to sink beneath the shock
Then moulder piecemeal on the rock!

THE CONFESSION.

[From the same.]

“ FATHER! thy days have pass'd in peace,
“ 'Mid counted beads, and countless prayer;
“ To bid the sins of others cease,
“ Thyself without a crime or care,
“ Save transient ills that all must bear,
“ Has been thy lot, from youth to age,
“ And thou wilt bless thee from the rage
“ Of passions fierce and uncontroul'd,
“ Such as thy penitents unfold,
“ Whose secret sins and sorrows rest
“ Within thy pure and pitying breast.
“ My days, though few, have pass'd below
“ In much of joy, but more of woe;
“ Yet still in hours of love or strife,
“ I've scap'd the weariness of life;
“ Now leagu'd with friends, now girt by foes,
“ I loath'd the languor of repose;

“ Now

" Now nothing left to love or hate,
 " No more with hope or pride elate;
 " I'd rather be the thing that crawls
 " Most noxious o'er a dungeon's walls,
 " Than pass my dull, unvarying days,
 " Condemn'd to meditate and gaze—
 " Yet, lurks a wish within my breast
 " For rest—but not to feel 'tis rest—
 " Soon shall my fate that wish fulfil;
 " And I shall sleep without the dream
 " Of what I was, and would be still,
 " Dark as to thee my deeds may seem—
 " My memory now is but the tomb
 " Of joys long dead—my hope—their doom—
 " Though better to have died with those
 " Than bear a life of lingering woes—
 " My spirit shrunk not to sustain
 " The searching throes of ceaseless pain;
 " Nor sought the self-accorded grave
 " Of antient fool, and modern knave:
 " Yet death I have not fear'd to meet,
 " And in the field it had been sweet
 " Had danger wooed me on to move
 " The slave of glory, not of love.
 " I've brav'd it—not for honour's boast;
 " I smile at laurels won or lost.—
 " To such let others carve their way,
 " For high renown, or hireling pay;
 " But place again before my eyes
 " Aught that I deem a worthy prize;—
 " The maid I love—the man I hate—
 " And I will hunt the steps of fate,
 " (To save or slay—as these require)
 " Through rending steel, and rolling fire;
 " Nor need'st thou doubt this speech from one
 " Who would but do—what he *hath* done.
 " Death is but what the haughty brave—
 " The weak must bear—the wretch must crave—
 " Then let Life go to him who gave:
 " I have not quailed to danger's brow—
 " When high and happy—need I *now*?

* * * * *

" I lov'd her, friar! nay, adored—
 " But these are words that all can use—
 " I prov'd it more in deed than word—
 " There's blood upon that dinted sword—
 " A stain it's steel can never lose:

" 'Twas shed for her, who died for me,
 " It warmed the heart of one abhorred :
 " Nay, start not—no—nor bend thy knee,
 " Nor midst my sins such act record,
 " Thou wilt absolve me from the deed,
 " For he was hostile to thy creed!
 " The very name of Nazarene
 " Was wormwood to his Paynim spleen,
 " Ungrateful fool! since but for brands,
 " Well wielded in some hardy hands;
 " And wounds by Galileans given,
 " The surest pass to Turkish heav'n;
 " For him his Houris still might wait
 " Impatient at the prophet's gate.
 " I lov'd her—love will find its way
 " Through paths where wolves would fear to prey,
 " And if it dares enough, 'twere hard
 " If passion met not some reward—
 " No matter how—or where—or why,
 " I did not vainly seek—nor sigh :
 " Yet sometimes with remorse in vain
 " I wish she had not lov'd again.
 " She died—I dare not tell thee how,
 " But look—'tis written on my brow!
 " There read of Cain the curse and crime,
 " In characters unworn by time :
 " Still, ere thou dost condemn me—pause—
 " Not mine the act, though I the cause ;
 " Yet did he but what I had done
 " Had she been false to more than one ;
 " Faithless to him—he gave the blow,
 " But true to me—I laid him low ;
 " Howe'er deserv'd her doom might be,
 " Her treachery was truth to me ;
 " To me she gave her heart, that all
 " Which tyranny can ne'er enthrall ;
 " And I, alas! too late to save,
 " Yet all I then could give—I gave—
 " 'Twas some relief—our foe a grave.
 " His death sits lightly ; but her fate
 " Has made me—what thou well may'st hate.
 " His doom was seal'd—he knew it well,
 " Warn'd by the voice of stern Taheer,
 " Deep in whose darkly boding ear
 " The deathshot peal'd of murder near—
 " As filed the troop to where they fell ;
 " He died too in the battle broil—
 " A time that heeds nor pain nor toil—

" One cry to Mahomet for aid,
 " One prayer to Alla—all he made :
 " He knew and crossed me in the fray—
 " I gazed upon him where he lay,
 " And watched his spirit ebb away ;
 " Though pierced like Pard by hunter's steel,
 " He felt not half that now I feel.
 " I search'd, but vainly search'd to find,
 " The workings of a wounded mind ;
 " Each feature of that sullen corse
 " Betrayed his rage, but no remorse.
 " Oh, what had Vengeance given to trace
 " Despair upon his dying face !
 " The late repentance of that hour,
 " When Penitence hath lost her power
 " To tear one terror from the grave—
 " And will not soothe, and can not save !

* * * * * *

" The cold in clime are cold in blood,
 " Their love can scarce deserve the name ;
 " But mine was like the lava flood
 " That boils in Ætna's breast of flame,
 " I cannot prate in puling strain
 " Of ladye-love, and beauty's chain ;
 " If changing-cheek, and scorching vein—
 " Lips taught to writhe, but not complain—
 " If bursting heart, and mad'ning brain—
 " And daring deed, and vengeful steel—
 " And all that I have felt—and feel—
 " Betoken love—that love was mine,
 " And shewn by many a bitter sign.
 " 'Tis true, I could not whine nor sigh,
 " I knew but to obtain or die.
 " I die—but first I have possest,
 " And come what may, I *have been* blest ;
 " Shall I the doom I sought upbraid ?
 " No—reft of all—yet undismay'd
 " But for the thought of Leila slain,
 " Give me the pleasure with the pain,
 " So would I live and love again.
 " I grieve, but not, my holy guide !
 " For him who dies, but her who died ;
 " She sleeps beneath the wandering wave,
 " Ah ! had she but an earthly grave,
 " This breaking heart and throbbing head
 " Should seek and share her narrow bed,
 " She was a form of life and light—
 " That seen—became a part of sight,

" And

" And rose—where'er I turned mine eye—
 " The Morning-star of Memory!

 " Yes, Love indeed is light from heaven—
 " A spark of that immortal fire
 " With angels shar'd—by Alla given,
 " To lift from earth our low desire.
 " Devotion wafts the mind above,
 " But Heaven itself descends in love—
 " A feeling from the Godhead caught,
 " To wean from self each sordid thought—
 " A ray of him who form'd the whole—
 " A glory circling round the soul!
 " I grant *my* love imperfect—all
 " That mortals by the name miscall—
 " Then deem it evil—what thou wilt—
 " But say, oh say, *hers* was not guilt!
 " She was my life's unerring light—
 " That quench'd—what beam shall break my night!
 " Oh! would it shone to lead me still,
 " Although to death or deadliest ill!—
 " Why marvel ye? if they who lose
 " This present joy, this future hope,
 " No more with sorrow meekly cope—
 " In phrenzy then their fate accuse—
 " In madness do those fearful deeds
 " That seem to add but guilt to woe,
 " Alas! the breast that inly bleeds
 " Hath nought to dread from outward blow—
 " Who falls from all he knows of bliss,
 " Cares little into what abyss.—
 " Fierce as the gloomy vulture's now
 " To thee, old man, my deeds appear—
 " I read abhorrence on thy brow,
 " And this too was I born to bear!
 " 'Tis true, that, like that bird of prey,
 " With havock have I mark'd my way—
 " But this was taught me by the dove—
 " To die—and know no second love.
 " This lesson yet bath man to learn,
 " Taught by the thing he dares to spurn—
 " The bird that sings within the brake,
 " The swan that swims upon the lake,
 " One mate, and one alone, will take.
 " And let the fool still prone to range,
 " And sneer on all who cannot change—
 " Partake his jest with boasting boys,
 " I envy not his varied joys—

" But

“ But deem such feeble, heartless man,
 “ Less than yon solitary swan—
 “ Far—far beneath the shallow maid
 “ He left believing and betray’d.
 “ Such shame at least was never mine—
 “ Leila—each thought was only thine!—
 “ My good, my guilt, my weal, my woe,
 “ My hope on high—my all below.
 “ Earth holds no other like to thee,
 “ Or if it doth, in vain for me—
 “ For worlds I dare not view the dame
 “ Resembling thee, yet not the same.
 “ The Very crimes that mar my youth
 “ This bed of death—attest my truth—
 “ ’Tis all too late—thou wert—thou art
 “ The cherish’d madness of my heart!

“ And she was lost—and yet I breathed,
 “ But not the breath of human life—
 “ A serpent round my heart was wreathed,
 “ And stung my every thought to strife.—
 “ Alike all time—abhorred all place,
 “ Shuddering I shrunk from Nature’s face,
 “ Where every hue that charmed before
 “ The blackness of my bosom wore:—
 “ The rest—thou do’st already know,
 “ And all my sins and half my woe—
 “ But talk no more of penitence,
 “ Thou see’st I soon shall part from hence—
 “ And if thy holy tale were true—
 “ The deed that’s done canst thou undo?
 “ Think me not thankless—but this grief
 “ Looks not to priesthood for relief.
 “ My soul’s estate in secret guess—
 “ But would’st thou pity more—say less—
 “ When thou can’st bid my Leila live,
 “ Then will I sue thee to forgive;
 “ Then plead my cause in that high place
 “ Where purchased masses proffer grace—
 “ Go—when the hunter’s hand hath wrung
 “ From forest-cave her shrieking young,
 “ And calm the lonely lioness—
 “ But soothe not—mock not my distress!

“ In earlier days, and calmer hours,
 “ When heart with heart delights to blend,
 “ Where bloom my native valley’s bowers—
 “ I had—Ah! have I now?—a friend!—

" To him this pledge I charge thee send—
 " Memorial of a youthful vow;
 " I would remind him of my end,—
 " Though souls absorbed like mine allow
 " Brief thought to distant friendship's claim,
 " Yet dear to him my blighted name.
 " 'Tis strange—he prophesied my doom,
 " And I have smil'd—(I then could smile—)
 " When Prudence would his voice assume,
 " And warn—I reck'd not what—the while—
 " But now remembrance whispers o'er
 " Those accents scarcely mark'd before.
 " Say—that his bodings came to pass,
 " And he will start to hear their truth,
 " And wish his words had not been sooth,
 " Tell him—unheeding as I was—
 " Through many a busy bitter scene
 " Of all our golden youth had been—
 " In pain, my faltering tongue had tried
 " To bless his memory ere I died;
 " But heaven in wrath would turn away,
 " If Guilt should for the guiltless pray,
 " I do not ask him not to blame—
 " Too gentle he to wound my name;
 " And what have I to do with fame?
 " I do not ask him not to mourn,
 " Such cold request might sound like scorn;
 " And what than friendship's manly tear
 " May better grace a brother's bier?
 " But bear this ring—his own of old—
 " And tell him—what thou dost behold?
 " The wither'd frame, the ruined mind,
 " The wrack by passion left behind—
 " A shrivell'd scroll, a scatter'd leaf,
 " Sear'd by the autumn blast of grief!

* * * * *

" Tell me no more of fancy's gleam,
 " No, father, no, 'twas not a dream;
 " Alas! the dreamer first must sleep,
 " I only watch'd, and wish'd to weep;
 " But could not, for my burning brow
 " Throbb'd to the very brain as now.
 " I wish'd but for a single tear,
 " As something welcome, new, and dear;
 " I wish'd it then—I wish it still,
 " Despair is stronger than my will.
 " Waste not thine orison—despair
 " Is mightier than thy pious prayer;

" I would

" I would not, if I might, be blest,
 " I want no paradise—but rest.
 " 'Twas then, I tell thee, father! then
 " I saw her—yes—she liv'd again;
 " And shining in her white symar,
 " As through yon pale grey cloud—the star
 " Which now I gaze on, as on her
 " Who look'd and looks far lovelier;
 " Dimly I view its trembling spark—
 " To-morrow's night shall be more dark—
 " And I—before its rays appear,
 " That lifeless thing the living fear.
 " I wander, father! for my soul
 " Is fleeting towards the final goal;
 " I saw her, friar! and I rose,
 " Forgetful of our former woes;
 " And rushing from my couch, I dart,
 " And clasp her to my desperate heart;
 " I clasp—what is it that I clasp?
 " No breathing form within my grasp,
 " No heart that beats reply to mine,
 " Yet, Leila! yet the form is thine;
 " And art thou, dearest, chang'd so much,
 " As meet my eye, yet mock my touch?
 " Ah! were thy beauties e'er so cold,
 " I care not—so my arms enfold
 " The all they ever wish'd to hold.
 " Alas! around a shadow prest,
 " They shrink upon my lonely breast;
 " Yet still—'tis there—in silence stands,
 " And beckons with beseeching hands!
 " With braided hair, and bright-black eye—
 " I knew 'twas false—she could not die!
 " But he is dead—within the dell
 " I saw him buried where he fell;
 " He comes not—for he cannot break
 " From earth—why then art thou awake?
 " They told me, wild waves roll'd above
 " The face I view, the form I love;
 " They told me—'twas a hideous tale!
 " I'd tell it—but my tongue would fail—
 " If true—and from thine ocean cave
 " Thou com'st to claim a calmer grave;
 " Oh! pass thy dewy fingers o'er
 " This brow that then will burn no more;
 " Or place them on my hopeless heart—
 " But shape or shade!—whate'er thou art,
 " In mercy, ne'er again depart—

“ Or farther with thee bear my soul,
 “ Than winds can waft—or waters roll!—
 * * * * * *

“ Such is my name, and such my tale,
 “ Confessor—to thy secret ear,
 “ I breathe the sorrows I bewail,
 “ And thank thee for the generous tear
 “ This glazing eye could never shed,
 “ Then lay me with the humblest dead
 “ And, save the cross above my head,
 “ Be neither name nor emblem spread—
 “ By prying stranger to be read,
 “ Or stay the passing pilgrim’s tread.”
 He pass’d—nor of his name and race
 Hath left a token or a trace,
 Save what the father must not say
 Who shrived him on his dying day;
 This broken tale was all we knew
 Of her he lov’d, or him he slew.

ADAM.

[From Mr. MONTGOMERY’s World before the Flood.]

WITH him his noblest sons might not compare,
 In godlike feature and majestic air;
 Not out of weakness rose his gradual frame,
 Perfect from his Creator’s hand he came;
 And as in form excelling, so in mind
 The Sire of men transcended all mankind:
 A soul was in his eye, and in his speech
 A dialect of heaven no art could reach;
 For oft of old to him, the evening breeze
 Had borne the voice of God among the trees;
 Angels were wont their songs with his to blend,
 And talk with him as their familiar friend.
 But deep remorse for that mysterious crime,
 Whose dire contagion through elapsing time
 Diffused the curse of death beyond controul,
 Had wrought such self-abasement in his soul,
 That he, whose honours were approach’d by none,
 Was yet the meekest man beneath the sun.
 From sin, as from the serpent that betray’d
 Eve’s early innocence, he sunk afraid;

Vice he rebuked with so austere a frown,
 He seem'd to bring an instant judgment down,
 Yet while he chid, compunctious tears would start,
 And yearning tenderness dissolve his heart;
 The guilt of all his race became his own,
 He suffer'd as if *he* had sinn'd alone.
 Within our glen to filial love endear'd,
 Abroad for wisdom, truth and justice fear'd,
 He walk'd so humbly in the sight of all,
 The vilest ne'er reproach'd him with his fall.
 Children were his delight;—they ran to meet
 His soothing hand, and clasp his honour'd feet;
 While 'midst their fearless sports supremely blest,
 He grew in heart a child among the rest:
 Yet as a parent, nought beneath the sky
 Touch'd him so quickly as an infant's eye;
 Joy from its smile of happiness he caught,
 Its flash of rage sent horror through his thought,
 His smitten conscience felt as fierce a pain,
 As if he fell from innocence again.

“ One morn I track'd him on his lonely way,
 Pale as the gleam of slow-awakening day;
 With feeble step he climb'd yon craggy height,
 Thence fix'd on distant Paradise his sight;
 He gazed awhile in silent thought profound,
 Then falling prostrate on the dewy ground,
 He pour'd his spirit in a flood of prayer,
 Bewail'd his ancient crime with self-despair,
 And claim'd the pledge of reconciling grace,
 The promised Seed, the Saviour of his race.
 Wrestling with God, as Nature's vigour fail'd,
 His faith grew stronger and his plea prevail'd;
 The prayer from agony to rapture rose,
 And sweet as Angel accents fell the close.
 I stood to greet him; when he raised his head,
 Divine expression o'er his visage spread,
 His presence was so saintly to behold,
 He seem'd in sinless Paradise grown old.

“—‘ This day,’ said he, ‘ in Time's star lighted round,
 Renews the anguish of that mortal wound
 On me inflicted, when the Serpent's tongue
 My Spouse with his beguiling falsehood stung.
 Though years of grace through centuries have pass'd
 Since my transgression, this may be my last;
 Infirmities without, and fears within,
 Foretell the consummating stroke of sin;

The hour, the place, the form to me unknown,
 But God, who lent me life, *will* claim his own:
 Then, lest I sink as suddenly in death,
 As quicken'd into being by his breath,
 Once more I climb'd these rocks with weary pace,
 And but once more, to view my native place,
 To bid yon garden of delight farewell,
 The earthly Paradise from which I fell.
 This mantle, Enoch! which I yearly wear
 To mark the day of penitence and prayer,—
 These skins, the covering, of my first offence
 When conscious of departed innocence,
 Naked and trembling from my Judge I fled,
 A hand of mercy o'er my vileness spread;—
 Enoch! this mantle thus vouchsafed to me,
 At my dismissal I bequeath to thee;
 Wear it in sad memorial on this day,
 And yearly at mine earlier altar slay
 A lamb immaculate, whose blood be spilt
 In sign of wrath removed and cancelled guilt;
 So be the sins of all my race confest,
 So on their heads may peace and pardon rest.
 —Thus spake our Sire, and down the steep descent
 With strengthen'd heart, and fearless footstep went:
 O Javan! when we parted at his door,
 I loved him as I never loved before.

“ Ere noon returning to his bower, I found
 Our father labouring in his harvest-ground,
 (For yet he till'd a little plot of soil,
 Patient and pleased with voluntary toil;)
 But O how changed from him, whose morning eye
 Outshone the star, that told the sun was nigh!
 Loose in his feeble grasp the sickle shook;
 I mark'd the ghastly dolour of his look,
 And ran to help him; but his latest strength
 Fail'd;—prone upon his sheaves he fell at length:
 I strove to raise him; sight and sense were fled,
 Nerveless his limbs, and backward sway'd his head.
 Seth pass'd, I call'd him, and we bore our Sire
 To neighbouring shades from noon's afflictive fire:
 Ere long he 'woke to feeling, with a sigh,
 And half unclosed his hesitating eye;
 Strangely and timidly he peer'd around,
 Like men in dreams whom sudden lights confound;
 —‘ Is this a new Creation?—Have I pass'd
 The bitterness of death?’—He look'd aghast,
 Then sorrowful;—‘ No;—men and trees appear;
 'Tis not a new Creation,—pain is here:

From Sin's dominion is there no release?
 Lord! let thy Servant *now* depart in peace.
 —Hurried remembrance crowding o'er his soul,
 He knew us; tears of consternation stole
 Down his pale cheeks:—'Seth!—Enoch!—Where is Eve?
 How could the spouse her dying consort leave?'

"Eve look'd that moment from their cottage-door
 In quest of Adam, where he toil'd before;
 He was not there; she call'd him by his name;
 Sweet to his ear the well-known accents came;
 —'Here am I,' answer'd he in tone so weak,
 That we who held him scarcely heard him speak;
 But, resolutely bent to rise, in vain
 He struggled till he swoon'd away with pain.
 Eve call'd again, and turning tow'ards the shade,
 Helpless as infancy, beheld him laid;
 She sprang, as smitten with a mortal wound,
 Forward, and cast herself upon the ground
 At Adam's feet; half-rising in despair,
 Him from our arms she wildly strove to tear;
 Repell'd by gentle violence she press'd
 His powerless hand to her convulsive breast,
 And kneeling, bending o'er him, full of fears,
 Warm on his bosom shower'd her silent tears.
 Light to his eyes, at that refreshment came,
 They open'd on her in a transient flame:
 —'And art thou here, my Life! my Love!' he cried,
 'Faithful in death to this congenial side?
 Thus let me bind thee to my breaking heart,
 One dear, one bitter moment, ere we part.'
 —'Leave me not, Adam! leave me not below;
 With thee I tarry, or with thee I go.'
 She said, and yielding to his faint embrace,
 Clung round his neck, and wept upon his face.
 Alarming recollection soon return'd,
 His fever'd frame with growing anguish burn'd:
 Ah! then, as Nature's tenderest impulse wrought,
 With fond solicitude of love she sought
 To sooth his limbs upon their grassy bed,
 And make the pillow easy to his head;
 She wiped his reeking temples with her hair;
 She shook the leaves to stir the sleeping air;
 Moistened his lips with kisses; with her breath
 Vainly essay'd to quell the fire of Death,
 That ran and revelled through his swollen veins
 With quicker pulses, and severer pains.

"The

"The sun, in summer majesty on high,
 Darted his fierce effulgence down the sky,
 Yet dimm'd and blunted were the dazzling rays,
 His orb expanded through a dreary haze,
 And, circled with a red portentous zone,
 He look'd in sickly horror from his throne;
 The vital air was still; the torrid heat
 Oppress'd our hearts, that labour'd hard to beat.
 When higher noon had shrunk the lessening shade,
 Thence to his home our father we convey'd,
 And stretch'd him, pillow'd with his latest sheaves,
 On a fresh couch of green and fragrant leaves;
 Here, though his sufferings through the glen were known,
 We chose to watch his dying bed alone,
 Eve, Seth and I.—In vain he sigh'd for rest,
 And oft his meek complainings thus express'd:
 'Blow on me, Wind! I faint with heat! O bring
 Delicious water from the deepest spring;
 Your sunless shadows o'er my limbs diffuse,
 Ye Cedars! wash me cold with midnight dews.
 —Cheer me, my friends! with looks of kindness cheer;
 Whisper a word of comfort in mine ear;
 Those sorrowing faces fill my soul with gloom;
 This silence is the silence of the tomb.
 Thither I hasten; help me on my way;
 O sing to sooth me, and to strengthen pray!"
 We sang to sooth him;—hopeless was the song;
 We pray'd to strengthen him;—he grew not strong.
 In vain from every herb, and fruit, and flower,
 Of cordial sweetness, or of healing power,
 We press'd the virtue; no terrestrial balm
 Nature's dissolving agony could calm.
 Thus, as the day declined, the fell disease
 Eclipsed the light of life by slow degrees:
 Yet while his pangs grew sharper, more resign'd,
 More self-collected, grew the sufferer's mind;
 Patient of heart, though rack'd at every pore,
 The righteous penalty of sin he bore;
 Not his the fortitude that mocks at pains,
 But that which feels them most, and yet sustains.
 —'Tis just, 'tis merciful, we heard him say;
 'Yet wherefore hath He turn'd his face away?
 I see Him not; I hear him not; I call;
 My God! my God! support me or I fall.'

"The sun went down, amidst an angry glare
 Of flushing clouds, that crimson'd all the air;

The winds brake loose; the forest boughs were torn,
 And dark aloof the eddying foliage borne;
 Cattle to shelter scudded in affright;
 The florid Evening vanish'd into night:
 Then burst the hurricané upon the vale,
 In peals of thunder, and thick-vollied hail;
 Prone rushing rains with torrents whelm'd the land,
 Our cot amidst a river seem'd to stand;
 Around its base, the foamy-crested streams
 Flash'd through the darkness to the lightning's gleams,
 With monstrous throes an earthquake heaved the ground,
 The rocks were rent, the mountains trembled round;
 Never since Nature into being came,
 Had such mysterious motion shook her frame;
 We thought, ingulph't in floods, or wrapt in fire,
 The world itself would perish with our Sire.

“ Amidst this war of elements, within
 More dreadful grew the sacrifice of sin,
 Whose victim on his bed of torture lay,
 Breathing the slow remains of life away.
 Erewhile, victorious faith sublimer rose
 Beneath the pressure of collected woes;
 But now his spirit waver'd, went and came,
 Like the loose vapour of departing flame,
 Till at the point, when comfort seem'd to die
 For ever in his fix'd unclosing eye,
 Bright through the smouldering ashes of the man,
 The saint brake forth, and Adam thus began.

“—O ye, that shudder at this awful strife,
 This wrestling agony of Death and Life,
 Think not that He, on whom my soul is cast,
 Will leave me thus forsaken to the last;
 Nature's infirmity alone you see;
 My chains are breaking, I shall soon be free;
 Though firm in God the Spirit holds her trust,
 The flesh is frail, and trembles into dust.
 Horror and anguish seize me;—'tis the hour
 Of darkness, and I mourn beneath its power;
 The Tempter plies me with his direst art,
 I feel the Serpent coiling round my heart;
 He stirs the wound he once inflicted there,
 Instills the deadening poison of despair,
 Belies the truth of God's delaying grace,
 And bids me curse my Maker to his face.
 —I will not curse Him, though his grace delay;
 I will not cease to trust Him, though he slay;

Full on his promised mercy I rely,
 For God hath spoken,—God, who cannot lie.
 —THOU, of my faith the Author and the End!
 Mine early, late, and everlasting Friend!
 The joy, that once thy presence gave, restore
 Ere I am summon'd hence, and seen no more:
 Down to the dust returns this earthly frame,
 Receive my Spirit, Lord! from whom it came;
 Rebuke the Tempter, shew thy power to save,
 O let thy glory light me to the grave,
 That these, who witness my departing breath,
 May learn to triumph in the grasp of Death.'

"He closed his eye-lids with a tranquil smile,
 And seem'd to rest in silent prayer awhile:
 Around his couch with filial awe we kneel'd,
 When suddenly a light from heaven reveal'd
 A Spirit that stood within the unopen'd door;—
 The sword of God in his right hand he bore;
 His countenance was lightning, and his vest
 Like snow at sun-rise on the mountain's crest;
 Yet so benignly beautiful his form,
 His presence still'd the fury of the storm:
 At once the winds retire, the waters cease;
 His look was love, his salutation "Peace!"

"Our Mother first beheld him, sore amazed,
 But terror grew to transport, while she gazed:
 —'Tis He, the Prince of Seraphim, who drove
 Our banish'd feet from Eden's happy grove;
 Adam, my Life, my Spouse, awake!" she cried;
 'Return to Paradise; behold thy Guide;
 O let me follow in this dear embrace.'
 She sunk, and on his bosom hid her face.
 Adam look'd up; his visage changed its hue,
 Transform'd into an Angel's at the view:
 'I come!' he cried, with faith's full triumph fired,
 And in a sigh of ecstasy expired.
 The light was vanish'd, and the vision fled:
 We stood alone, the living with the dead:
 The ruddy embers, glimmering round the room,
 Display'd the corpse amidst the solemn gloom:
 But o'er the scene a holy calm reposed,
 The gate of heaven had open'd there, and closed."

JAVAN'S SONG.

[From the same.]

AT eve his harp the fond Enthusiast strung,
 On Adam's mount, and to the Patriarchs sung !
 While youth and age, an eager throng, admire
 The mingling music of the voice and lyre.

“ I love thee, Twilight ; as thy shadows roll,
 The calm of evening steals upon my soul,
 Sublimely tender, solemnly serene,
 Still as the hour, enchanting as the scene.
 I love thee, Twilight ! for thy gleams impart
 Their dear, their dying influence to my heart,
 When o'er the harp of thought, thy passing wind
 Awakens all the music of the mind,
 And joy and sorrow, as the spirit burns,
 And hope and memory sweep the chords by turns,
 While Contemplation, on seraphic wings,
 Mounts with the flame of sacrifice, and sings.
 Twilight ! I love thee ; let thy glooms increase
 Till every feeling, every pulse is peace ;
 Slow from the sky the light of day declines.
 Clearer within the dawn of glory shines,
 Revealing, in the hour of Nature's rest,
 A world of wonders in the Poet's breast :
 Deeper, O Twilight ! then thy shadows roll,
 An awful vision opens on my soul.

“ On such an evening, so divinely calm,
 The woods all melody, the breezes balm,
 Down in a vale, where lucid waters stray'd,
 And mountain cedars stretch'd their downward shade,
 Jubal, the Prince of Song (in youth unknown,)
 Retired to commune, with his harp alone ;
 For still he nursed it, like a secret thought,
 Long cherish'd and to late perfection wrought,—
 And still with cunning hand, and curious ear,
 Enrich'd, ennobled, and enlarg'd its sphere,
 Till he had compass'd, in that magic round,
 A soul of harmony, a heaven of sound.
 Then sang the Minstrel, in his laurel bower,
 Of Nature's origin, and Music's power.
 —‘ He spake, and it was done :—Eternal Night,
 At God's command, awaken'd into light ;

He call'd the elements, Earth, Ocean, Air,
 He call'd them when they were not and they were :
 He look'd through space, and kindling o'er the sky,
 Sun, moon and stars came forth to meet his eye :
 His Spirit moved upon the desert earth,
 And sudden life through all things swarm'd to birth :
 Man from the dust he rais'd to rule the whole ;
 He breathed, and man became a living soul ;
 Through Eden's groves the Lord of Nature trod,
 Upright and pure, the image of his God.
 Thus were the heavens and all their host display'd,
 In wisdom thus were earth's foundations laid ;
 The glorious scene a holy sabbath closed,
 Amidst his works the Omnipotent reposed,
 And while he view'd, and bless'd them from his seat,
 All worlds, all beings worshipt at his feet ;
 The morning stars in choral concert sang,
 The rolling deep with hallelujahs rang,
 Adoring Angels from their orbs rejoice,
 The voice of music was Creation's voice.

“ f Alone along the Lyre of Nature sigh'd
 The master-chor'd, to which no chord replied ;
 For Man, while bliss and beauty reign'd around,
 For man alone, no fellowship was found,
 No fond companion, in whose dearer breast,
 His heart, repining in his own, might rest :
 For, born to love, the heart delights to roam,
 A kindred bosom is its happiest home.
 On earth's green lap, the Father of mankind,
 In mild dejection, thoughtfully reclined ;
 Soft o'er his eyes a sealing slumber crept,
 And Fancy soothed him while Reflection slept,
 Then God,— who thus would make his counsel known,
 Counsel that will'd not Man to dwell alone,
 Created Woman with a smile of grace,
 And left the smile that made her on her face,
 The Patriarch's eyelids open'd on his bride,
 —The morn of beauty risen from his side !
 He gazed with new-born rapture on her charms,
 And Love's first whispers won her to his arms.
 Then, tuned through all the chords supremely sweet,
 Exulting Nature found her lyre complete,
 And from the key of each harmonious sphere,
 Struck music worthy of her Maker's ear,

“ Here Jubal paused ; for grim before him lay,
 Couch'd like a Lion, watching for his prey,

With blood-red eye of fascinating fire,
 Fix'd, like the gazing Serpent's, on the lyre,
 An awful form, that through the gloom appear'd
 Half brute, half human; whose terrific beard,
 And hoary flakes of long dishevell'd hair,
 Like eagle's plumage, ruffled by the air,
 Veil'd a sad wreck of grandeur and of grace,
 Limbs worn and wounded, a majestic face,
 Deep-plough'd by Time, and ghastly pale with woes,
 That goaded till remorse to madness rose;
 Haunted by phantoms, he had fled his home,
 With savage beasts in solitude to roam;
 Wild as the waves, and wandering as the wind,
 No art could tame him, and no chains could bind:
 Already seven disastrous years had shed
 Mildew and blast on his unshelter'd head;
 His brain was smitten by the sun at noon,
 His heart was wither'd by the cold night-moon.

“ 'Twas Cain, the sire of nations :—Jubal knew
 His kindred looks, and tremblingly withdrew ;
 He, darting like the blaze of sudden fire,
 Leap'd o'er the space between, and grasp'd the lyre ;
 Sooner with life the struggling Bard would part,
 And ere the fiend could tear it from his heart,
 He hurl'd his hand, with one tremendous stroke,
 O'er all the strings : whence in a whirlwind broke
 Such tones of terror, dissonance, despair,
 As till that hour had never jarr'd in air,
 Astonish'd into marble at the shock,
 Backward stood Cain, unconscious as a rock,
 Cold, breathless, motionless through all his frame ;
 But soon his visage quicken'd into flame,
 When Jubal's hand the crashing jargon changed
 To melting harmony, and nimbly ranged
 From chord to chord, ascending sweet and clear,
 Then rolling down in thunder on the ear ;
 With power the pulse of anguish to restrain,
 And charm the evil spirit from the brain.

“ Slowly recovering from that trance profound,
 Bewilder'd, touch'd, transported with the sound,
 Cain view'd himself, the bard, the earth, the sky,
 While wonder flash'd and faded in his eye,
 And reason, by alternate frenzy cross'd,
 Now seemed restored, and now for ever lost.
 So shines the moon, by glimpses, through her shrouds,
 When windy Darkness rides upon the clouds,

Till through the blue, serene, and silent night,
 She reigns in full tranquillity of light.
 Jubal, with eager hope, beheld the chace
 Of strange emotions hurrying o'er his face,
 And waked his noblest numbers, to controul
 The tide and Tempest of the Maniac's soul ;
 Through many a maze of melody they flew,
 They rose like incense, they distill'd like dew,
 Pour'd through the sufferer's breast delicious balm,
 And soothed remembrance till remorse grew calm,
 Till Cain forsook the solitary wild,
 Led by the Minstrel like a weaned child.
 O ! had you seen him to his home restored,
 How young and old ran forth to meet their Lord ;
 How friends and kindred on his neck did fall,
 Weeping aloud, while Cain outwept them all :
 But hush !—thenceforward when recoiling care
 Lower'd on his brow, and sadden'd to despair,
 The Lyre of Jubal, with divinest art,
 Repell'd the Demon, and reviv'd his heart.
 Thus Song, the breath of heaven, had power to bind,
 In chains of harmony the mightiest mind ;
 Thus Music's empire in the soul began,
 The first-born Poet rul'd the first-born Man."

THE BRIDE OF ABYDOS.

[From Lord BYRON's Poem of this name.]

THE winds are high on Helle's wave,
 As on that night of stormy water
 When Love—who sent—forgot to save
 The young, the beautiful, the brave,
 The lonely hope of Sestos' daughter.
 Oh ! when alone along the sky
 Her turret-torch was blazing high,
 Though rising gale, and breaking foam,
 And shrieking sea-birds warn'd him home ;
 And clouds aloft, and tides below,
 With signs and sounds forbade to go,
 He could not see, he would not hear,
 Or sound or sign foreboding fear ;
 His eye but saw that light of love,
 The only star it hail'd above ;
 His ear but rang with Hero's song,
 " Ye waves divide not lovers long !"
 The tale is old, but love anew
 May nerve young hearts to prove as true.

The winds are high—and Helle's tide
 Rolls darkly heaving to the main ;
 And Night's descending shadows hide
 That field with blood bedew'd in vain ;
 The desert of old Priam's pride—
 The tombs—sole relics of his reign—
 All, save immortal dreams that could beguile
 The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle !

Oh ! yet—for there my steps have been,
 These feet have press'd the sacred shore,
 These limbs that buoyant wave hath borne—
 Minstrel ! with thee to muse, to mourn—
 To trace again those fields of yore—
 Believing every hillock green
 Contains no fabled hero's ashes—
 And that around the undoubted scene
 Thine own “ broad Hellespont ” still dashes—
 Be long my lot—and cold were he
 Who there could gaze denying thee !

The night hath closed on Helle's stream,
 Nor yet hath risen on Ida's hill
 That moon, which shone on his high theme—
 No warrior chides her peaceful beam,
 But conscious shepherds bless it still.
 Their flocks are grazing on the mound
 Of him who felt the Dardan's arrow ;—
 That mighty heap of gather'd ground
 Which Ammon's son ran proudly round,
 By nations rais'd, by monarchs crown'd,
 Is now a lone and nameless barrow
 Within—thy dwelling-place how narrow !
 Without—can only strangers breathe
 The name of him that *was* beneath.
 Dust long outlasts the storied stone—
 But Thou—thy very dust is gone !

ZULEIKA'S TOMB.

[From the same.]

WITHIN the place of thousand tombs
 That shine beneath, while dark above
 The sad but living cypress glooms
 And withers not, though branch and leaf
 Are stamped with an eternal grief ;

Like

Like early unrequited Love !
 One spot exists—which ever blooms,
 Ev'n in that deadly grove.—
 A single rose is shedding there
 It's lonely lustre, meek and pale,
 It looks as planted by Despair—
 So white—so faint—the slightest gale
 Might whirl the leaves on high ;
 And yet, though storms and blight assail,
 And hands more rude than wintry sky
 May wring it from the stem—in vain—
 To-morrow sees it bloom again !
 The stalk some spirit gently rears,
 And waters with celestial tears.
 For well may maids of Helle deem
 That this can be no earthly flower,
 Which mocks the tempest's withering hour
 And buds unsheltered by a bower,
 Nor droops—though spring refuse her shower
 Nor woos the summer beam.—
 To it the livelong night there sings
 A bird unseen—but not remote—
 Invisible his airy wings,
 But soft as harp that Houris strings
 His long entrancing note !
 It were the Bulbul—but his throat,
 Though mournful, pours not such a strain ;
 For they who listen cannot leave
 The spot, but linger there and grieve
 As if they loved in vain !
 And yet so sweet the tears they shed,
 'Tis sorrow so unmixed with dread,
 They scarce can bear the morn to break
 That melancholy spell,
 And longer yet would weep and wake,
 He sings so wild and well !
 But when the day-blush bursts from high—
 Expires that magic melody.
 And some have been who could believe,
 (So fondly youthful dreams deceive,
 Yet harsh be they that blame,)
 That note so piercing and profound
 Will shape and syllable its sound
 Into Zuleika's name.
 'Tis from her cypress' summit heard,
 That melts in air the liquid word—
 'Tis from her lowly virgin earth
 That white rose takes its lender birth,

MODERATE WISHES.

[From Mr. BLAND's Collections of the Greek Anthology, &c.]

LET Alexander's discontented soul
Pine for another world's increased control ;
Ill-weaved ambition has no charms for me,
Nor, sordid avarice, am I slave to thee.

I only ask twelve thousand pounds a year,
And Curwen's country seat on Windermere.
A mistress, kind, and sensible, and fair,
And many a friend, and not a single care.

I am no glutton—no—I never wish
A sturgeon floating in a golden dish ;
At the Piazza satisfied to pay
Two guineas for my dinner every day.
What though famed Erskine at the bar we view
As learn'd as Crassus, and as wealthy too,
I only ask the eloquence of Fox,
To paint like Reynolds, and like Belcher box,
To act as Garrick did,—or any how
Unlike the heroes of the buskin now ;
To range like Garnerin through fields of air,
To win, like Villiers, England's richest fair,
To vault, like Astley, o'er a horse's back,
To fight like Nelson, and to run like Mack,
Like Pinto fiddle, and with Newton's eye
Pierce through the stars, and count the galaxy ;
With Jonas conjure, light as Vestris bound,
Grin broad as Colman, though as Locke profound.

Let heirs unblushing pray for boundless lands,
And streams that ripple clear o'er golden sands.
I only ask, that all my heart's desire
Come with a wish, and leave me ere it tire,
All arts, all excellence, myself to hold,
Learn'd without labour, without danger bold,
I only ask, these blessings to enjoy,
And every various talent well employ ;
Thy life, Methusalem, or, if not thine,
An immortality of love and wine.
Fate heard the wish,—and smiling gave me clear,
Besides a wooden leg, twelve pounds a year.

INTEMPERANCE.

[From the same.]

THREE cups of wine a prudent man may take ;
 The first of these, for constitution's sake ;
 The second, to the girl he loves the best ;
 The third and last, to lull him to his rest ;
 Then home to bed !—but if a fourth he pours,
 That is the cup of folly, and not ours ;
 Loud noisy talking on the fifth attends ;
 The sixth breeds feuds and falling out of friends ;
 Seven beget blows, and faces stain'd with gore ;
 Eight—and the watch-patrole breaks ope the door ;
 Mad with the ninth, another cup goes round,
 And the swill'd sot drops senseless to the ground.

INSCRIPTION FOR A MONUMENT INTENDED TO BE
ERECTED IN THE CHURCH AT HAFOD.

[From the same.]

WHEN at the holy altar's foot is given
 The blushing maiden to the enamour'd youth
 Whose long tried honour, constancy, and truth,
 Yield the fair promise of an earthly heaven,
 Though to far distant friends and country led,
 Fond parents triumph 'mid the tears they shed.

Shall we then grieve, that a celestial spouse
 Hath borne this virgin treasure from our sight,
 To share the glories of the eternal light,
 The end of all our prayers and all our vows ?
 We should rejoice—but cannot as we ought—
 Great God ! Forgive the involuntary fault. M.

LOVE SONG.

[From the same.]

I WOULD not change for cups of gold
 This little cup that you behold :
 'Tis from the beech that gave a shade
 At noon-day to my village maid.

I would

I would not change for Persian loom
The humble matting of my room;
'Tis of those very rushes twined
Oft pressed by charming Rosalinde.

I would not change my lowly wicket
That opens on her favourite thicket,
For portal proud, or towers that frown,
The monuments of old renown.

I would not change this foolish heart,
That learns from her to joy or smart,
For his that burns with love of glory,
And loses life to live in story.

Yet, in themselves, my heart, my cot,
My mat, my bowl, I value not;
But only as they, one and all,
My lovely Rosalinde recall. B.

ON A PAIR OF LEAN LOVERS.

[From AGATHIAS, by the same.]

SO shadow-like a form you bear,
So near allied to shapeless air,
That with some reason you may fear,
When you salute, to draw too near,
Lest, if your friend be short of breath,
The dire approach may prove your death,
And that poor form, so light and thin,
Be at his nostrils taken in.

Yet, if with philosophic eye
You look, you need not fear to die;
For (if poetic tales be true)
No transformation waits for you;
You cannot, ev'n at Pluto's bar,
Be more a phantom than you are.

DOMESTIC LITERATURE.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Comprising Biblical Criticism; Theological Criticism; Sacred Morals; Sermons and Discourses; Single Sermons; Controversial Divinity.

“**C**OLLATION of an Indian copy of the Hebrew Pentateuch; with Preliminary Remarks. Also the Book of Ahasuerus, with an English Translation: from MSS. collected by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D. D. By T. Yeates, Cambridge.” 4to. pp. 115. pr. 9s. This is a most valuable present to the biblical scholar, and indeed to the Jewish and Christian communities, on various accounts. It displays a new source of research to which we may hereafter apply for biblical authorities: it confirms in a wonderful degree the integrity of the Masoretic or established Hebrew reading, so far as the work extends; and it excites a hope that some parts of the old testament which have been lost in the lapse of time, and more especially amidst the captivities, and other calamities of the Jewish people, may yet be traced out and restored. The date of this *oriental* copy of the Pentateuch is not ascertained; yet it bears intrinsic evidence of having a very just claim to a very considerable antiquity: and *may*, pethaps, be of earlier origin than the Masoretic text as established by the learned Jews of Tiberias, concerning which last

point however there is some doubt.

The zeal and activity of Dr. Buchanan in obtaining documents of this kind is too extensively known to require any repetition in the present place; and the ardour and diligence of the collator before us are equally exemplary. In the preliminary remarks which occupy forty-two pages he gives an interesting account of the derivation of the MS. from the black Jews of Cochin, and of the prodigious pains employed both by oriental and occidental scribes to maintain the utmost literal accuracy and fidelity. The following remarks upon the establishment of the chronology of the received Hebrew text, in opposition to those of the Samaritan and Greek pentateuchs, by its conformity to the present authority is well worthy of attention. “The chronology of the patriarchal ages, observes Mr. Yeates, computed from the sums of years recorded in Genesis, is a point of considerable importance in all collations of the Hebrew text; especially since the Hebrew, Samaritan, and Greek copies are found to differ so much in the computation of time; and consequently

consequently has given rise to several discordant systems. The only hopes of discovering the true and original reckoning, have been placed on the *supposed* existence of MSS. differing from those hitherto known; and hence an *oriental copy* of the Hebrew pentateuch, has long been a desideratum. The Indian Roll contains the entire text of Genesis, which is sufficient for the purpose: and its derivation from Jews of very early settlement in India (perhaps the remnant of the ancient dispersions in the time of Nebuchadnezzar) determines this to be an oriental copy in every sense of the word, and its testimony in this respect must be interesting. The question is, does this copy agree with the western Hebrew copies in the sums of years recorded in Genesis? The answer is declared in the affirmative; and is a fact of that importance, that the entire text of those verses has been accurately and faithfully copied from the roll, and inserted in the collation, for the satisfaction of the learned." Subjoined to the collation and sections, is a table of various readings, which exhibits not only those that differ from Van Der Hooght's text, and Athias's of 1661; but also the particulars in which the Indian roll agrees with or differs from the printed copies, and adopts or rejects the Keis and Masoretic notes usually printed in the margin of our Hebrew bibles. The *Megilloth Ahasuerus*, or roll of Ahasuerus, is printed from an Indian manuscript in the Buchanan collection, originally copied from Brazen tablets preserved at Goa. The original text is accompanied with a double translation in two columns, a literal from the Hebrew, and one from the Greek, which merely differs from the text

of Esther in the Apocrypha in the arrangement, and omission of the verses which form the twelfth chapter of our bible lection. It is introduced by the following preface from an uncertain author, somewhat similar to the prologue of the son of Sirach, that introduces the book of this name. "The letter of king Ahasuerus, which impious Haman sent into all the provinces of India and Ethiopia in the name of the king: translated from the Biblia, written in the Greek tongue, by the seventy elders in the days of Ptolemy. And these chapters are contained among the books called Apocrypha, or hidden books, and which are not reckoned in the sacred canon, whereof there is an evidence in the Talmud that the wise men of Israel hid up many books for some reason, even as is found in the Talmud, Sabbath, Chapter, Col-kithbe, that they sought to conceal and lay aside even the book of Coheleth:" i. e. Ecclesiastes. Preceding the roll of Ahasuerus, the present work gives us also, (not noticed in the title-page) a collation of an Indian copy of the book of Esther, with an account of its preservation, obtained in like manner from the black Jews of Cochin, and written in thirteen columns; we have also in the introductory part a notice of the Syrian MSS. brought home by Dr. Buchanan from India, and procured from the Syrian christians of Travancore and Malayala: together with a list of all the Hebrew MSS. of the entire bible or parts of it at present known in the British libraries.

"The *Œdipus Judaicus*. By the Right Honourable Sir William Drummond." We admire the learning of Sir William Drummond, and are no strangers to former exhibitions

tions of it; but we are far from admiring the turn it has taken or the object it aims to accomplish in the work before us, which, as it appears to us, is nothing less than that of subverting, by one of the most artful and insidious attempts (we dare not in conscience or public duty employ less homely terms) the greater part of the literal history of the old testament; and in more than one instance the very part that has a peculiar bearing upon the prophecies which immediately relate to our Saviour, and consequently to the truth and authority of the christian scriptures themselves.

There is a certain class of conscientious and well-meaning expositors of the sacred writings who have a perpetual thirst for allegorising almost every thing that the bible offers to their perusal, as well in its historical, as in its moral and poetical departments. We have often found it necessary to warn both themselves and their readers against this mischievous predilection; for as the imagination of one man has just as much right to wander from the literal sense of a passage as another, and as no two imaginations perhaps ever were or ever will be precisely alike, there can be no end to the interpretations that may hence be presented to us, and which may have an equal claim to our attention. Hitherto, however, our warnings have been delivered to those who have really meant well, who have been thoroughly convinced of the truth of the bible history, and have seriously intended to assist its sacred cause. In the work before us the same plan is pursued by one of the most learned and logical sceptics of the day: who has laid hold of the arms of these rash and fanciful commentators upon the scriptures and

has completely turned them against themselves. It is Sir William Drummond's object to show that those parts of the bible which have been hitherto regarded by all sober critics as strictly historical, are strictly allegorical and mystical; or that at least, if there be any kind of history in them, it is only incidental and subordinate: insomuch so, indeed, that while he undertakes, with the utmost boldness and exertion of fancy to explain them generally in a figurative sense, he nowhere indicates any particular part which he believes to be historical, or attempts to separate such parts from the rest. Now allowing him this, we allow him every thing the most refined and artful sceptic can wish for; we allow him that there is no history in the bible, or at least no tangible or determinate history, and consequently that there is no solidity or truth in it; nothing but figure and fancy, mysticism and imagination; nothing, we mean, intelligible or comprehensible besides this. It is true he has, in the volume before us, gone through the whole of the bible history and chronology, but he has gone through those parts of it which are as essentially history, and are as much regarded so as any others: by Jews and Christians; which certainly were so regarded by the pagan philosophers of Alexandria, and which have been so regarded by most, we believe we may say by all the sceptical philosophers of modern times till his own day: since the general controversy with this last class of writers has been, not in regard to the *historical character* of the parts now brought into question, but in regard to the *truth* of the history itself: and hence, admitting the soundness of the present argument, nothing would be so easy

as to apply it to such parts of the Jewish history as are not yet touched upon; nothing, indeed, so easy as to apply it to various portions, perhaps to every portion of the *history* of the New Testament, and particularly to the miraculous conception, and such other sections as the Socinian writers, in a far more bungling and unworkmanlike manner endeavour to get rid of by the unsustained charge of spuriousness. In effect it is a fair logical deduction from the general range of the preface by which this extraordinary production is ushered into the world, that the book before us is only intended as a sample of a system that is to range as widely as we have thus far travelled, provided it could gain so much of the favour of the public as to justify a continuation, for we find in the preface occasional glances at almost every book from Genesis to Ezekiel, and we believe still further, evidently hinting that all the subjects thus glanced at are to be understood in the same manner.

The points, however, immediately brought forward as a trial, are the six following, each of which is discussed in a distinct dissertation, of which the first two have already appeared in different numbers of the *Classical and Biblical Journal*. I. Dissertation on the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, or the prophecies of Jacob concerning the future fortunes of his sons. II. Dissertation on the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, containing a brief history of the two sets of confederate kings, and the battle between the capture of Lot, and his rescue by Abram, and Melchizedek's benediction of the latter, on returning from his triumph. III. "Concerning the Tabernacle and Temple." IV. "On the book of

1813.

Joshua." V. "Sketch of a commentary or dissertation on the book of Judges." VI. A short dissertation concerning the Paschal Lamb."

With respect to the first dissertation our author's view of it may be understood from the following words with which he introduces it: "I cannot doubt that the prophecies which it (the chapter) contains, are all couched under astronomical symbols. It seems, indeed, extremely natural that Jacob, who lived in times when mankind were almost universally addicted to astrology, should typify the future fortunes of his family by allusions to the celestial bodies." This dissertation is introduced by observing as follows: "Jehovah appears to have selected Abraham and his posterity from the rest of mankind for the purpose of preserving among them the knowledge of the true religion: but this knowledge it would seem from Exod. vi. was not bestowed on the patriarchs in all its plenitude." We are then told that Jacob certainly did not possess this knowledge; for on the commencement of his journey from his father's house he "thought of making a bargain with Omnipotence," and "fancied he might choose the God whom he should adore. We must not be surprised then, (continues Sir William,) if we find traces of idolatry in the early history of the house of Israel, if Rachel stole the *Teraphim* from her father Laban, and if Jacob hid the strange gods of his household under the oak of Sechem." The patriarchs, we are next informed, "were influenced by minor superstitions, and that, with all their neighbours, they were addicted to divination and astronomy." Joseph, it seems, was a *diviner*; Jacob an *astrologer*. "The streaked rods which were set up by the

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the latter, in order to produce the breeding of the cattle, *seem to have been formed* in imitation of the rod which is held by the man, who occupied the sign of the balance in the Egyptian zodiac, and who presided in the kingdom of *Omphtha* over flocks and herds. Even at this day the three great stars in Orion are called *Jacob's staff*, and the milky way is familiarly termed *Jacob's ladder*. The patriarch had twelve sons, and tradition has allotted to each a sign of the zodiac." Our author next endeavours to explain, by means of much verbal erudition, sometimes drawn from one country and language, and sometimes from another, how the signs in the zodiac may be made to apply to the different prophecies of Jacob delivered at the time in question; respecting some of which, however, he obviously feels at a considerable loss; notwithstanding all the freedom with which he gives up the reins to his imagination. Kircher and Dupuis have attempted something of the sort before; but with this essential difference, that while the two last conceived the zodiacal signs may have been called and figured *after* the twelve sons of Jacob and their respective allotments, the author before us supposes all these to have been invented for thousands of years *before* they were born or thought of. Even *Shiloh* comes in for a place in the heavens, and had actually and historically *come* before the prophecy was given concerning his birth. "It remains, says our author, to be inquired what is meant by *Shiloh*. The answer in a sacred sense is obvious; but there is also an astronomical allusion. The king with the sceptre, (*Cepheus*, or *Lawgiver*, the identity between which however is miserably traced out) sets about the time that Scor-

pius rises, and then ceases to be the paranatellon (stars in the neighbourhood of the zodiacal sign) of the lion. In Scorpius are two stars which the oriental astronomers call *شوله* (*shulet*) and the brightest of these is named *shuleh*:" consequently the meaning of the verse in which this verse occurs is as follows, according to our author: "the constellation represented by a king bearing a sceptre, shall not cease to be the paranatellon of the Lion, which is the sign of Judah, until *Shiloh* come." Now we have not time to follow the author through his round of explanation, nor to offer all the more forcible objections that have occurred to us; but the ensuing three ought not we think to be suppressed. First, the author by the explanation now offered, converts prophecy into history, in the same manner as we shall find him afterwards converting history into allegory; for, were the fact as he states it, Jacob would only be reading to his sons a lesson in astronomy, and pointing out to them that their future fortunes were legibly engraven in the heavens, where they might read them at the time by only lifting up their eyes. And, secondly, in order to admit the very foundation of this explanation, and indeed all the author's subsequent references to the zodiac, it is necessary to place implicit confidence in the chronology of the zodiacs at Dendera and Esne as given by the French philosophers who accompanied Buonaparte to Egypt. Sir William seems somewhat cautious of quoting the words of Dupin himself upon this subject, lest they should startle his reader's judgment in respect to the antiquity of the world rather more than might at the outset be convenient.

nient. He modestly therefore exhorts as follows: "if my reader wish to ascertain the *precise date* of the zodiac of Esne, he must consult the French work itself." *Observ. on the Plates*, p. lxxv. And he then proceeds to fix the date of the zodiac itself at about 6450 years ago; or, in other words, to calculate that the constructor of it must have lived *at least* upwards of *seven hundred years* earlier than the period usually assigned to the creation of the world. How long he supposes the world itself to have had an existence antecedently to this construction of the zodiac at Esne, as we have already observed, he does not venture openly to declare; but, as he has sent us to the French philosophers for *precise* information upon this subject, we will just state to our readers, that according to their most ingenious and infallible estimate, as drawn up by M. Dupin, the world must have had an existence for at least *fifteen thousand years* before the birth of our Saviour. But till the different writers upon this subject can more fully agree both upon their principles and results, nothing can be more illogical than to place any dependance upon such a datum. Mr. Hamilton assigns as the earliest age for the zodiac at Esne a period of 4500 years ago, and seems alarmed even at this antiquity; while for that of Dendera he does not allow an age much earlier than that of Tiberius, in whose reign the temple of Dendera seems to have been built or repaired: while the abaté Domenico Testa, in a very learned Italian dissertation which we had occasion to notice a few years ago, read at an extraordinary meeting of the academy of the Roman Catholic religion at Rome, July 5, 1802, brings very powerful arguments to prove

that neither of these zodiacs can have had an existence much earlier than the period of Hipparchus, and consequently than about a century and a half before the commencement of the christian era. Sir William Drummond does not appear to have met with this opusculé, but if he should meet with it, and read it upon this recommendation, he will be obliged to us for the suggestion. We will just mention before we quit the subject, as a further proof of the insufficiency of the Egyptian zodiacs to establish any thing like a date of general agreement, that several of the German calculators, have from these same zodiacs calculated the earth as a still higher antiquity than Dupin himself; thus the anonymous author of a pamphlet entitled "*Unumstösslicher Beweis*," offers what he denominates evident proofs that the earth is *three times as old* as it is usually supposed to be.

Our third remark upon reading the hypothesis before us, and comparing it with that introduced into the fourth dissertation, is that the one, even upon the author's own principles, cannot well be reconciled with the other. In this last essay he asserts, and takes it for granted that he has *proved*, that the twelve tribes of Israel took, at the command of Moses, for their emblems the twelve signs of the zodiac, even before they left the land of Egypt. Now the utmost stretch of ingenuity cannot reconcile these signs with the pretended signs of the zodiac, as explained in the preceding essay. The author himself finds his own powers unequal to such an assimilation; but as the mountain will not come to him he modestly goes to the mountain; and undertakes to account for this difference, by telling us gravely,

that Moses of his own accord altered the discrepant signs; though he gives us no authority for such an opinion, nor any reason for the fact itself. Now, though we have no foundation for believing Moses to have had a hand in any such change, or, in reality, in any thing that relates to the zodiacal symbols, yet we know from the different figures that different zodiacs present to us, that such changes were not unfrequently made in many of the oriental constructions of this kind, as well those of India as of Egypt, and it is on this account chiefly that we feel a difficulty in placing any dependance upon them.

At the remaining dissertations we can merely take a glance. The second, directed to the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, the author introduces as follows: "This chapter, if taken merely as a piece of history, certainly appears to contain a very extraordinary relation of events. Eight kings, among whom one was king of Admah (that is king of the earth) and another was king of nations, had been subject during twelve years to Chedorlaomer, king of Elam. In the thirteenth year five of these princes rebelled against their chief, and in the fourteenth year were defeated by him in the vale of Siddim, where four kings strove against five. But after the splendid victory of the king of Elam, he had, it seems, the rashness to carry away the shepherd Lot among his captives, and this mighty monarch, this *king of kings*, who had subdued the *king of the earth*, and in whose train was the king of nations, is in his turn pursued, defeated, and slaughtered by the shepherd Abraham and his household servants. I presume not to deny

that this is a true mystery.—I acknowledge that I *believe* the chapter before us to be rather a typical illustration than an historical narrative. It seems to me that Moses intended to typify the *history of the Gods of Egypt*, and to show that they were astronomical symbols. For my own part I cannot help thinking that the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, and the tenth of the book of Joshua, are only different editions of the same astronomical histories of which the Greeks have again given new accounts, and which they told after their own manner." In consequence of which all the *dramatis personæ* we believe without an exception, are transmuted into astronomical signs, and *nothing more*.—Abram is a type of the *sun*, Lot of the *moon*, Chedorlaomer "a symbol expressive of the zodiac;" the *salt-sea* "a symbol of the hemisphere;" and as to "Melchizedek, or the kings of justice, who is the king of Salem, that is, the king of peace—who are these kings that are a king? Who is this priest of God most high—this king of peace, that are the kings of justice? In what *calendar* shall we find the answers to these questions? What *mythology* contains a likeness to this mysterious person, who being more than one is one? Is there no allusion here to the *triune God*, and to the ministry of Christ?" This last part is the most disgusting of the whole. The cant of calendars and mythologies is sufficient to unfold the author's real meaning. If he will honestly avow, in any manner he may chuse, that he is an actual believer in the doctrine of a triune God, as believed by christians in general, we will candidly confess that we have seriously injured him in

in our own hearts. But if this he cannot do (and the whole tenour of the volume before us conspires to prove that he cannot) what are our readers to think of the spirit of the passage before us, or of the feeling that could indite it?

But let us proceed to the next dissertation (the third) concerning the tabernacle and the temple. "It would be difficult," says our author, "to imagine a more singular history than that which relates to the construction of the tabernacle and of the temple contained in the Old Testament. The deity is represented as giving the pattern of both, as ordering the whole furniture; and as descending to the most minute details concerning the arrangement. Nothing is left unnoticed by the divine architect, who condescends to speak with *amazing precision and familiarity*, both of the ornaments and of the utensils—of lintels, curtains, fringes, rings, tables, dishes, bowls, spoons, and candlesticks. This, however, is not all. The tabernacle, and the temple were inhabited by the deity. The God of nature and of the universe—the creator and preserver of all things—the ineffable and primeval being who called into existence all those suns and planets which roll through the boundless regions of space—the sole God fixed his residence on a *box* made of shittim-wood, and overlaid and lined with gold. Upon this box too *the deity was carried about* by a barbarous horde of robbers, until king Solomon built a temple at Jerusalem, where the box was deposited, and where Jehovah dwelt between the cherubim. And what were these cherubim? They were whimsical and monstrous images,

each with four wings and four faces; the face of a man, the face of a lion, the face of an ox, and the face of an eagle." We need not pursue the passage further: its spirit is sufficiently seen: and to the whole of this spirit, and the whole of this passage, and every other passage of a like kind, there is an easy answer: and that is, that the Creator being infinite and without parallel, and all created beings finite, and moveable—all are precisely alike compared with himself—for all compared with himself are nothing. The box of shittim wood, and Solomon's temple, the suns and planets, the universe and universal nature, are one and the same thing: he is the author of all, and all are nothing, and equally nothing, when put in analogy or competition with himself. Sir William thinks it in his power to *magnify* the mighty Maker by representing him as the god of planets, and suns, and nature, and the universe; and to *degrade* him by representing him as giving minute directions concerning the tabernacle, as analysing or organizing the dull clods of the valley, as weighing the substance of the mountains, and measuring the range of the hills: as producing weeds and worms, and reptiles, and ravenous beasts.—But it is not worth while to pursue the subject: the principle upon which it proceeds (and it is the foundation of the whole work) is false from its commencement. Real philosophy, to say nothing of rational piety, would and must have shown the learned Baronet, had he ventured to have dipped into its pages, that, compared with infinity, there can be nothing great, nothing little: all alike is his, and all is equally vanity in comparison with himself:

himself: when locally present he is every where, when every where, locally present. Unfortunately, however, not adverting to this general idea, our author again dreams about astronomical and astrological symbols, and his own view of the subject is contained in the following brief passage: "I conceive the tabernacle and the temple to have been types of the *universe*, which is the true abode of the godhead.—I understand that the sacred writers intended to say, in their *usual allegorical manner*, that the universe was formed after the exemplar in the divine mind."

The fourth dissertation is to the same effect. The writer who cannot in any way bring himself to approve of the "violence, injustice, and cruelty," stated in the book of Joshua to have been committed "by the robbers of Israel; who, not satisfied with taking possession of the property of others, burned the cities, and massacred the people"—finds himself again involved in a dilemma from which nothing but allegory, and the hieroglyphics of Egypt, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the zodiac, can once more extricate him. "If, says he, there be law, or right, or justice, in the world, it seems difficult to excuse, much more to justify, such atrocities; and when, for our answer, we are told that these horrors were perpetrated by the express command of God himself, we must either *believe and renounce the use of our reason, or disbelieve and abandon the profession of our faith.*" Sir William therefore prefers the latter, and, as we have just hinted, explains, or attempts to explain, the whole by an indistinct (to us indistinct) reference to the doctrines of Sabaism, and the symbols of the heavens; in which, however, he

does not very fully develope his own meaning. We would just submit to him upon this question, whether the dispersion and universal persecution of the Jews, sometimes in a greater and sometimes in a less degree, for nearly two thousand years, depised, and hated, and plundered, and massacred alternately by almost every nation under the sun, yet still existing as a separate people in the midst of all the misery and wretchedness they have endured, can be ascribed to any other cause than that of the special determination of the Almighty, or, to adopt his own words, "the express command of God himself." The Christians ascribe this discipline of vengeance to the wickedness of their *forefathers* in crucifying the Saviour of the world; yet while the guilt was that of the forefathers, the punishment is that of the posterity. Here, then, if we mistake not, is a fact palpably historical, of the very same nature, quite as difficult to reconcile with the benevolence of the deity, and which can neither be *solved* or *salved* by any reference to allegory or figurative allusion; to the mythology or astronomy of Egypt, India, Greece, or Scandinavia, China, Japan, Australasia, or to whatever other portion of the world our author may be disposed to travel.

The fifth dissertation is of the same general train as the two preceding. In it the sceptical Baronet tells us that he "shall only notice some parts of the book of Judges, which seem to him to bear an immediate and distinct reference to astronomy." In the course of which he tells us, that he takes the "prophetess Deborah to have belonged to those stars in Taurus which we call the *Hyades.*" While in the very same breath he shews the looseness of all
this

this kind of romancing, by adding as follows: "But Rumelin makes Deborah signify a *bee*, and the meaning is really so uncertain, that I shall not pretend to fix it. If however we abide by the lexicographers, I would rather translate, *order, march, series*: THE MARCH OF THE CELESTIAL BODIES BEING TYPIFIED!" Most of our author's speculations are built upon just as solid a foundation:—yet he has the modesty, whenever he afterwards refers to them, to speak of them as facts demonstrated. Thus, p. 167, "the tabernacle, as I have already *proved*, was *indubitably* a type of the universe:" and the same phrase is frequently occurring to us.—In the prosecution of the subject before us. *Barak*, we are told, means *lightning*. "Jael signifies a *kind of goat*. I know not whether the allusion be to *Capricorn*. It seems to me that *the whole of this story* relates to a *reform in the Calendar*, concerning the moon's revolutions."—"The story of Samson and Delilah may remind us of Hercules and Omphale." But we have not room to extract a larger specimen, or we could add considerably more to the entertainment, if not to the edification of the public.

To let the reader into a full view of the general scope of the last of these chimerical dissertations, which is devoted to the subject of the paschal lamb, it is only necessary to quote the following paragraph. "The word which we translate *passover*, (Hebr. פסח) properly signifies *transit*, and is sometimes taken for that which makes a *transit*. Hence the Paschal lamb was frequently called פסח (*pesach*), as making the transit. I pretend that the feast of the *transit* was instituted as a memorial of the transit of the equinoctial sun from

the sign of the *Bull* to that of the *Ram* or *Lamb*." We are too serious to treat this explanation with levity; and cannot in our hearts think it worthy of being treated in any other way.

When a man's head is once set on *star-gazing*, we do not expect his imagination to run on all-fours with that of other people; but we see no reason why the levity of the brain should be communicated to the heart: nor can we too severely reprobate this union of philosophical whims with a malignant ridicule of what the wisest and best of mankind have regarded as sacred and inspired truths, and what the legislature of our own country has adopted as a part of the British constitution. We could have forgiven the writer all his conceits and absurdities, if he had shown a liberal spirit in the composition of his book, but the passages we are now about to quote altogether prevent us, as we are confident it will do our readers, from the hearty desire we should otherwise feel of paying him this compliment. "It may be hoped that Reason and Liberality will soon again be progressive in their march; and that men will cease to think that Religion can be really at war with Philosophy. When we hear *the timid sons of superstition calling to each other to rally round the altar*, we may well blush for human weakness. The altar of which the basis is established by *Reason*, and which is supported by *Truth* and *Nature*, can never be overthrown. It is before that altar that I kneel, and that I adore the God whom *Philosophy* has taught me to consider as the infinite and eternal mind, that formed and that sustains the fair order of nature, and that created and preserves the universal system. To a small circle I think myself at liberty

liberty to observe that the manner in which the christian readers of the Old Testament (and why not Jewish readers?) chuse to understand it, appears to me to be a little singular. While the deity is represented with human passions, and those *none of the best*: while he is described as a *quarrelsome*, jealous, and vindictive being; while he is shown to be continually changing his plans for the moral government of the world; and while he is depicted as a material and local God, who dwelt on a box made of Shittim wood in the temple of Jerusalem; they abide by the literal interpretation. They see no allegory in the first chapters of Genesis; nor doubt that far the greater portion of the human race is doomed to suffer eternal torments because our first parents ate an apple after having been tempted by a talking serpent. They find it quite simple that *the triune Jehovah should dine on veal cutlets at Abraham's table*; nor are they at all surprised that the God of the universe should pay a visit to Ezekiel in order to settle with the prophet whether he should bake his bread with human dung or with cow's dung.—From this view of the subject then I am not afraid to state, that, if the writers of the Old Testament were really inspired, they must be supposed to have spoken figuratively on all these occasions when they have ascribed human passions to the Supreme Being. It may be objected to me, that as *the Scriptures contain little else than the histories of squabblings and bickerings between Jehovah and his people*, we might come in this way to allegorize the greater part, if not the whole of the Old Testament. I confess, for my own part, I would rather believe the whole to be an allegory, than think for a moment that infi-

nite wisdom could ever waver in its judgments, could ever be disturbed by anger, or could at any time repent of what it had ordained."

Sir William may believe how he pleases, but these remarks upon the language and descriptions of the Old Testament are equally prophane and malignant, whether he believe in the one way or whether he believe in the other; and we may add could not have been written by any one who seriously believed in any way. As to his scheme for symbolizing, it is of so general a plan, that it will just as well apply to any kind of history whatever; and we would undertake by means of it, to transmute with just as much ease, the names and histories of all the celebrated generals at this moment engaged in warfare on the continent, into zodiacal signs and constellations, and to make the present important revolution in the political world a mere type or transcript of the revolution of the universe, and of the completion of the *annus magnus*, or *Platonæus*; as the learned Baronet makes Abraham a symbol of the sun, Lot of the moon, the paschal Lamb of the sun's transit from the Bull to the Ram, and the tabernacle of the universe. The very foundation of this spirit of allegorizing, and in reality of all the objections of any degree of weight in the work before us, depends upon the author's not having reflected, as real philosophy ought to have taught him to reflect, to repeat what we have already hinted at, that every thing which he calls little and great, is and must be alike in comparison with the universal Creator; and that in describing his views and motives in human language, it is neither possible nor necessary to divest him of human passions. When scripture tells us that "God loveth them

them that love him," and that he *is angry* with the wicked every day, it uses a language that offends, it seems, the votary of the god of philosophy and nature, but it uses a language that speaks most significantly to the human heart, and that would puzzle this said votary to put it into any other form so as to express approbation and disapprobation separate from human passions or feelings. All this therefore we object to, and object to strenuously; but what we most object to, and what has been a source of real grief to us, and, to adopt the learned Baronet's own language, has made us really "blush for human nature," is to find that an understanding so rarely endowed, and so skillfully cultivated as his own is, can waste its valuable powers upon such mischievous extravagancies; and that a man of refined and classical taste should condescend to rake in all the malignity and low abuse of Thomas Paine.

Let us turn to a pleasanter subject. Mr. Baber, of the British Museum, has published, in a folio form, a Greek Psalter from a manuscript copy of the Alexandrine codex, preserved in this national library; (*Psalterium Græcum, a codice M. S. Alexandrino.*) The work is dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury: and the indefatigable editor has preserved, with the utmost accuracy, the manuscript type, size of the folio, paging, lines, and shape of the characters, stops, abbreviations, punctuations, and other marks, even the very defects and errors: having taken for his exemplar Woide's republication of the New Testament, from the Alexandrine codex. The MS. copy, from some unknown and lamentable accident, has sustained an in-

jury that renders it illegible from Ps. xlix. 19. to Ps. lxxix. 12. We wish this hiatus had been supplied, though from another Alexandrine copy; the interstitial verses being pointed out by some peculiar mark. But Mr. Baber has so strictly adhered to the Museum codex, that we have this deficiency as well as every other. From the frequent use of this book of the canonical scriptures, its intrinsic excellence, and its prominence in our established church service, we cannot but hail the appearance of the present work, and are happy to find it supported by an extensive list of respectable subscribers.

"Hebrew Etymology: consisting of select passages of Scripture. In which the original meanings of many names of persons and places are interpreted by Scripture. To which is prefixed a critical examination of Exodus iii. 14." 12mo. This excellent little work is the production of the classical pen of the truly pious and learned Bishop of St. David's; to whom the biblical student is under great obligation for a variety of other useful elementary books upon the same subject, designed, expressly to facilitate a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures in their original tongue. The immediate object of the work before us is to give specimens of various proper names in the Old Testament, the exact meaning of which is absolutely necessary to a clear understanding of the passages in which they occur. "The unlearned reader, observes the right reverend author, will perceive from this small collection of etymologies, that Hebrew proper names, like all other proper names, are significant terms; and that names, which are become *appropriate by use*, are *general terms* in

in their original meaning. He will perceive, too, that the names of things are sometimes derived from external adjuncts, sometimes from attendant circumstances; and that in many, perhaps most cases, names become appropriate by arbitrary imposition and use, more than by peculiar or specific qualities." Before the text, in Exod. iii. 14, "I am that I am," the following remark will be sufficient to give the reader a glance at its general scope. "This compound term *אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה* being the name which God gives himself in his first answer to Moses, should either not be translated, but be retained in its original form, for the same reason which requires *Ehjah* as a proper name, instead of *I am* and *Jehovah*, instead of *He is*, or *he will be*: (the Bible abounds in compound proper names, such as *Ishmael*, "God hath heard;" *Jehovah-jireh*, "God will see," &c.) or should be translated in its full signification, *I am he, that was, and is, and will be*." We cannot exactly admit of this last rendering; since although in the simplicity and looseness of the Hebrew grammar *אֶהְיֶה* may be understood in either of the three tenses here given, we can no more admit that it should be understood in all of them at the same time, than we can that our own vernacular term *cast* should be understood at one and the same time in the past and present tense; because, abstractedly considered, it may be construed in either. Upon this point therefore we cannot but think our common lection more correct, which confines the identic term in the beginning and close of the sentence to the same tense *I am* that *I AM*. Were we indeed to allow ourselves the *full signification* of the term here contended for, the same

extent ought to be allowed to the first *אֶהְיֶה* as to the last, and the reading would then be, "I was, and am, and will be he that was, and is and will be," which we think the very excellent prelate before us would hardly allow. How far the literal rendering of the expression might be endured, *Ehjah-asur-Ehjah*, is another question; yet upon the whole we cannot but prefer the reading as it at present stands.

"The Constancy of Israel: an unprejudiced illustration of some of the most important texts of the Bible; or a polemical, critical, and theological reply to a public letter by Lord Crawford, addressed to the Hebrew nation. Written, *without prejudice*, by Solomon Bennett, native of Poland," 8vo. 7s. This work is divided into two parts: in the former the writer examines many of the more prominent texts of the Old Testament brought forward by Christian, or as our *unprejudiced* expositor denominates them *Nazarene* interpreters, as prophetic of the advent, life, character, and sufferings of our Saviour, and endeavours to refute the application. In the latter, he enters into a general history of the progress and dispersion of Israel, and the progress of the Christian religion to the present day; and gives a brief sketch of Hebrew literature, and of the political state of the Jews, in various countries of Europe, drawn up from personal observation and travel. This last part is useful. In the preceding, Mr. Bennett has been as little successful as his predecessors. He appears to have well studied the Massorah, but it is a study that stands him in no stead: and there is, in our opinion, an inelegance, as well as a besetting error in his new renderings that run through almost all his

his specimens. He appears however to be honest, though mistaken, in his cause; he writes without virulence, and it is creditable to the liberty of an English press that such a book is permitted to make its appearance.

“Remarks on the sixty-eighth Psalm, addressed more particularly to the consideration of the House of Israel. By Granville Sharp,” 8vo. We lament that we have here to notice a critical pamphlet of a most liberal and excellent scholar, who is now no more. Mr. Sharp is well known to have been one of the foremost of those who believe that the present period is peculiarly favourable for the conversion of the Jews; and that the long predicted time of such conversion is at hand. He conjectures that the “hill of Bashan,” which he thinks would more correctly be rendered “Mount Bashan,” in the psalm before us, is the point from which some extraordinary signal will be given for the return of the Jews to their aboriginal country, whenever such return is about to ensue; and having learned from a letter, said to have been sent from Damascus, (in the vicinity of Mount Bashan) to the Portuguese Rabbi, Dr. Meldola, and by him communicated to Dr. Strassbourg, another learned Rabbi, and by Dr. Strassbourg to Dr. Hirschel, the chief Rabbi of the Dutch Synagogue in Duke’s Place, that not long ago a fiery cloud was seen to descend from heaven, and to rest upon a tree on the top of one of the neighbouring mountains of Damascus, where it continued for three days and three nights without injuring the tree, he has a confident belief that this is the signal that is to anticipate the Jewish restoration; and consequently that this great æra is

on the point of commencing. It happens unfortunately, however, that there is no satisfactory evidence of the existence of the sign referred to: the letter said to have been sent immediately from Damascus to the Rabbi Meldoli, only having been received by him from a merchant at Gibraltar, who merely alluded to the circumstance as a prevalent rumour. It is hence totally unnecessary to follow up the expositor’s imagination any further.

Before we quit the subject of biblical literature, we will just notice, that a very elegant edition of the whole Bible, according to the standard version, is now printing at the Clarendon Press, Oxford, illustrated by engravings, chiefly from Mr. Charles Heath, from drawings by Mr. Westall. The text, unaccompanied by note or comment, will be completed in seven parts, of which three are already finished, and the rest are to follow at the distance of four months from each other. The price two guineas a part for large copy impressions, and one for small. Mr. Hewlet has also completed his valuable edition of the Bible, with critical, philological, and explanatory notes, illustrated with maps and engravings, in three large volumes, quarto, price 11 *l.* 4 *s.* in boards, and on royal paper 14 *l.* 8 *s.* without the plates, 8 *l.* in demy. The notes, as indeed the title itself indicates, are rather analytical than doctrinal or explanatory: they are uniformly made to quadrate with the opinions of our established church; though, on other occasions, the author takes leave to differ from the more direct and general understanding: of which we have an instance in his explanation of the difficult and much contested passage in Joshua x. 12. “Sun, stand thou still,” &c. Our
commentator

commentator gives a brief survey of the different interpretations of this memorable address; and, while he by no means objects to that which holds the text in a literal sense, clearly shows that he regards it in a figurative and poetical, illustrating his view of it by various parallel passages from profane poets, both ancient and modern. In consequence of which, he recommends that the version should be thus, "Then spake Joshua to the Lord—O sun, remain (or keep thy station) in the heavens over Gibeon; and thou, O moon, over the valley of Ajalon. And the sun remained, and the moon continued, after the sun was set, till the people had avenged themselves upon their enemies. So the sun remained in the heavens (that is, not on the meridian, or on any particular point, but above the horizon) and hasted not to go down, *when the day was ended*; for such (says Mr. H.) is the meaning of כִּי־סָמַח: the participle כִּי, which our translators have rendered *about*, signifies also, *when, as, or after that*."

"Commentaries on the affairs of the Christians before the time of Constantine the Great: or an enlarged view of the Ecclesiastical History of the first three centuries: accompanied with copious illustrative notes and references. Translated from the Latin of John Laurence Mosheim, D.D. &c. by Robert Studley Vidal, Esq. F.S.A." 2 vols. 8vo. The same temperate zeal, indefatigable exertion, and extensive reading, which characterise M. Mosheim's "Elements of Christian History," distinguish the volumes before us; the materials of which were at first intended for a new and enlarged edition of the *History*, though they at length swelled to a magni-

tude too considerable to be thus embodied; and hence they now appear as a distinct accompaniment or sequel. We have to lament that they are given to the world posthumously, and in an unfinished form; the commentator having designed, had his life been spared, to have continued the work to a much later period than specified in the title-page. The facts adduced are highly valuable, and the remarks upon them liberal, and for the most part perspicuous and logical. We chiefly object to the frequent interruption and length of the notes, which are perpetually distracting the reader's attention, and betray a most miserable poverty of invention. On this account we wish the translator, who has ably performed his undertaking, had given himself the additional trouble of recasting the whole into one concordant and uniform text.

"A practical Treatise on the ordinary operations of the Holy Spirit, by the Rev. G. S. Faber, B. D. &c." 8vo. 7s. Mr. Faber is chiefly known to our readers as an expounder of the prophecies: he now solicits the attention of the public in another and more practical character. The work before us consists of eight chapters on the following consecutive subjects: I. The necessity of the ordinary operation of the Holy Spirit shewn from a view of the state of man by nature: his understanding, his will, and his affections, being all depraved, in consequence of original sin. II. The illumination of the understanding through the influence of the Holy Spirit, the first work of grace on the human soul. III. A description of two different classes of men, whose understandings are enlightened, while their hearts remain unaffected. IV. The influence of the Holy Spirit upon

upon the will. V. The influence of the Holy Spirit upon the affections. VI. The Holy Spirit a comforter and an intercessor. VII. The fruits of the Spirit contrasted with the works of the flesh. VIII. The constant influence of the Holy Spirit necessary to conduct us in safety to the end of our pilgrimage. We have not room for quotation, and shall therefore observe in few words, that Mr. Faber's style is rather plain than ornamented; and his argument rather perspicuous than elaborate. He addresses himself to persons of ordinary understandings, and none can read without benefit.

"A Father's Reasons for being a Christian. Dedicated with permission to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. By the Rev. Charles Powlett, chaplain in ordinary to his Royal Highness." 8vo. 10s. 6d. The author in his preface thus plainly and feelingly states the origin of the work before us. "In the autumn of the year 1807, I was for some weeks in daily apprehension of being deprived of the chief comfort which this life has to bestow. In those hours of anxious sorrow, dead to the world, and to every thing in it, but to my children, and to their interest, I frequently meditated on the arduous task which would devolve on me, of supplying the place of both parents. Among other less important considerations, I reflected on the increased difficulty (without that best aid, which a well-informed and a well-disposed mother always affords) of instilling indelibly into the minds of my children the evidences of the Christian religion. It pleased God, however, to listen to my prayers, and to spare me from so heavy an affliction, and her children from so irreparable a loss.—Some time afterwards it occurred to

to me, that it would be a proper act of gratitude for the blessing which I had received, and a useful assistance to the office of their mother, if I prepared an easy and familiar address to my children on the subject of Christianity. I considered that, however inferior it might be, as a literary composition, to many works which I could put into their hands, it would probably command greater attention, and make a stronger impression on their minds, as being dictated by the anxiety and affection of a father." The work hence originating, was gradually increased, till it assumed the present shape and extent. The subjects discussed are the following: "General and familiar address to the author's children on the subject of religion: Dissertation on miracles and prophecy: Dissertation on sectaries, but more especially an appeal to unitarians, and to those who style themselves evangelical ministers. An appendix, containing the heads of the late Bishop Horne's sermons." There is perhaps no very strong thread of connexion by which several of these subjects are held together; but they are discussed in a sensible, temperate, and, for the most part, judicious manner.

"The Church of Ephesus: in two parts. Part I. a lecture on Revelation ii. 1—7, in which the epistle is critically explained, and practically improved. Part II. an improvement and application of the characteristic feature of this church, Rev. ii. 4, 5. By Samuel Kittle." 8vo. This series of lectures is publishing in numbers, of which nine will complete the work. The following is the author's scope, as given in his own words. "The general plan on which I design to treat the whole of the seven epistles to the Asiatic

Asiatic churches, is to divide each epistle into two lectures. The first lecture takes the following heads of division. 1. The emblematical representation of the Lord Christ, as he stands related to the church under review. 2. The good, bad, or mixed character of the church members. 3. The exhortation given them to repent, &c. 4. The threatenings and promises used as inducements to stir them up to attend to these exhortations. The second lecture consists of the grand use, as I conceive, of the epistle, which is to caution against, or recover from, a destructive vice on the one hand, or to induce to, and build up in the practice of a commendable virtue on the other." The author, moreover, conceives that each of the churches affords an instance of a peculiar character, and may be made the subject of a distinct practical improvement. Thus the church of Ephesus is characterised by declension in religious fervour; that of Smyrna by persecuted piety; that of Pergamus by instability; that of Thyatira, laxity of church discipline; that of Sardis, formality; that of Philadelphia, christian diffidence; that of Laodicea, spiritual pride. Mr. Kittle seems to be a well-meaning man, who has drawn his views from writers of acknowledged abilities, and states them with fairness and perspicuity.

"Prayers: composed by two clergymen for the use, chiefly, of their respective parishes: in which purity of doctrine, and scriptural simplicity of language, have been principally consulted." 8vo. 3s. The advertisement informs us as follows: "For the parishioners of Uffington and Shallingford the following prayers were prepared with brotherly love and anxiety for their temporal

and eternal happiness: they are presented to them by their ministers: that they may be found acceptable and useful, is the humble, yet devout wish of N. P. W. and T. M. Y." It is enough for us to add that we have been equally pleased with the intention and execution of this useful little manual, which consists of various forms of morning and evening prayers, and of prayers for particular occasions.

"Sermons, designed chiefly for the use of villages and families. By Thornhill Kidd." 8vo. 8s. We are modestly told by the writer that this volume of discourses, twenty-six in number, and chiefly devoted to practical subjects, was prepared for the press, at the request of various friends, during many months of illness and suspension from the public duties of the ministry. There is a mixture of simplicity and animation in them which has much pleased us, and, in our opinion, is calculated to answer, in no small degree, the author's serious and useful intention.

"Nine sermons, preached in the years 1718-19 by the late Isaac Watts D. D. now first published from MSS. in the family of a cotemporary friend. With a preface, by John Pye Smith D. D." 8vo. 6s. There seems little doubt of the genuineness of these discourses: the manuscript, indeed, is not an autograph of Dr. Watts, but of an intimate friend of his, the Rev. John Goodhall, who seems to have copied them with great care and accuracy. Dr. Smith conjectures from the colloquial forms of expression which frequently occur in them that they were delivered extemporaneously and taken in short hand: he observes, however, that Dr. Watts's usual manner of thought and style, of sentiment and expression, together

gether with various other characteristic features, are numerous and remarkable. We subjoin the subjects: I. The prayer of Christ for his church. II. The Believer crucified with Christ. III. Christ the author of spiritual life. IV. The Believer living by faith. V. God the author of an effectual ministry. VI. Evidences of the efficacy of divine influence. VII. The carnal mind at enmity with Christ. VIII. The nature and duty of thanksgiving. IX. The same subject continued.

Foremost among the controversial subjects of the current year, as connected with religion, we may mention that of catholic emancipation as it is usually called. The principal publications *in favour* of this subject are Lord Somers's "Reply to the Protestant Letter of the right reverend the Bishop of Gloucester," which letter it may be remembered by many of our readers this excellent prelate drew up in answer to his lordship's speech in favour of the Irish catholics in the course of the discussion of the question in the upper house: and "an historical account of the laws enacted against the catholics, both in England and Ireland, &c. By James Baldwin Brown, Esq. of the Inner Temple." 8vo. 14s. which is an extended view of the question as already given by Mr. Charles Butler in his celebrated pamphlet, many of the documents slightly glanced at in the latter being here given in detail.—On the opposite side we have to notice, in the first place, the learned, patriotic, and admirable bishop of St. David's pamphlet, entitled "Christ and not St. Peter, the rock of the Christian church; and St. Paul the founder of the church in Britain:" being a second letter from the right

reverend prelate to the clergy of his diocese on "the independence of the ancient British church on any foreign jurisdiction, with a postscript on the testimony of Clemens Romanus." In this elaborate and liberal pamphlet the bishop not only warmly states his objections to the concessions demanded by the Irish catholics, but boldly attacks the foundation of the pope's claim to supremacy, by contending that "the Christian church was not founded on St. Peter, but on the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ being the chief corner-stone;—that the first christian church was the church of Jerusalem, and St. James the first christian bishop;—that St. James and not St. Peter, presided at the first christian council;—that St. Paul was the first founder of the church of Rome;—that the church of Rome was first founded as a christian society, during St. Paul's first residence at Rome;—and that the first bishop of Rome was appointed by the joint authority of St. Peter and St. Paul, after St. Paul's return to Rome." After which he attempts to show "that St. Paul preached the gospel in Britain, and to ascertain, as nearly as possible, the time of the apostle's journey to Britain, on the authority of Clemens Romanus, Eusebius, Jerom, Theodoret, and two British records:"—the joint testimony and inferences of which render the assumed fact, in our opinion, *probable*, though we cannot, with this highly esteemed prelate, bring ourselves to believe that they completely establish it. Dr. Haggitt's "Conduct and pretensions of the Roman Catholics, considered in a letter to the freeholders of Oxfordshire," is also entitled to attention on the same side of the question. It contains the substance

stance of a speech prepared against the Oxford county meeting upon the subject, but which from some cause or other was not then delivered. Without entering into an analysis for which we have not room, we have no hesitation in declaring it to be an able and energetic address, challenging, from its perspicuity and force of argument, the attention of both parties. We have also received an anonymous pamphlet that is worthy of notice, entitled "A Full View of the Catholic Question—by a Country Gentleman;" who takes a pretty large field, and endeavours to show, both from principle and experience, that the claims of the Roman Catholics rest on no foundation of right or justice; and offers a reply to the Edinburgh Reviewers, Mr. Canning, Mr. Pitt's pledge, the prince's pledge, Mr. Burke's authority, and most of the popular arguments: in many parts of which, however, notwithstanding we admit that he has well studied the subject, we can by no means concur with him in opinion.

The institution of the *Bible Society* has been prolific in tracts produced by its provincial ramifications, containing lists of speeches delivered on their respective anniversaries. Many of these display considerable eloquence; but we are afraid that the greater number are the laboured productions of persons anxious for an opportunity of acting the orator, and of disemboing in public, the contents they have privately and with much exertion committed to their memories. The chief point of controversy has been as to the expediency of more openly unfolding the doctrines of the bible to the Indian peninsula: and it is now well known

that upon this point they have succeeded by a clause specially introduced into the projected act for a renewal of the East India Company's charter. One of the objections started against the Institution in its home department has, in our opinion, been completely surmounted by the establishment of a "Common Prayer Book and Homily Society," by an association of many of its supporters who are members of our national church; upon the plan and principles of which a sermon was preached by Mr. Cunningham at Christchurch, Newgate Street, May 6, 1813, and has since been published. We are sorry to perceive that something like a dispute has taken a place between a few, though we apprehend only a few, of the more active members of the Bible Society and the catholics, on the subject of distributing the bible among the poorer of the latter community. The catholic clergy, it seems, are ready to allow it, and have been preparing for the purpose, out of their own funds, the Douay text, containing occasional comments explanatory of their own doctrines. This we well know cannot be done by the Bible Society, as being totally contrary to their first principle: but we see no good reason why any members of the institution should oppose its being done by the catholics themselves: it would be best indeed that the poorer catholics should have the bible without note or comment of any kind; but it is better that they should have it with the proposed notes than not at all: for when the practice has once become established it will be far more easy to introduce the former; while the comments, by assuming a tangible shape, may be easily replied to, wherever erroneous.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Comprising Medicine, Surgery, Anatomy, Physiology, Optics, Astronomy, Meteorology, Geography, Paleology.

IN commencing this chapter, as usual, with the department of medicine, we shall first notice the "Medical Transactions, published by the College of Physicians in London, Volume IV." 8vo. pp. 415. It is now within four years of half a century since the royal college commenced their literary career, their first volume of transactions having been submitted to the public in 1767; so that the present is only the *third* production of this kind to which the half century before us has given birth; the grave and learned court having, within a fraction, doubled the Horatian rule, and allowed themselves, upon an average, not *nine years*, but nearly *twice nine years* for each volume of their transactions. In truth, it might have been much longer, if we may credit public report, before this fourth proof of their talents had been exhibited, provided they had not been goaded on by an accidental stimulus. Our readers are by this time well acquainted with the existence of a literary institution within the precincts of this metropolis, which has embodied itself under the name of the "Medical and Chirurgical Society of London;" an offset, indeed, from the old Medical Society of London; but which, since its separation and independent existence, has exhibited a much greater degree of activity than either the College of Physi-

cians, or the parent society from which it immediately emanated; and which, unquestionably, ranks amidst its members, many of the most distinguished physicians and surgeons of the metropolis. This infant establishment, although only in its seventh or eighth year, has already published three volumes of valuable materials, and with a laudable thirst after increasing honour and reputation, applied not long since to the crown for a charter of incorporation. The report is that his majesty's law officers, with the greatest propriety, consulted upon this occasion, the Royal College of Physicians as to the expediency of advising his majesty to accede to the request, and particularly as to any chance of its trenching upon the long established honour and dignity of the college: it is added that antecedently to this consultation the new society had great reason to expect a favourable reply; but that his majesty has since been advised to withhold his gracious assent. The members of the Medical and Chirurgical Society have dropped occasional hints at the severity of this exclusive system, and especially on the part of a body, which *at that time*, had for nearly half a century, been only known to the great republic of letters, as the parent of two volumes of transactions, independently of two or three editions of their Pharmacopeia: and we are given to under-

stand that it is in some degree, with a view of rebutting this contumely that the college has harnessed itself for another circle of labour, and has produced the work before us.

In the articles of which the work is composed it evinces a various and multiform character: the chief contributors are Dr. Bailey, who has given three papers, two on hydrocephalus, and one on a peculiar increase in the pulsation of the aorta in the epigastric region, which has occasionally been mistaken for an aneurism; Dr. Latham, the president, who has furnished not less than five papers, the subjects of which are tetanus, abdominal tumours of a particular cast, and spurious angina pectoris; Dr. Heberden, who has presented three papers, one on nyctopia, one on a supposed variety of scurvy, and one "on the mortality of London," which the learned writer calculates, from Dr. Price's principles, at *one and a small fraction in thirty* for the year; Dr. Powell, who has given an article on the beneficial internal use of nitrat of silver in certain convulsive cases, especially of chorea, and another on the prevalence of insanity at different periods, in which he apprehends that this dreadful disease has of late gained ground, though not in any very great degree; Dr. P. Warren, who has contributed a description of two cases of diabetes mellitus successfully treated by opium, the dose in the one instance being twelve and in the other twenty grains in four and twenty hours; and who has also contributed an equally valuable paper on headaches which arise from a defective action of the digestive organs. The whole number of articles is twenty-five; the last being the well known report of the college upon the subject of vaccination;

and which could scarcely, we think, have been thus reprinted after so late and general a circulation, if there had not been a palpable "of matter to render the volume of a respectable thickness. Many of the papers are valuable, some of them of considerable merit; but, as a whole, the volume has not answered our expectation; nor, as we are given to understand, that of the public.

"Medico-Chirurgical Transactions: published by the Medical and Chirurgical Society of London." Vol. IV. The activity of this rising society continues undiminished. It now appears able to contribute a volume of useful matter annually; and the present falls in no respect short of those which have preceded it. The number of articles are twenty-five, besides a short supplement. The names of the contributors are as follows: W. Ferguson, Esq. Edward Percival, M. D. Dublin. John Mitchell, Esq. Kingston. Colin Chisholme, M. D. John Postock, M. D. Liverpool. Thomas Martin, Esq. Reigate. Alexander Denmark, M. D. Haslar Hospital. Sir Gilbert Blane, Bart. M. D. James Woodrop, Esq. communicated by Dr. Roget. A. C. Hutchinson, M. D. Deal. B. C. Brodie, Esq. Benjamin Travers, Esq. Mr. Hodgson, Lewes. S. Barnes, Esq. Exeter. Thomas Chevalier, Esq. Mr. Freyer. Stamford. Charles Bell, Esq. Mr. Stewart. John Yellowly, M. D. Astley Cooper, Esq. Of these, several writers have furnished two or more papers; but we perceive, with some surprise, that the society is much more indebted for productions to friends or strangers than to its own members; for, of the twenty five numbers before us, only nine appear to have been actually written by

by the latter, while not less than sixteen are communications from foreign hands through the medium of members.

"An Introduction to Medical Literature, including a system of practical Nosology—together with detached essays—by Thomas Young, M.D. F.R. and L.S. &c." Our general remarks upon a pretty close attention to this volume, are that the learned author writes rather from his reading and reasoning than from his practice. Yet his reading has been comprehensive, and his reasoning is for the most part sound, acute, and well worthy of attention: we have been much pleased with the work, and warmly recommend it to general perusal. It contains a preliminary essay on the study of physic; aphorisms relating to classification; introduction to medical literature; chemical tables; sketch of animal chemistry; remarks on the measurement of minute particles; essay on the medical effects of climates. There is certainly more science, but we think less simplicity in the nosology here proposed than in Dr. Cullen's, if we except his class of *locales*, which Cullen has employed as a sort of rubbish-drawer, to receive whatever would not enter into his first three classes. We like moreover the uniformity of employing Greek terms as the designations of the primary divisions. But Dr. Young has made them unnecessarily formidable in length by his frequent use of the Greek *παρά* (*para*) as a prefix, and might, in our opinion, in a few instances, have been more definite in his radicals. *Παρά* is not always used by the Greek writers in the same sense; sometimes importing vicinity, as the *parotid* glands, or "those near the organ of the ear;" *paronychia*, "an abscess near the

finger-nail:" at other times morbid affection, as *paracensis*, 'defective hearing'; *paraglossa*, 'enlargement of the tongue:' our author, however, shows a disposition to confine it to the latter sense, and to employ it in this sense constantly: and hence he has exchanged Cullen's term *Neuroses*, for *Paraneurismi*; his *Pyrexia*, for *Parhæmasia*; his *Cachexia*, for *Pareccrises*; most of his *Locales*, for *Paramorphia*. For ourselves, we see no reason for retaining the preposition in any of these; for, allowing its confinement to the sense of morbid action, it is not necessary to be perpetually employing it, or even to employ it at all as a classific prefix in a work expressly devoted to nosology, or the doctrine of *diseases*; for the radicals of themselves must as essentially import diseased action, as though united to a preposition directly significative of it; and hence we cannot but prefer Dr. Cullen's simple *Neuroses* to Dr. Young's *Paraneurismi*. And in truth were the *para* necessary for the class, it must be equally necessary for the order, the genus, the species, the variety; and hence every nosological term throughout the entire arrangement should commence with it. We have upon the whole been much pleased with Dr. Young's table of medical books for the use of the student, and his ingenious method of appreciating their relative value by a variation in the typographical characters in which they are printed; the more important being given in capitals; the library books distinguished by an asterisk; and those of less or only local value by italics. We have also glanced with much approbation at his detached essays; particularly that "on the Medical Effects of Climates;" and, in closing, cannot

once more avoid recommending the volume to all the practitioners of the healing art, as admirably entitled to an attentive perusal.

“A Treatise on Febrile Diseases; including the various species of fever, and all diseases attended with fever. By A. P. Wilson Phillip, M.D.” &c. 2 vols. 8vo. This work has sufficient merit to have called for a new edition, in which the author has made a few useful alterations. The basis of his arrangement is derived from Cullen; though he admits of a few variations; his general division is into *idiopathic* and *symptomatic* fevers. The descriptions are clear, and the treatment rather practical than theoretical or novel.

“Cases of Hydrophobia; including Dr. Schoolbred’s and Mr. Tymon’s successful Cases; with some Observations on the nature and seat of the Disease. By J. O’Donnel, M.D. 8vo. 2s.” The Indian cases and practice are now known to every one: they are well worthy of being borne in mind, and of being tried in our northern latitudes: but the question is by no means settled; and the pamphlet before us, though full of these cases, and enlarged by the introduction of two others that fell under the care of the writer, and proved fatal, contains no new fact, or even opinion of importance.

“An Appendix to an Inquiry into the present state of Surgery; by the late Thomas Kirkland, M.D. in which the removal of Obstruction and Inflammation in particular instances, with the causes, nature, distinctions, and cure of ulcers, is considered. Taken from his MS.S. with a Preface, Introduction, Notes, &c. By James Kirkland, Surgeon,” 8vo. The author is well known

for his “Medical Surgery:” to which the volume before us is offered as an accompaniment. The disease of ulcer is here rendered unnecessarily complex by a too great variety of divisions and subdivisions, but it lays a basis for many occasional remarks of much practical value.

“A Treatise on the Diseases and organic Lesions of the Heart and Great Vessels: by J. N. Corvisart, M.D. &c. Translated from the French, by C. H. Hebb.” 8vo. 10s. 6d. This volume develops a fearful list of local maladies, some of which, however, we hope are rather imaginary or speculative, than real or practical. The whole range of diseases belonging to the human system are comprised in Cullen’s method under *four* classes: those of the heart alone are here made to occupy *five*; of which the following is the arrangement. I. Class. Diseases of the membraneous coverings of the heart. II. Those of its muscular substance. III. Those of its tendinous and fibrous parts. IV. Those “which affect at the same time several *tissues* of the heart.” V. Aneurisms of the aorta. Some of the remarks are solid and judicious; but there is throughout the whole too much scholastic ramification and partition.

“Outlines of Comparative Anatomy, intended principally for the use of Students. By Andrew Fyfe.” 8vo. 8s. This is intended as a continuation of a former work by the same writer. He has abandoned the system of Linnéus for those of Cuvier and Blumenbach, between whom he seems to be in a kind of equipoise; and hence his zoological divisions assume the following order: mammalia—birds—reptiles—fishes—mollusca—crustacea—insects—worms—zoophytes. We cannot but strongly object

object to this linsey-woolsey language, which is neither wholly Greek, Latin, nor English, but composed partly of the one and partly of the other. There is also an occasional inaccuracy of style, which we still less expected in a book of science designed for the use of students. Thus the author, in his description of the brain, tells us first of all that belonging to it—"there are certain peculiarities which distinguish the brain of *all* other animals from that of man: these consist chiefly in its being *much smaller* in proportion to the body, and also to the cerebellum and spinal marrow, but particularly to the nerves arising from it." And having laid down these distinctions as applicable to *all* mammals compared with man, he immediately proceeds to tell us "that there are various animals to which several of them will not apply; that some of the ape and mouse kind (*kinds*) *equal* man in the proportion of the size of the brain, and certain birds *surpass* him." Mr. Fyfe very properly recommends the student to consult the works from which he has derived the information contained in the present sketch; these are now well and widely known through our own country, both in their original tongues, and from the able translations which have been given of them. To these Mr. Fyfe has added observations from Munro, and a few other zootomists; but we do not find much which is not contained in Cuvier and Blumenbach.

"Theory of Apparitions; by John Ferriar, M. D. 8vo." This is an interesting subject: Dr. Ferriar is a disbeliever in the fact; conceiving every story to which it has given rise to be the work of imagination, and every instance appealed to, to be a

non-entity. He resolves the phenomena into secondary impressions, produced from some accidental cause, after the external object, and the primary impression itself have withdrawn; he consequently denominates apparitions *spectral impressions*. We can neither admit the term or the hypothesis. Impressions in every instance, and upon every system of metaphysics, so far as we are acquainted with the science, are *objective* or *subjective*, using this latter word in the sense in which it has of late been generally, and with much convenience, employed on the continent; or in the language of Mr. Locke, they are primary ideas of sensation or of reflection; but *spectral impressions*, as here explained, are no primary ideas at all; they are neither directly objective nor directly subjective; they are mere accidents dependant upon a morbid action of the visual organ or function. We as much object to the theory: because it by no means applies to eleven cases out of twelve, even admitting it to apply to the twelfth. It is possible that various instances have been mere phantasms or deceptions produced, as all of them are here supposed to be produced, by a diseased action of the optic sense; but this is to suppose that the apparition is only cognizable by this sense, and by this sense as belonging to an individual: and consequently must be relinquished, whenever the ears, touch, or other senses have offered a concurrent testimony, or the spectre has been equally surveyed by different persons at the same time: for it is somewhat too much to contend gratuitously that *all* the senses of a single individual, and still more so that *all* those of a collective body of individuals, should have been equally

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the subjects of disease and delusion, Either therefore all the histories of these extraordinary phenomena must be flatly denied, upon adequate and counter-evidence, or a different and more general explanation must be given of them; unless we admit not only the possible, but the actual, existence of them on particular occasions.

“An Examination of the Imposture of Ann Moore, called the fasting Woman of Tutbury; illustrated by remarks on other cases of real and pretended abstinence. By Alexander Henderson, M.D.”—“A full Exposure of Ann Moore, the pretended fasting Woman of Tutbury.” We unite these in their present order, because they relate to the same subject, and exemplify each other. It is now well known to almost every one, that the person here referred to, pretended a few years since, to have a power of living without taking any sustenance whatever, whether solid or liquid; that about seven years ago she felt or expressed a great difficulty of deglutition, in consequence of which she first diminished her usual quantity of solid food, then of liquid food, and afterwards asserted that she took no food of any kind, and pretended to continue in this total privation of nutriment for a period of two years, her strength a little, though only a little decaying, while the faculties of her mind continued as strong as ever. To determine whether there was any imposition in the case, several gentlemen formed themselves into a party in September, 1808, for the purpose of minutely watching her by night and by day for a fortnight. They continued this system of vigilance for sixteen days; and with all their attention could not, or at least did

not, perceive any thing conveyed to her, whilst, nevertheless, her usual vigour of body and mind exhibited no reduction. The fasting woman of Tutbury was hence regarded as a new wonder of the world; nobody travelled through Staffordshire or near it without paying his respects to her, and seldom without leaving some pecuniary mark of attention. Among other persons she was visited by Dr. Henderson, who ventured to deviate from the common opinion, to regard the woman as an impostor, and to suspect that the party by whom she had been watched had been deceived. He chiefly judged from the general appearance of her person; from her sustaining the usual eliminations of perspiration, alvine discharges, and other excretions and secretions; from former attempts at imposition by the same person, and from similar attempts by others. His pamphlet, which is well drawn up, gives us his reasons for discrediting the reality of Ann Moore's story. “I have thus,” says he, “collected a sufficient body of evidence to show that that there are no solid grounds for believing that the order of nature is subverted in the person of Ann Moore; but, on the contrary, that there is every reason to consider her abstinence as feigned, and to denounce her as an artful impostor. That she may be partially diseased, and that she may subsist on small quantities of food I will not venture to deny; but that she does eat, and drink, and sleep, will, I imagine, be allowed by all who peruse the foregoing statement; and indeed must be apparent to every person of common discernment who witnesses her present condition.”

The remarks contained in Dr. Henderson's pamphlet induced many gentlemen

gentlemen in the neighbourhood to institute a second, and if possible more scrupulous watch; and accordingly in the month of the ensuing April the fasting woman was exposed to another course of trial, under circumstances in which it was impossible for the minutest article to be conveyed to her without the knowledge of her attendants, who performed their office by rotation. The second of the two pamphlets before us gives us the result of this ulterior experiment, and completely confirms Dr. Henderson's suspicions. The fasting woman sustained no great inconvenience, from the total abstinence to which she was hereby reduced during nearly the whole of the first week. Towards the close of it, however, this rigid forbearance from all nutriment produced a fever which kept continually increasing. "Parched with thirst, she requested the watch to give her cloths dipped in vinegar and water, which they did, and with these she kept wetting her mouth and tongue. The watch, in general, wrung out the cloths before they were given to her; but Mr. Wright, surgeon, of Derby, being desirous of obtaining ocular proof of her ability to swallow, gave her a cloth without wringing out. This she greedily put into her mouth, and he plainly saw the act of deglutition." On the eighth day she was exceedingly distressed. Her pulse had increased till it had amounted to a hundred and forty-five in a minute. So far was she reduced on the ninth day that she became in danger of expiring. Yet though her pulse at one wrist had entirely ceased, and at the other seemed drawn to a thread, it was with the greatest difficulty that she could be brought to confess the imposture which she had practised. "She is

now," says the narrator, "sixty-four years of age; and must, when young, have been considered as possessing some share of personal charms. Her eyes have a particular penetrating keenness indicative of her mind. Her neighbours now declare that she has been seen by them walking in the street by moonlight; that they have charged her with it, but she persuaded them that it was her apparition. Amongst all the impostors that have ever offered themselves to the public, perhaps none were ever more capable of acting their part than this woman. During the first watch, (of sixteen days) she contrived so well as to deceive every one, and it is said that she was better in health at the end of the time than when the examination was first established. On the whole, though this woman is a base impostor with respect to her pretence of *total* abstinence from all food whatever, liquid or solid, yet *she can, perhaps, endure the privation of solid food longer than any other person.* It is thought by those best acquainted with her that she existed on a mere trifle, and that from hence arose the temptation to say that she did not take any thing. *If therefore any of her friends could have conveyed a bottle of water to her, unseen by the watch, and she could have occasionally drunk out of it, little doubt is entertained but that she would have gone through the month's trial with credit.* The daughter says that her mother's principal food is tea, and there is reason to believe this to be true." This last paragraph is loosely written: taking it, however, as it is intended, the case remains almost as extraordinary since the discovery of the imposture as before; for the result of the observations amounts to this, that

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Ann Moore is not capable indeed of living *without any kind* of nourishment, liquid or solid, as she asserted of herself; but that, in the opinion of those who detected this untruth, she is actually capable of subsisting on less nutriment than any other person, and requires nothing more for her support than an occasional draught of pure water.

“History of James Mitchel, a boy born blind and deaf, with an account of the operation performed for the recovery of his sight. By James Wardrop, F. R. S. Ed.” 4to. p. 52. Most of our readers are, perhaps, already acquainted, in some degree, with this most interesting case of physiology and metaphysics from Mr. Dugald’s Stuart’s previous account, as published in the Edinburgh Philosophical Transactions. The boy was born totally deaf, and almost totally blind; and consequently had no other senses with which to acquire a knowledge of external objects or an external world than the three senses of smell, taste, and touch. Yet with these, and especially with the first and last, he appears to have acquired a very considerable degree of accuracy with respect to the nature and qualities of objects in general: while, at the same time, notwithstanding every attention was paid to his moral education by his father, a worthy clergyman, and an elder sister, who seems to have devoted a considerable portion of her time to him, he does not appear, at the age of eighteen, to have had any idea of a being superior to himself, and consequently of any religious feeling; nor does he appear, upon the death of this most excellent father, to have evinced any kind of moral feeling. Which equally determines by an *experimentum erucis* the absurdity of the old Cartesian

doctrine of *innate ideas* and *practical principles*; and of the new Scottish doctrine (we refer to the theory of Common Sense) of a moral instinct underived from, and totally independent of mental reason and corporeal sensation.—We have just observed that the sense of smell was an organ on which he mainly depended for information. By this power he chiefly ascertained and distinguished persons. “He appeared,” says Mr. Wardrop, “to know his relations and intimate friends by smelling them very slightly, and he, at once, detected strangers. It was difficult, however, to ascertain at what distance he could distinguish people by this sense; but, from what I was able to observe, he appeared to be able to do so at a considerable distance from the object. This was particularly striking when a person entered the room, as he seemed to be aware of this before he could derive information from any other sense than that of smell.—When a stranger approached him, he eagerly began to touch some part of the body, commonly taking hold of his arm, which he held near his nose, and after two or three strong inspirations through the nostrils he appeared to form a decided opinion concerning him. If it was favourable, he shewed a disposition to become more intimate, examined more minutely his dress, and expressed, by his countenance, more or less satisfaction; but if it happened to be unfavourable, he suddenly went off to a distance, with expressions of carelessness or of disgust.”—His sense of touch was resorted to in nearly an equal degree, and appears to have been carried to a very high pitch of perfection. “With respect to the other means which were employed to communicate to him information,

formation, and which he employed to communicate his desires and feelings to others, these were ingenious and simple. His sister, under whose management he chiefly was, had contrived signs addressing his organs of touch, by which she could control him, and regulate his conduct. On the other hand he, by his gestures, could express his wishes and desires. His sister employed various modes of holding his arm, and patting him on the head and shoulders, to express consent and different degrees of approbation. She signified time by shutting his eye-lids and putting down his head; which, done once, meant one night. He expressed his wish to go to bed by reclining his head; he distinguished *me* (Mr. Wardrop is celebrated as an oculist) by touching his eyes, and many workmen by imitating their different employments. When he wished for food he pointed to his mouth, or to the place where the provisions were usually kept.* It must, at first sight, seem singular that he should have expressed a peculiar love for finery: but his eyes appear to have had a slight glimmering of colours, and hence gaudy hues may be reasonably supposed to have produced the greatest degree of pleasure. It was proposed by Mr. Wardrop to extract the cataract of the right eye, and the operation was attempted, but from his great resistance it did not perfectly succeed, and was, in effect, exchanged for that of couching or depression: a certain proportion of vision was hereby obtained for a short time, but unfortunately it has not proved permanent, the opaque lens, instead of being absorbed, having again risen and covered the pupil. It is proposed to attempt improving his sight by a second operation of a dif-

ferent kind. He is now under the patronage of Mr. Dugald Stuart, who will unquestionably pay every possible attention to his education and further acquisition of knowledge.

“An Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History. By Charles Fothergill.” 8vo. 8s. In the title, and still more so in the body of this work, the writer might have been more intelligible if he had been more sparing of his words; for we have too often to hunt through a wood of terms for a few concealed ideas, and not always with a sufficient remuneration for the trouble of the chase. What Mr. Fothergill means by the *philosophy* of Natural History as distinct from its *study* and *use* we confess ourselves at a loss to determine, for it strikes us pretty forcibly that the two last terms are included in the first, for the *philosophy* of Natural History necessarily embraces its *study* and points out its *use*. The author has employed the words *Natural History* in the most extensive sense of the term *Physiology*, and hence comprises under it the science of *mind*, or an extensive part of metaphysics, as well as that of *body*. The term *physics*, we know, has been thus employed, both among the best Greek and modern philosophers, though it is not generally thus employed in the present day; but we are not aware of any authority for giving the same extended range to the term *Natural History*. Such, however, being Mr. Fothergill's interpretation of the term, we have the following account of *volition* and *necessity*. “The *will*, or the power of *volition*, can scarcely be deemed a distinct faculty; if its existence, which is denied by the necessarians, is to be allowed at all; since it cannot act independently of
some

some other quality of the mind. Though volition, under different limitations, seems to be possessed by all animals, yet perhaps in none, not even in man, does it amount to *absolute free-will*; nor has it ever been clearly defined. It is quite plain that an impression must already be received on the mind, or an idea be presented to it, before any thing can be willed concerning it. This truth is sufficient to convince us that the *faculty of volition*, if it be one, is extremely limited. I should rather define it as the presiding, directing, regulating power of the mind, which, though not able to prevent the *admission of impressions or ideas*, could determine and regulate the attention towards them who received, suppressing it towards those that were (*are*) painful, and continuing it towards those that were (*are*) agreeable. I should prefer such a definition to one that could rank the power of volition equal with what we imagine to constitute *free-will* in its fullest extent."

We are afraid there is no small portion of the *palpable obscure* in this illustrative explanation. First the author *doubts* whether the will can be, properly speaking, a distinct faculty or quality of the mind; next he asserts positively, that it is not a distinct faculty or quality, because he coincides with the necessarians that *it cannot act independently of some other quality of the mind*. It is then said to be possessed by all animals, yet in none of them does this *will* amount to *free-will*. But *will* that is not *free* is no will at all; for we can have no idea of willing separate from that of freedom:—the two ideas being ideas of necessary connexion. The author then begins to allow once more that the will may be a faculty of the mind,

though he still positively asserts it to be *extremely limited*; and having satisfactorily settled this point, he instantly proceeds to declare that this *extremely limited faculty* extends its control over all the functions of the mind; and this secondary quality, which *cannot act independently of some other quality*, is the lord paramount of every other quality, *the presiding, directing, and regulating power of the sensory*. What Mr. Fothergill means by the *admission of ideas or impressions*, we do not exactly know; but the expression evidently hints that he has imbibed a belief that *ideas* or *impressions*, or both (if he mean them to be regarded as distinct from each other) exist *without* the mind, and form a part of the external world; but whether with Aristotle he considers them as phantasms, with Epicurus as *idola* or *species*, or with Des Cartes as *notional resemblances*, he has given us no information whatever. The consecutive passage is to the same effect, only that it appears to be given in loose, we had almost said *dissolute* poetry, a sort of *versi sciolti*, as the Italians call it, or *numeri lege solutis*, as it might, perhaps, be classed by Horace. "If there were no presiding or regulating power over the mind, to what a state of confusion and *chaos* would it be reduced! being able neither to resist the *admission of ideas*, nor to arrange and govern them *when received*, it would be in a state of natural and terrible insanity:" (q. is not *natural insanity* a newly discovered species of mania not yet described, or even arranged by nosologists?) "myriads of *ideal forms* would instantly rise before the troubled soul, and whirl in maddening groups, in ten thousand strange and frightful combinations, till all was,

(*would*

(*would be*) dark and horrible, and the sleep of death fall (*would fall*) upon the *benighted* sufferer!" We suppose Mr. Fothergill had just been reading Milton's account of Satan's journey from Hell-gate, through the dreary realms of Chaos to the confines of creation—a

hoary deep, a dark
Illimitable ocean, without bound,
Without dimension, where length, breadth
and height,
And time and place are lost; where eldest
night
And Chaos, ancestors of natures, hold
Eternal anarchy amidst the noise
Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.

Mr. Fothergill, however, is more intelligible and agreeable in the specimens of the curious and diversified powers possessed by different animals, which he has selected from preceding physiologists: a few of which we could, nevertheless, have spared, as being disproved by later observations. Nor can we avoid remarking that we have the same confusion of ideas running through the separate faculties of sensation, instinct, and intelligence, which we have had so often to notice in the labours of other physiologists. We do not so much blame the author, however, upon this subject, because the error is common:—the distinction has, indeed, been pointed out, and the respective seats and powers of these separate faculties clearly distinguished in two series of lectures given during the two last winters, at one of the public Institutions of this metropolis, but we are not aware of any *printed* book to which we can, at present, refer our readers for satisfactory information upon the subject.

“The seat of vision determined; and by the discovery of a new func-

tion in the organ a foundation laid for explaining its mechanism, and the various phenomena, on principles hitherto unattempted. By Andrew Horn” 8vo. price 8s. 6d. Mr. Horn is a modest writer, who appears to have pursued a very difficult subject in retirement, and considerably from the resources of his own mind, with little aid from books. He however writes with no small degree of originality, and gives us ideas that are often worth possessing, though in some instances; a more extended knowledge of optical science as it has been elaborated of late years, would have corrected a few trivial mistakes, and rendered the whole more explicit.

The eye is a natural acromatic instrument, or *camera obscura*, in which the pictures of external objects are painted upon the retina, by rays introduced through the aperture of the pupil. The pictures thus introduced, however, appear upon the retina in an inverted form, agreeably to the laws of optics, in consequence of their refraction in the different humours of the eye through which they pass before they reach the retina; and it is now therefore the common belief of optical philosophers, that all external objects are actually perceived by the mind in an order directly the reverse of that in which they exist in nature, and that it is habit alone which enables the mind to correct the deceit or erroneous representation, and to apply the idea of the upper part to that which in the picture constitutes the lower, and the idea of right to that which, in like manner, constitutes the left. There has nevertheless been much reluctance in acceding to this doctrine, and the little volume before us, which is only intended as a sketch of a larger performance

performance upon the same subject, attempts to remove the difficulty by a new, and certainly an ingenious hypothesis, which is built upon the idea that the retina itself, or interior tunic of the eye, produces an additional reflection like the polished surface of a mirror or a looking glass, and thus naturally restores the object presented to the perception of the mind to its natural arrangement and order. The author also supposes that the retina answers, at the same time, the purpose of a sheath to the base of the optic nerve, which it covers, in the same manner as the cuticle answers the purpose of a sheath to the true skin; and that the nervous base in the former instance, like the true skin in the latter, would without such protecting or softening involucre, be rendered acutely painful from the approach of its natural stimuli. His opinion upon both these subjects, however, we must give in his own words. "Anatomists," says he, "have shewn us that the optic nerve possesses two principal tunics that envelope its medullary substance; the exterior, derived from the dura mater, which forms, by its expansion, the sclerotic coat of the eye; and the interior, which is a continuation of the pia mater, and is expanded on entering the globe, by which it forms the choroides. The retina, or innermost coat of the eye, is supposed to be a propagation of the nervous substance. Thus the entire trunk of the optic nerve seems naturally expanded into the principal coats that compose the globe of the eye. I was induced, from a general survey of the organ, to conclude that the sole use of this transparent membrane (the retina) in the mechanism of vision, is to produce reflexion, in a manner similar to the

polished surface of a metallic reflector, or perhaps it might, with more propriety, be compared to glass, (the glass of a mirror) the choroides behind answering the purpose of the metallic coating upon the convex surface of a mirror.—The reader will now readily comprehend the manner in which I conceive vision to be accomplished. Rays from all points of such objects as are opposed to the organ pass through the pupil, and after refraction in the different humours, delineate perfect, but inverted pictures upon the retina at the bottom of the eye: these pictures are instantly reflected in their various colours and shades upon the anterior portion of the concavity; another reflection from hence raises images of the external objects near the middle of the vitreous humour, in their natural order and position; these images make due impressions upon the opposite base of the nerve, which are transmitted by it to the brain: thus the sensation is produced and vision perfected." Mr. Horn, in the above passage, intimates that this, in his opinion, is the sole use of the retina. This however appears to be a slip of the pen: for we have already glanced at another use he finds for it, and which he thus shortly afterwards explains in his own words. "But not only so, we see that while the retina by its transparency, answers throughout its whole extent, the purpose of glass in the production of reflection, this membrane, by covering the base of the nerve, performs the same service for the organ of vision which the scarf-skin does for the immediate organ of feeling. It is well known that when the papillæ pyramidales are deprived of this covering, the least pressure or friction produces exquisite pain. Hence we infer,

infer, from analogy, the necessity for the retina covering the base of the nerve or immediate organ of vision, in order to moderate the impression of the rays; for, if the nerve were left naked, the least impression made by light upon it would render the sensation intolerable." We heartily wish the ingenious author success. The volume of more extensive detail to which the present pamphlet may be regarded as a sort of prospectus, he calculates, as stated in the prefixed advertisement, will comprise about 400 pages in octavo: the subjects he purposes to embrace in it are the difference between the visible and tangible object; distance and magnitude; a further developement of the hypothesis before us; single and double vision; and miscellaneous phænomena.

"Times' Telescope for 1814; or, a complete Guide to the Almanac; containing an explanation of the Saints' Days and Holidays; with illustrations of British History and Antiquities, and Notes of obsolete Rites and Customs. Astronomical occurrences in every month, comprising remarks on the phænomena of the heavenly bodies, and a popular view of the solar system. The Naturalist's diary, explaining the various appearances in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and meteorological remarks. Accompanied by twelve descriptive wood-cuts of the different months, engraved by Mr. Clennell." 12mo. 7s. 6d. We have copied this voluminous title, because we think the work deserves it, and it forms a compendious index to its contents. From the title alone it will be seen that a vast mass of miscellaneous matter is compacted into a small compass; yet it is collected with taste; and, though miscellaneous,

the subjects have in most instances a bearing upon each other. This volume has rendered itself notorious from an injunction which was lately obtained against it, in consequence of its having copied somewhat too largely, in one of its divisions, from a work of a similar kind. That part we understand has since been omitted, or so far modified, as to become unexceptionable; in consequence of which the work has appeared under a new form in a new edition, and bids fair to acquire considerable popularity. In truth it deserves to be popular; for the compiler, who is generally known to be the ingenious sub-librarian of the Surrey Institution, has shown an equal degree of acquaintance with the general principles of the subject he has undertaken to elucidate, and of taste and judgment in his illustrative and decorative extracts from various descriptive poets, and other writers.

"Researches about atmospheric Phænomena. By Thomas Forster, F. L. S." 8vo. 7s. There is some fancy in this volume, and perhaps more than ought to have been admitted upon a subject strictly physical; but the author shows himself to have been a long and attentive observer of meteorological phænomena, and for the most part his remarks appear to be solid and worthy of attention. The volume is divided into eight chapters, after the following order. Chapter I. contains a description of the different modifications of clouds, according to Mr. Luke Howard's well known and classical Latin arrangement; his method and language being adopted through the body of the work. Chapter II. offers a similar arrangement of that extensive cluster of atmospherical phænomena which
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are usually described under the names of halos, coronas, burs, glories, parhelions, paraselenes, and irises, or rainbows: many of which have often been confounded with each other; and few of which have been exactly described or accounted for. Chapter III. describes the principal igneous meteors observed at night, of which the most common perhaps, though the minutest, are falling stars: these are here divided into three kinds, the common stellar meteors, those of a more brilliant kind, and the candate, or those possessing tails or trains. In the course of the present and ensuing chapter, Mr. Forster proceeds to explain them as for the most part varieties depending upon the peculiar state of the atmosphere in which they occur; and examines M. De Luc's hypothesis of their origin. Chapter V. discusses the connexion between atmospheric peculiarities, and those diseases which are usually supposed to depend upon the state or nature of the atmosphere. It contains many remarks that are worthy the attention of the medical world. Chapter VI. is devoted to the subject of winds: in the course of which he gives it as his own opinion, derived from a course of experiments made with small air-balloons, that the changes in the wind often commence in the higher strata of the atmosphere, and are propagated downwards. Electricity forms the subject of the seventh chapter; in the course of which he observes that the ancients had a confused notion of this active and general principle, though they called it by a different name; and seems to conceive that many of them designated or alluded to it by the terms *vivifying principle*, *source of motion*, *spirit of fire*, *primum mobile*,

and *soul of the universe*: but this, in our opinion, is to jumble into one chaos hypotheses that are altogether discrepant, and have little connexion with each other: it constitutes one of those fancies to which we referred in the opening of the present article. In his subsequent physical observations, the author is much better entitled to our attention, and especially in the pages in which he notices our general ignorance at present of the connexion between the peculiar modification and arrangement of electrical clouds with the electrical state of the atmosphere. The last chapter is also a fanciful one in various respects, yet it is also in various respects pleasing: it relates to the superstitious notions entertained by the vulgar respecting the influence of certain peculiarities of the atmosphere on various animals; and intimates an intention of pursuing this subject hereafter by an inquiry into the origin of superstitions in general. "Any capable person, observes he, who would write a moral history of superstitions, and endeavour to trace each to its particular source as nearly as possible, arranging them according to the age or country in which they prevailed, and including all degrees of superstitious opinions and customs from those which have gained importance from their extensive, prevalence, and the influence they have had on the manners and destiny of different people, down to the meanest subject of terror to the village peasant, would render considerable service to the cause of truth."

"A Geographical Memoir of the Persian empire, accompanied by a map. By John Macdonald Kinneir: political assistant to Brigadier General Sir John Malcolm, in his mission

mission to the coast of Persia." 4to. This work is dedicated by the author to his enlightened patron and superior: and is accompanied with a large and excellent map of the Persian empire, laid down with great care, and which will no doubt supersede, as having been in a considerable degree constructed from personal observation, the best maps hitherto in use, both in our own country and in Germany, among which, perhaps those of professor Wahl in his *Altes und Neues Vorder und Mittel Asien*, may be allowed to take the lead. M. Kinneir appears to have well prepared himself for the study of his subject by having previously consulted the most esteemed works of both native and foreign writers; particularly among the former, of Nejf Ali Khan, Hajy Mahomed Ali Khan-Genjeevee, Mahomed Sadick Meer Yusoph a Deen, and Meerza Ali Nachee; and among the latter, of Mr. Webb, Dr. Vincent, Major Rennel, Captain Christie, Lieut. Pottinger, Capt. Grant, Lieut. Snodgrass, Major Campbell, and Lieut. Col. Scott. The view of the Persian empire here offered is upon a scale larger than that to which it extends in the present day, for it includes the provinces or territories of Bagdad and Orfa, which have long become Turkish pashalicks; the greater part of Khorasan, possessed by a variety of wandering tribes, whose mutual hostilities have reduced it to desolation, and who do not acknowledge the sovereignty of the Iram; as also Cabul, Samarcand, Balkt, and other neighbouring districts, throughout which the Persian monarch is without influence or authority. The provinces chiefly described, however, are Fars, Laristan, Khuzistan, Irak, Ardelan, Azerbijan, Ghilan, Mazanderaun,

and Asterabad. Of these again, the author's principal attention is paid to Fars, the ancient Persis, which still abounds in vestiges of its former magnificence; and we have the testimony of Mr. Kenneir to the accuracy with which they are described by Chardin, Le Bruynè, and Niebuhr. He dwells somewhat at large upon the ruins of Firoscabad, a city of great fame in former times, but whose superb remains have nearly escaped the attention of modern travellers. It occupied "a plain of about seventeen miles in length, and half that distance in breadth. They (the ruins) consist of a ditch which encloses an area of at least seven miles in circumference, and in some places sixty-eight in breadth; a stone pillar, one hundred and fifty feet in height, and twenty in diameter at the base; and the remnant of a square edifice, differing in form and style from any around it. It is built of hewn stone and linked together with clamps of iron. The remains of the *Attash Radda*, or fire-temple of Firoze Shah, are on the opposite side of the plain. This appears to have been a building with three immense domes, and three small apartments before and behind, arched with small rough stones, and cemented with lime." Other ruins and antiquities, in the different provinces of the empire, are glanced at or minutely described. Mr. Kenneir examined the remains of the mighty Babylon, in company with Captain Frederick, in 1808. These extend for many miles around the modern town of Hilleh, and the temple of Belus is still supposed to retain a vestige in an immense pyramidal structure formed of bricks and cemented with bitumen and layers of reeds. The building is quadrangular,

quadrangular, nine hundred paces in circumference, and about two hundred and twenty feet at the utmost height. In it are many long and narrow cavities or passages, which now afford shelter for jackalls, hyænas, and other noxious animals. From another and a loftier, though less extensive eminence, ascribed by the Arabs to Nimrod, the river Euphrates may be seen in several of its windings through the plain of Shinar. Here also are found bricks inscribed with arrow headed characters like those of Persepolitan sculpture. Khusistan is the modern name for Susiana. The ancient Susa is supposed by Dr. Vincent to have occupied the site of the Shuster of the present day; and by Major

Rennell to have formed the ruins which are still shown as the vestiges of the city of Shus. Our author inclines to the latter opinion.

“A General Synopsis of Geography; with a projection of Maps and Charts; to which is prefixed an historical introduction to the sciences of Geometry, Astronomy, and Geography, &c. with an easy and regular method of drawing maps. By John Cooke, Geographer, and late Engraver to the Admiralty.” 4to. 11. We notice this as an elementary work of great merit, on account of its neatness and accuracy. The Engravings, which are executed by Miss Cooke, are peculiarly delicate and beautiful.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing History, Voyages, Travels, Commerce, Military Systems, Political Economy, English Jurisprudence, and Law.

WE cannot commence this division of the general literature of the year with a work of more important matter than that contained in "A succinct History of the Geographical and Political Revolutions of the Empire of Germany, or the principal states which compose the empire of Charlemagne, from his coronation in 814 to its dissolution in 1806: with some account of the genealogies of the imperial house of Hapsburgh, and of the six secular electors of Germany, and of Roman, German, French, and English nobility. By Charles Butler, Esq." 8vo. If Mr. Butler have let himself run somewhat loose in his title-page, and has given us in it a table of contents rather than a specific name, he is sufficiently terse and abbreviated in the work itself. In reality we are unacquainted with any writer who displays the same power of saying much in a small space, and we may add, of saying much to the purpose: for with him there is no trifling either in words or ideas. "Order is heaven's first law;" and the vast mass of matter usually condensed into this gentleman's publications could not be thus condensed without a minute attention to this law, the necessary result of which is, great weight and importance in the subject, and great distinctness and perspicuity in the arrangement. We are sorry that

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we can do little more than run over a sketch of the general object of the work, and the points to which it is directed.

It consists of eight parts; the first comprises the period extending from the general division of the Roman Empire between Arcadius and Honorius, the sons of Theodosius the first, to the revival of the empire of the west, in the person of Charlemagne. It consequently extends from the year 395 to 800, and includes, among other important facts, the successive conquest of Italy by the Herulians, Ostrogoths, and Justinian. The early history of the Germans; the rise of the temporal power of the Popes, and the imperial coronation of Charlemagne. Part II. extends from the year 814 to 911, and includes the history of Charlemagne's empire from its commencement to its decline, and the origin of the feudal polity. Part III. comprises the period of the German empire, during the Saxon, Franconian, and Suabian dynasties, extending from 911 to 1024, the leading feature in which is the growing and arrogant claims to temporal power on the part of the popes, and their ultimate success even against the empire itself. Upon this important subject we must be allowed to quote the following passage. "The popes soon advanced a still higher claim *In virtue of an authority which they pretended*

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pretended to derive from heaven, some of them asserted that the pope was the supreme temporal lord of the universe, and that all princes, and civil governors, were, even in temporal concerns, subject to them." In conformity to this doctrine, the popes took upon them to try, condemn, and depose the sovereign princes; to absolve their subjects from allegiance to them, and to grant their kingdoms to others. That a claim so unfounded and impious, so detrimental to religion, so hostile to the peace of the world, and apparently so extravagant and visionary should have been made, is strange:—stranger still is the success it met with. There scarcely is a kingdom in christian Europe, the sovereign of which did not, on some occasion or other, acquiesce in it, so far, at least, as to invoke it against his own antagonist; and having once urged it against an antagonist, it was not always easy to deny the justice of it, when it was urged against himself. The contests respecting it were chiefly carried on with the German emperors. All Italy and Germany were divided between the adherents of the popes, and the adherents of the emperors." The passage we have quoted in Italics is scored in the same manner in the work itself.

Part IV. extends from the extinction of the Suabian dynasty, through the success of the pontifical power to the election of Charles V. including the period between 1254 and 1519: in the course of which it narrates the auspicious fact of the decline of the pope's temporal power, which appears however to have been at least as much, if not more, the effect of internal and ecclesiastical feuds, than of political and foreign resistance. Part V. gives us an ac-

count of the origin and progress of the House of Hapsburgh till its ultimate accession to the empire of Germany; and extends from 700 to 1428. It is this illustrious house that gave rise to the German and Spanish line by which the empire was governed for two centuries, and that laid a foundation for the division of the empire into those circles, and its administration under that general constitution which it possessed till the late conquest of Buonaparte. Part VI. describes the division of the house of Hapsburgh into its Spanish and German line till the final extinction of the latter in the house of Lorraine, extending from 1558 to 1736. Part VII. gives us the period between the marriage of Maria-Theresia, and the commencement of the French revolution, reaching down from 1736 to 1787. Part VIII. extends from the commencement of the French revolution, to the extinction of the German empire by Buonaparte, or from 1787 to 1806. To the body of the work is appended a valuable collection of confirmatory and illustrative notes; and the whole is enriched with a variety of curious genealogical tables: among the most interesting of which we may mention two that contain the line of the Guelphic house, or that of our own royal family, tracing them from a period as early as the middle of the fifth century of the christian æra, the first named ancestor being Ethico, a general of Attila's army, and father of Guelph from whom the family name has originated. Through the whole of this long term of time to the present day this house has produced many of the highest heroic and political characters that have appeared in the great family of the European republic, has
always

always been in possession of high princely or royal dignities in Germany or Italy, has on one or two occasions assumed the imperial diadem, and in the long and bloody contest between the empire and the Pope, gave the watch-word to the papal party, which was that of Guelphs, as the watch-word of the imperial party was that of Ghibellines, which last however is only the Italian mode of softening it from the proper term, Weiblingenites, from Weiblingen, the birthplace of Frederick duke of Suabia, father of the emperor Conrad the third.

“Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the house of Bourbon, from the accession of Philip the fifth to the death of Charles the third. Drawn from original and unpublished documents. By William Coxe, M. A. F. R. S. &c.” 3 vols. 4to. Mr. Coxe is an old navigator over the sea of history, and is hence well acquainted with courses and soundings, to which more untravelled writers are strangers. Upon most of his friends who furnished him with documents for his history of Austria, he has again drawn in aid of the voluminous work before us, and from the connexion that during one dynasty so closely subsisted between Spain and Austria, he has not drawn even from this quarter without success; while to the records thus furnished him, he has from other channels been able to add other manuscript authorities and papers of considerable weight. Yet he has exceeded the line and tenor of his general clue, in intimating to us in his title-page, that the three bulky volumes before us are drawn up *altogether* “from original and unpublished documents,” since by far the most extensive part of his history is taken from the printed writ-

ings of previous labourers in the same vineyard, to which indeed he has pretty fully adverted in the general catalogue of his authorities. In reality he does not in his title-page use the word *altogether*, but by confining the description of his resources in that place to “original and unpublished documents,” he necessarily imports and leads his readers to expect as much.—Upon a tolerably extensive study of the volumes before us, we have no hesitation in saying, that they do credit to the compiler’s industry, and accuracy of arrangement: but we cannot compliment him so much as we could have wished on the plan he has pursued. It is deficient in the most essential features of his story, individuality of style and manner. The manuscript authorities are quoted verbatim, whenever quoted at all, in the body of the work, instead of being placed in an appendix; while the spirit and marrow of their contents are alone given by the historian in his own terms, accompanied with his own remarks, and confined to such remarks. As it is, the work will have its use as a book of research for future historians, but it is not a history in itself. The memoirs are preceded by a valuable “historical introduction,” containing a sketch of the political history of Spain, from the expulsion of the Saracens upon the union of Castile and Arragon, to the extinction of the Austrian line; or, in other words, from the close of the fifteenth century to the commencement of the eighteenth. The authorities are good, and much care has been exercised in collecting and condensing them.

“The Pedigree of King George the Third, lineally deduced from King Egbert, first sole monarch of England.

England. Compiled by R. Wewitzer; illustrated with heads," 8vo. 5s. In Mr. Butler's History of the Revolutions of the German Empire, we have already observed that various historical documents and genealogical tables are introduced, which trace the reigning family of England, through the illustrious stem of the Guelphs, to a period as early as the middle of the fifth century, and consequently through a term of little less than a thousand years. The lineage, in the instance before us, is derived from an intermixed chain of males and females, for the most part of English birth, and shews by what means the Guelphic race became at length grafted on those of York, Lancaster, and the older dynasties of the English throne. The order traced up is as follows, and constitutes the contents of the volume: "King Egbert; King Ethelwolfe; King Alfred; King Edward; King Edmund; King Edgar; King Ethelred; King Edmund; Prince Edward; Queen Margaret; Queen Matilda; Empress Maude; King Henry II; King John; King Henry III; King Edward I; King Edward II; King Edward III; Lionel, Duke of Clarence; Lady Philippa; Mortimer Earl of March; Lady Ann Mortimer; Richard Duke of York; King Edward IV; Queen Elizabeth; Queen Margaret; King James; Queen Mary; King James; Queen Elizabeth; Princess Sophia; King George I; King George II; Prince Frederick." The Princess Maude is well known to have been the eldest daughter of Henry II, and consequently sister of King John; she married Henry Duke of Bavaria, surnamed the Lion, and hence became possessed of the imperial purple: the pedigree from this union is as follows: William,

Duke of Bavaria; Otho, son of William, Duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; Albert; Albert II; Magnus; Bernard; Frederick; Otho II; Henry; Ernestus; Ernestus; William; George; Ernestus; all in a direct line. Ernestus married Sophia, daughter of the Princess Elizabeth, and grand daughter of James I. of England; whose progeny was George, afterwards George I. of England. It is not meant in this brief account, as the author indeed acknowledges, to enter into historical or political investigations of any kind; but to recognize that "in this memorable age, when a great portion of the powers and dynasties on the continent of Europe have been revolutionized, *concussed*, or subverted, Great Britain, blessed by her insular situation, has, by her free constitution and government, with the bravery and loyalty of her subjects (*sons*), ever repelled her invaders, and been happy enough *ultimately* to preserve a lineal (though often interrupted) succession of royalty." The heraldry appears to be pretty correct; but it must be obvious, from the specimen now offered, that the style is often inaccurate.

"Voyages and Travels in various parts of the World, during the years 1803—1807. By G. M. Von Langsdorff, Aulic Counsellor to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia; Consul General at the Brazils, &c." 4to. There is a great deal of information in this volume, which in the extent of its scope covers a considerable range of the earth's surface. But to us, who do not profess to be acquainted with any thing more than the book itself communicates, it is very singularly introduced into the world. From a brief introduction we learn that the author is a German.

German by birth, studied medicine and surgery at Gottingen, graduated there in this double line in 1797, accompanied, in his surgical profession, Prince Christian of Waldeck to Lisbon, who went thither as general of the Portuguese army: formed many English connexions at Lisbon; had shortly afterwards a medical commission to England, as accompanying the English auxiliary troops on their return: entered into various literary connexions with natural philosophers and historians of different countries, and was elected a member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg; which gave him an opportunity of requesting leave to accompany Capt. Von Krusenstern, who was appointed by the imperial court to superintend an expedition that was to circumnavigate a considerable portion of the globe, and in its course to convey an ambassador for the first time to the court of Japan. The voyage being completed, our German navigator writes its history in *English*, dates it from *St. Petersburg*, prints it in London, and dedicates it "to his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First." The work *may* be a translation, but it is ushered before us as an original production, or at least without the smallest notice of its being translated from the Russian, German, or any other language; and there are various passages and turns of expression which strongly indicate that the writer is not quite at home in the language he has made choice of; of which the following may perhaps serve as a sufficient example:—
 "There is no *creature* upon the earth, in *every* climate and in *every* zone, *who* bears such an enmity to *its* own species, as man," p. 139. A genuine English reader would

have written, "in *any* climate, or in *any* zone," instead of the passage as it stands at present; and would have made *that*, and not *who*, the relative to *creature* and *its*. And we have met with various other passages equally indicating an exotic hand.—The most interesting parts of the work are those which relate to the South Sea Islands, or rather that cluster of them which is now known by the name of Washington Islands. A stay of ten days at Nukahiwa, and especially the curious and extraordinary fact of meeting with an English and a Frenchman, who had consented to embarbarize themselves, by relinquishing their respective countries and friends for a residence among these savages, and who appear to have pretty fully accomplished the object of their intentions, gave Mr. Von Langsdorff an opportunity of gleanings a considerable portion of information concerning the language, customs, and manners of the different tribes that inhabit this singular island, the inhabitants of which appear to be chiefly remarkable for their dexterity in swimming, their costliness and pomp of tattooing, and their anthropophagism, or cannibal appetite. They seem to live with as much ease in the water as out of it; continue in it for pleasure six, eight, or ten hours at a time, have a peculiar mode of paddling or swimming with their feet alone, and in an erect position, so that they can carry any thing in their hands out of the water, and usually keep their head and shoulders equally above it; playing at the same time with one another in extensive groups, as though this were their proper element. The author's account of the mode of tattooing is curious. There appear to be infinitely more pains taken

taken to obtain a fine elegantly-figured dress of this kind, than we meet with to obtain any sort of dress in our own quarter of the world, even among our beaux of the first fashion and delicacy. The ornaments are inlaid with the greatest nicety, and for the most part well varied to meet the shape of the different limbs and muscles. A mere outline is first pricked into the skin by the wing-bone of the *phaeton æthereus*, a bird indigenous to the tropics, the edges of which are jagged and pointed like a comb. The punctures being made, so that the blood and lymph ooze through the orifices, a thick dye is rubbed in, composed of ashes from the kernel of the burning nut, *aleurites triloba*, mixt up with water. This occasions at first a slight degree of smarting and inflammation; the punctures then heal, and when the crust comes off, the bluish, or blackish blue, figure gradually makes its appearance. The artist is held in high credit, and is paid very handsomely in hogs, which seem to be the usual currency of the country, and which constitute almost the only animal food, except that of their own species. Concerning their addiction to this last kind of diet, the author is more full and particular than the occasion seems to call for; for he has entered into a sort of general history of anthropophagism in all ages and countries, and speaks of the different flavours afforded by young and old subjects, by male and female, and by different nations, with as much minuteness as though he himself had been a cannibal alderman. The great object, however, of this voyage seems completely to have failed; for the Japanese court, it seems, expressed no desire to open an intercourse with the Emper-

or of all the Russias: so that, after having experienced every kind of delay, mortification, and indignity, on the Japanese coast, and having been compelled to continue on board their ships for six months (for they were seldom allowed to land, except on a small strip of the shore scarcely longer or wider than their own vessels, and purposely palisadoed off) during the greater part of the time, at the extreme limit of the coast, promised month after month, and week after week, that some great man or other should visit the ambassador from the imperial court of Jeddo, the embassy was obliged to repack the costly presents it had taken out, and were politely invited to leave the country with all speed, and make the best of its way home. Two audiences appear to have been the whole to which the Russian ambassador and his suite were admitted; and even these were not audiences of the emperor, but of a *great man*, who was his representative, but whose name was not communicated to them, in conjunction with the governor of Ochatto. It was in the last audience that the proposed national intercourse was politely declined; and it was recommended that the ship should immediately leave the harbour.

“Travels in Sweden, during the autumn of 1812. By Thomas Thomson, M. D. F. R. S. L. and E. &c. Illustrated by maps and other plates.’ 4to. To this writer we are indebted for one of the clearest and most comprehensive histories of chemistry that the age is in possession of: and among other things we are also indebted to him for a most entertaining and well studied epitome of the Transactions of the Royal Society, published not long since in one volume quarto; in which he has brought

brought down almost every subject treated of to the date of the present day.—In the opening of the work before us, he ingenuously informs us of the cause and object of his excursion: “Having finished (says he) my history of the Royal Society, and being accidentally detained in Edinburgh without any specific employment, it occurred to me that I might occupy *the summer* with considerable profit to myself, and obtain a great deal of amusement, if I were to take advantage of the peace lately concluded between Great Britain and Sweden, and traverse part of that vast and interesting country. My objects were not only to observe the manners and dispositions of the people, and the progress which they had made in the arts and civilization; but likewise to take a mineralogical survey of the country, as far as could be done by hastily traversing it; to view as nearly as possible the state of chemistry in Sweden, and to make myself acquainted with the discoveries made in that science by the Swedes during the last ten years, with the greatest part of which I was unacquainted.”—What induced Dr. Thomson to shorten his intended residence in Sweden we are not informed; but instead of *occupying the summer* in these pleasant and valuable pursuits, he tells us in his preface that his “whole stay in the kingdom did not exceed six or seven weeks; and as during that time (continues he) I traversed an extent of more than twelve hundred miles, it is obvious that my journey must have been made with too much rapidity to enable me to lay in any great stock of accurate information.” Now in all this confession there is a simplicity that pleases us, though there is a truth that does not give us

quite so much pleasure. The greater part of the journey before us has been unquestionably made at home; but had the writer made it all at home, provided he had well made it, and not deceived us, as too many travellers of the present day have done, and whose trade consists in so doing, we should still have been obliged to him. The actual character of the present work is, as far as we are able to judge from a careful and steady perusal, that it contains much valuable matter, judiciously collected from preceding writers, and industriously compared with the various facts and inquiries which occurred to the writer, or which he had an opportunity of making, in the course of his tour: and so far possessing an authority superior to what they must have borne, had he chosen to have drawn up a similar account of the country, and put it forth as the work of his closet, without stirring from his native country. The volume, however, is enlivened with numerous anecdotes, occasional memoirs of persons of high character and reputation, more especially in the scientific and literary world, and with customs and manners of the country, which possess the merit, not only of elegant amusement, but of strict originality. The sixth and seventh chapters, upon the character of Gustavus IV. and the causes and results of the late revolution, we have no hesitation in saying, are drawn from primary sources, and at the moment of writing this article, contain matter of great interest and popular curiosity. We cannot quite so well approve of the discussion on the Swedish language, considering the author's acknowledged inacquaintance with it: nor of his swelling out the volume by four intermediate chapters,

chapters, containing an agricultural, geognostic, zoological, and philological account of Lapland, upon which it does not appear that he ever set his foot.

“Travels through Norway and Lapland during the years 1806, 1807, and 1808: by Leopold Von Buch, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. Translated from the original German: by John Black. With notes and illustrations, chiefly mineralogical, and some account of the Author, by Robert Jameson, F.R.S.E. F.L.S. &c. Illustrated with Maps and Physical Sections,” 4to. This volume contains a large collection of valuable matter, and of the higher importance, as it relates, in a very considerable degree, and especially in its former and more important part, to a country of which we have very little information of essential moment or established authority. The style, though not of that *picturesque* character, which is chiefly sought after in the present day, is lively and animated; the original traveller has described incidents as well as facts, customs and manners, as well as soil and surfaces, and delineated national features, as well as the features of the respective countries they inhabit, and the animals, vegetables, and minerals that are indigenous to them. And the translator appears, upon the whole, to have executed his task, not only with fidelity, but with simplicity and ease, though we must except a few turns of expression, in which he has not exactly hit upon the corresponding idioms of the two languages.

M. Von Buch has been known for many years to the literary world, as an industrious and correct mineralogist. He is a pupil of the Wernerian school, and steadily at-

tached to its doctrines; a fact which has specially recommended him to the notice of Professor Jameson, who has given a brief sketch of his life in the translator's preface, with a warmth and cordiality inspired by a similarity of pursuits and opinions. And we readily agree with Mr. Jameson, that “of all M. Von Buch's writings, the present work, his Travels in Norway and Lapland, is to be considered as the most generally interesting. It abounds in curious and important observations in regard to the climate of these remote regions; and he has shewn how the geographical and physical distributions of several of the most important vegetables that grow in the Scandinavian peninsula, are connected with situation and climate. He has, in this department, added several already known by the admirable researches of the enterprising Wahlenberg.”

But there are other, and much more powerful reasons why the Travels of M. Von Buch should command an extensive perusal, at least among Englishmen. He describes a country which is likely to become a scene of severe contest, and which possesses a peculiar, and almost enthusiastic attachment to Great Britain. It is from the friendship of the latter, indeed, that Norway derives her chief advantages, as it would be from British enmity that she would experience her most afflictive sufferings. Our traveller tells us, that at Christiana every appearance which had, upon a late occasion, the least tendency to justify the English was anxiously laid hold of. Every measure of a hostile or unjustifiable nature, was imputed to the ministry, and every act of kindness to the nation at large. Possibly the inhabitants may be correct in this distinction:

junction: but we believe that whatever adverse connection the English cabinet itself may have formed in regard to Norway, has been rather forced upon them by the peculiar and eventful diplomatic relations of the day than from any political desire to infringe upon the high spirit and independence of the Norwegians, and its honest attachment to the Danish crown. And we yet hope to see the government of our own country rather appear in the high and benevolent character of mediator, than in that of an auxiliary, in the harsh and tyrannical measure of breaking down a fealty which does honour to the human character, and of opposing the first principles of that mighty and magnanimous confederacy which is at length so effectually working the general deliverance of Europe. We thus hope moreover on another account; and that is, because we are thoroughly satisfied that so long as the Norwegians continue true to themselves, the conquest of Norway by Sweden, although assisted by the conjoint efforts of Great Britain and Russia, would be attended with almost if not with altogether insuperable difficulties. It is, undoubtedly, in the power of England to interrupt the very extensive Norwegian fisheries; and hence to deprive the country of some of its most essential supplies, and to drive many of its brave and hardy inhabitants to the use of bark-bread, and other miserable substitutes for adequate food: and we may thus add to their privations and sufferings, but we cannot conquer them: for such is the face of the country, so strongly marked, so mountainous, and precipitous, that by the pre-occupation of a few difficult passes, the destruction of an invading army is frequently almost inevitable. Bodies of regular troops

have been more than once destroyed in several of these mountain-straits, by bands of peasantry. And we have a curious account in the work before us of the destruction, by a few countrymen in Guldbrandsdalen, of Colonel Sinclair, and nine hundred Scotch, who were marching through the country to join the army of Gustavus Adolphus. Even so late as 1788, the Swedes were overthrown by the Norwegians at the pass of Quistrum, who would afterwards have taken the rich town of Göttingberg, but for the interference of the English Ambassador, whose voice has always been allowed, from the national attachment of the Norwegians to the English, to exercise a powerful control. "Are we then," inquires Mr Black, and we enter fully into his feelings, "to reward this unoffending people, the only nation in the world, perhaps, who are sincerely attached to us, by joining in a fruitless attempt to subject them to their hated neighbours?"

"Journal of a Residence in India: by Maria Graham. Illustrated by engravings," 4to. Mrs. Graham writes with considerable spirit, and much general information. She was absent from her own country for somewhat less than three years, having embarked early in 1809, and re-landed at Portsmouth in June, 1811, and had an opportunity of spending about a year and a half in the different presidencies of British India: her chief residence having been at Bombay. She has an enterprising activity, great quickness of comprehension, good classical taste, and an easy and elegant style. She suffers nothing to escape her attention that comes within her view; and seems to have left England with a fixed determination to have her eyes and her ears always open, and her pen

or her pencil always in her hand, whether at sea or land, to fulfil her promise made to a friend before her departure, that she "would make notes and journals of whatever appeared worthy of remark, either as curious in itself, or as differing from the customs, manners, and habits of Europe, meaning to paint from the life and to adhere to the sober colouring of nature." This task, upon the whole, she has executed with great fidelity and credit to herself. Yet we must not conceal that many of her remarks are hazarded too rapidly and from too cursory and superficial acquaintance with the subject, and that still more of them have been collected from other books, and added, as we suspect, since her return home, as a body to her own cursory outline. It is not necessary for us to enter very deeply into the first of these observations, since we have an admitted specimen in her description of the Cape of Good Hope: the author herself having subjoined to this description a long note from "a person of high credit who has been long resident at the Cape," and containing corrective strictures upon her general sketch. With respect to the last observation, we allude particularly to her delineations of the general character, history, ritual, and opinions of the different tribes she progressively mentions, whether Gentoos, Bhuddists, Jines, or Guebres: most of which have been taken from the Chevalier D'Ohsson, Sir William Ouseley, or the Asiatic Researches. On one occasion we confess ourselves to have been a little disappointed upon this subject. The fair author tells in p. 36, as follows; "a few days ago I was fortunate enough to make one of a party, assembled for the purpose of hearing from the Dustoor

Moola Firoze an account of the actual state of the Guebres or Parsees in India. The Dustoor is the chief priest of his sect in Bombay, and a man of great learning. He passed six years in Persia, or as he more *classically* calls it (*chorographically* would have been a better word) Iraun, two of which were spent at Yezd, the only place where the Mussulman government tolerates a Guebre college. His manners are distinguished, and his person and address pleasing. He is a tall handsome man, of the middle age, with a lively and intelligent countenance. His dress is a long, white muslin jamma, with a cumerbund or sash of beautiful shawl: another shawl was rolled round his high black cap, and a band of crimson velvet appeared between it and his brow." Now we confess we felt deeply interested in the lecture which the Dustoor's fair pupil was about to derive from his *great learning* and personal knowledge upon the subject to be discussed. But instead of being put into possession of the opinions of Moola Firoze, we are immediately referred to the opinions of our old friends M. Anquetil du Perron (here, however, called M. *Anquetil* alone), the Chevalier D'Ohsson, to whose authority we must venture in various points to demur, and Sir William Ouseley's Epitome: and hear no more of the Dustoor, his great learning, his pleasing address, muslin jamma, and beautiful shawl, than if he had never been introduced to us: who appears indeed to slip away from us, like an Indian juggler, without our perceiving either when he goes off, or by what entrance he escapes. The work is nevertheless highly entertaining upon the whole, and we are by no means surprised

surprised at seeing it has reached a second edition.

“ Letters from the Mediterranean : containing a civil and political account of Sicily, Tripoly, Tunis, and Malta ; with biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, and Observations ; illustrative of the present state of those Countries, and their respective situation with respect to the British Empire. By E. Blaquiere, Esq.” 2 vols. 8vo. This work, like the preceding, is founded partly upon local observation, but far more largely on the observations of preceding writers : and, like the preceding, it gives us not a single glance into the private history of the author or the object of his journey. Mrs. Graham, indeed, is kind enough to inform us, in a *note* to her second edition, that shortly after her residence at Bombay, though she arrived there in a state of singleness, she acquired the honour of a married woman, at the same time warning us against a belief that this was the *object* of her voyage, though, as we have already stated, she mentions no other. Mr. Blaquiere, however, does not confide to us even so much information as this. He speaks, in one place, (*p.* xvi. *Introd.*) of his inexperience of any more regular composition than that of letters, and offers this as an apology for assuming such a form on the present occasion, “ particularly as the greatest part was written at those places from whence the letters are dated.” That the author has actually visited some or all the places he describes, we have no doubt, and that some part of his present remarks was occasionally communicated to his friends under an epistolary form, is highly probable ; but as to his dates he might almost as well have said

nothing upon the subject, and even have dispensed with them altogether ; for what are we to learn from letters commencing with “ my dear friend, Sicily, 1812,” which is the introduction of Letter I. ; or, “ Sicily, 1811,” which is that of Letter III. as though, like a snail, his mode of travelling had been backward. In Letter XVII. however, he once more advances to 1812, and even ventures to put the month of *March* to the date of the year, though still carefully concealing the particular day or period of the month in which he addressed his friend. With this letter his first volume closes : and in his second he steps back again to the year 1811, and continues this use of the *old style* till towards the close of the volume, when he dates from “ Malta, 1812.” The author may plead his *inexperience* as an apology as long as he pleases, but to us this generality of date has all the appearance in the world of an *experienced* and *artful* scheme for evading all possibility of detecting whether he were or were not at the places specified during the times so loosely referred to. He gives us also as little information as to the route of his tour or succession of his residences, and the authority of his connections, as he does of his times and seasons : though we should not omit to notice that he observes, in one place, with somewhat more of confidence than so much inexperience can well justify, “ I should have most readily published their names, and acknowledged the obligations I am under to many persons in Sicily, and other places, who were so good as to contribute largely to my inquiries ; but considering their respective situations, and the governments they live under, *bringing them thus into notice*, would, I am certain,

tain, have been highly imprudent: they will therefore, I hope, be satisfied with this expression of my warmest thanks, and an assurance that I have endeavoured to profit by their communications for the public good."

Of these two volumes the first, which is by far the thickest, refers exclusively to Sicily, its chorography, population, customs, manners, and political relations: expressing it pretty warmly to be his opinion that England, though she has done much, and far more than was her due, in favour of the reigning family, has done nothing in favour of the people; and that instead of giving in the island a mere show of the British constitution, without any actual code or courts of law, by which its principles can be carried into effect, (for it seems that neither of these are yet established, though the new constitution has been voted in the lump,) it would have been far wiser and intrinsically more generous, to have incorporated the island into the general range of the British territories, and thus have quashed all controversies about its future fate for ever: and he brings arguments from Grotius and Puffendorff to prove that, in consequence of the treaty between the two countries having been so often violated by his Sicilian Majesty, we should have been justified in such a conduct upon the law of nations. Mr. Blaquiere, however, does not appear to us to be a very learned casuist upon the various points which he represents himself to have studied: thus in drawing a comparison between Mahomedanism and Christianity, he observes that "the moral precepts of the former, adopted, indeed, in a great measure from Christian revelation, would not dis-

grace the most enlightened philosopher of ancient or modern times: *God is great and Mahomet only his prophet* are emphatical words, and convey a sublime notion of the Divinity. On the other hand, with all due deference for the Christian system, with what shadow of reason can we harshly condemn a religion which asserts the unity of God, abolishes the use of images, and makes, charity, fasting, and prayer the only means of expiating crimes?" This passage is just sufficient to prove that Mr. Blaquiere is just about as grossly ignorant of the general nature and principles of the one religion as of the other. In justification, however, as we suppose, of his ascription of *morality* to the Eslam scriptures, he proceeds in the next page to tell his friend, "you are of course *aware* that the women are not, by the tenets of Mahomet, supposed to possess souls, and consequently excluded from his promised immortality;" though if his friend *had been aware* of this, it ought to have been his duty, as a *resident* in a Mahomedan country, instead of giving additional currency to such a belief, to have told him that this, at least, is a vulgar prejudice, and that Mahommed is, in no part of the Alcoran, or elsewhere, chargeable with such a want of gallantry. The passage, however, as it runs, though evidently intended to support the common error, if grammatically construed, should signify, that women instead of being excluded, are *not* excluded from immortality. And we make the remark because the same loose and irregular phraseology has frequently struck us as we have proceeded. We have said that the first volume contains the chief part of the work: the second comprises a description of,

of, what we can scarcely call a tour through Tripoly, Tunis, Malta, and the adjoining islands. The author has read and availed himself of the aid of some ancient, and many of the best modern writers, especially that of Mr. Leckie, and the Abaté Balsamo: and as a general history it may be consulted with advantage, notwithstanding its doubtful origin and occasional errors.

“Oriental Memoirs selected, and abridged from a series of origin Letters, witten during seventeen years reidence in India: including observations on parts of Africa and South America; and a narrative of occurrences in four India voyages. Illustrated by engravings from original drawings; by James Forbes, F.R.S.” 4to. 4 vols. 16l. 16s. This is a voluminous work, and contains a large portion of very miscellaneous matter, financial, political, philosophical, philological, zoological, literary, and critical; put together, like the equally voluminous work of Dr. Francis Buchanan, with little attention to order; and we are afraid, in several instances, with less exact information, and too ready a credulity. The work is superbly printed, and enriched with a variety of very excellent engravings. The author’s description of the scenery of the different provinces and countries he visited, and of the customs and manners of the various tribes belonging to them is animated and pleasing; yet in many instances of the marvellous we cannot avoid thinking that he has good-naturedly suffered himself to be imposed on; and we are sure that he has too eagerly, in various cases, adopted the questionable anecdotes of occasional companions, and the exploded tales of ancient historians. We particularly

allude to his belief in the existence of mermen and mermaids; modern sorcery and magic; fascination on human beings; and the knowledge and practice of vaccination at Benares for a very long period, perhaps immemorially, before its discovery and establishment in our own country; of all which he gives us some very curious accounts, for the most part, however, drawn up rather from the reports of others than from his own actual knowledge. We turn to a pleasanter subject: the author chiefly excels in describing picturesque scenery and incidents that make a direct appeal to taste and feeling. The following is his account of an entertainment given by the Nabob of Cambay; and, as we received a copy of these volumes too late for an introduction of any extract from them into the department of our Literary Selection, we shall copy it at some length. “After a recreation in the garden, the Nabob accompanied us to the roof of the pavilion, where music and dancing girls awaited us. Fire-works on the canal illuminated its fragrant borders, and exhibited a curious scene of alternate fountains, playing fire and water, falling among shrubs and flowers. The supper, similar to that of the Visier’s, consisted of various rich dishes; the different sherbets were improved by spices and rose-water. The Nabob was affable and polite, helped us himself from the best dishes, and kept up a sprightly conversation. On our taking leave, he sprinkled us with ottar of roses; and, agreeably to the custom of Asiatic princes, presented to each betels, shawls, and kincobs. It is not easy to give a literal translation of the dancing-girls’ songs; but, as they were superior to any I had heard before, I attempted an imitation

tion from the communication of a friend, who understood the language, and had been accustomed to these entertainments. : were I favoured by the muse of Hafiz I would not introduce them in humble prose.

A SONG OF ROSHAN or Roxana, a female appellation signifying splendour.

“ When, O my beloved, wilt thou return ? delight of my heart, and treasure of my soul, O ! when wilt thou appear to bless thy Roxana ? In vain do I wait thy approach ; thou comest not to thy love ; mine eye-lids are weary in watching thy footsteps. The sofa of my beloved is decked with garlands of mogrees, overshadowed by a canopy of jasmine. I have strewed it with the sweet dust of Kenrah, and perfumed it with ottar of roses. I am scented with the oils of labore, and tinged with the blossoms of hinna ; haste, then, my beloved, to thine handmaid, gladden her heart by thy presence ! ”

A SONG OF SELIMA.

“ Abdallah ! lamp of my life, and possessor of my heart, my first, my only love ! In vain do I call upon thee—thou art afar off ; thou hearest not the voice of thy Selima, once the most favoured of thy slaves. Abdallah ! my king, my love ! thou hast decked me with diamonds of Golconda, and covered me with pearls of Ormuz : what are diamonds and pearls to her that is forsaken ? the jewel most prized by thy Selima is no longer her own :—give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor !

“ The shawls of Cashmere, and the silks of Iran, presented by my lord, have no longer any charms for Selima ; the palace, thy baths, thy

gardens delight me no more ; take them again, what are they all, compared with the heart of my Abdallah ? O give me thy heart, my beloved, restore it to its first possessor !

“ The gardens and groves, once the fond retreat of thy Selima, afford me no pleasure ; the mango and pomegranate tempt me in vain ! the fragrance of champahs, and odour of spices I no longer enjoy ; my damsels delight me no more, and music ceases to charm. Return, O my lord, to thine handmaid, restore her thy heart, and every pleasure will accompany it. O, give thy heart to thy Selima, restore it to its first possessor ! ”

“ The Persians and Moguls whom we met at these parties, seemed fond of poetry, and one of them was favoured by a plaintive muse. The orientals allow the Europeans to excel in history, philosophy, and ethics ; but suppose we have very little taste for poetry, especially odes, in the style of Sapho, Anacreon, and Hafiz, of whom they are extremely fond. On a person of rank making this remark to Sir Charles Malet, who accompanied us on this visit, he assured him to the contrary. Being master of the Persian language he made the following stanzas extempore, and immediately translated them into Persian poetry, to the admiration of our oriental friends. They were addressed to the myrtle, a tree equally esteemed by Europeans and Asiatics.

Fav'rite tree of beauty's queen,
Ever fragrant, ever green,
With thy foliage form a grove,
Sacred to the maid I love.

Then encircled in her arms,
Free from all but love's alarms,
Let me revel, toy, and play,
And fondly love my life away.

‘ Fruit,

"Fruit, (*fruits*) flowers, spices, and perfumes introduced at these entertainments *exercised the talents* of the Mogul and Persian youth. We had several pleasant specimens of their genius during the evening in little odes, distichs, and other effusions of poetry. The splendour of the morn, the fragrance from the garden, the elegance of the dancers, and the beauty of their songs, afforded the subject. I have preserved several which were written at the moment by a young Shah-zadah, who committed them to paper as they were composed, in a most elegant style of penmanship; which, on fine Indian paper flowered in silver and spotted with gold, contrasted with the strong Persian letters, produces a beautiful effect.

"Distichs and poetical effusions are sometimes written upon the leaves of plants and flowers; this was not practised on the present occasion. D'Herbelot mentions it, but leaves us at a loss to guess what kind of myrtle afforded a leaf sufficiently large, in his curious anecdote of Kessai and Al Mamon, the son of the famous Khaliff Haroun al Rascheed, a conspicuous character in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. "Kessai one day presented himself at the door of the apartment of Al Mamon to read one of his lectures; the prince, who was then at table with his companions, wrote him a distich upon *a leaf of myrtle*, the sense of which was, 'there is a time for study and a time for diversion; this is an hour I have destined for the enjoyment of friends, wine, roses, and myrtle!' Kessai having read this distich, answered it upon the back of the same myrtle leaf in four lines, the meaning of them as follows: 'If you had understood the

excellence of knowledge, you would have preferred the pleasure that gives wisdom to what you at present enjoy in company; and if you knew who it is that is at your door, you would immediately rise and come and prostrate yourself on the ground, praising and thanking God for the favour he had bestowed upon you.' Al Mamou had no sooner heard these verses than he quitted his company and came to his preceptor.

"How happily does this anecdote illustrate that passage in the *wisdom of Solomon*, where the folly of inconsiderate youth is thus represented: 'Come on, therefore, let us enjoy the good things that are present; let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments; and let no flower of the spring pass by us; let us crown ourselves with rosebuds before they are withered.'

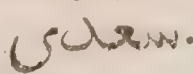
"Similar sentiments prevail in most oriental writings, ancient and modern; the Greek poets were equally fond of them. I shall not introduce the productions of this evening, composed from present objects, not so generally interesting as the following lines, which I have selected from two celebrated Persian poets, as a more complete specimen of the elegant recreation I allude to.

*Stanzas of a Sonnet by Zadi.**

Strike, strike the lyre, let music tell
The blessings spring shall scatter round;
Fragrance shall float on every gale,
And opening flowrets paint the ground.

O! I have passed whole nights in sighs
Condemn'd the absent fair to mourn;
But she appears—and sorrow flies,
And pleasure smiles on her return.

We are far better pleased, however, with the following, which is upon a more serious, as well as a sublimer subject: in order to understand the last distich, it is necessary.

* We cannot approve of this orthography. It should be, as indeed it is commonly written, *Sadi*. The original is . EDIT.

sary to know that there is a common belief among the Asiatics that the pearls found in the pearl-muscle and other shell-fishes, are produced from drops of rain which they imbibe. It bears a striking analogy to a well-known passage in the book of Job, and a passage, probably borrowed from it, in that of Proverbs: we mean, ch. viii. 22-35.

“Who made manifest the vital and intellectual powers?

Who confirmed the foundation of understanding?

Who, into the form of the human frame, breathed his animating spirit?

Who bestowed reason and inspired the soul?

Who painted with lively colours the cheek of the tulip;

And made, of the dew-drop, an ornament for the rose bud?

Who crowned the summit of the heavens with a diadem of constellations;

And tinged the hard bosom of the ruby with a vivid glow?

Who enkindled the fire of the moon as a nocturnal lamp;

And perfumed the flower-garden with the fragrance of burning incense?

Who spread out the earth on the face of the water,

And formed precious pearls from the tears of the clouds?”

“Travels in the Morea, Albania, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire; comprehending a general description of those countries; their productions; the manners, customs, and commerce of the inhabitants; a comparison between the ancient and present state of Greece; and an historical and geographical description of the ancient Epirus. By P. C. Pouqueville, M. D. Member of the Commission of Arts and Sciences, &c. Translated from the French by Ann Plumtree. Illustrated with engravings.” 4to. 2l. 2s. There is an activity belonging to the character of Frenchmen which nothing can subdue; we have often seen their

restlessness, and not unfrequently their ingenuity in the prisons of our own country, and the work before us affords another specimen of the same kind. Dr. Pouqueville was one of the *litterates* who accompanied Buonaparte on his well-known Egyptian expedition. Ill health soon obtained leave for his return home; in the course of his voyage, however, he was captured by a Tripoline Corsair, and detained for three years in a state of imprisonment. The work before us is the result of his leisure hours, during this tedious captivity. It dwells with an unnecessary detail upon Constantinople, its seven towers, and other public buildings, and appears, without sufficient reason, to reprobate the established account of the Seraglio as given by Lady Mary Wortley Montague. The most interesting part of the work is that which relates to the present literature of modern Greece. Buonaparte, who is well known to have had his eye directed to the future conquest of the Archipelago, has taken considerable pains to render it acquainted with French customs, learning, and philosophy, and has hence given a public education to a variety of young Greeks, whom he has for this purpose seduced to Paris. At present, however, according to the account before us, literature is at a very low ebb in this quarter of the world; and if it ever rise, as we trust it will, and that speedily, we now hope it will be rather under the laurels of England than of the Corsican dynasty. The work is written in an animated style; and the translator has faithfully and ably discharged her duty.

“An *original* Journal from London to St. Petersburg, by way of Sweden; and proceeding from thence to Moscow, Riga, Milan, and Berlin;

lin; with a description of the post-towns, and *every thing* interesting in the Russian and Prussian capitals, &c. to which are added the names, distances, and price of each post, and a vocabulary of the most useful terms, in English and Russian. By George Green, Esq. many years resident in Russia." 12mo. 7s. 6d. Without staying to comment on the style of the title, or of the work itself, for which, in truth, we have no room, we have great pleasure in remarking that this little volume may be found of essential service as a *vade-mecum*. Mr. Green appears to have written from a personal knowledge of the countries and manners he describes, particularly of Russia; and though we dare not say with him that he gives an account of *every thing interesting* in the states in question, we can fairly say that he narrates much in a little space.

"A Narrative of the Campaigns of the Loyal Lusitanian Legion under brigadier-general Sir Robert Wilson, aid-de-camp to his majesty, &c. With some account of the military operations in Spain and Portugal during the years 1809, 1810, 1811." 8vo. The gallant legion here referred to, though from circumstances not worth adverting to, no longer in existence as a distinct corps, acquired great reputation on the peninsula shortly before the appointment of the Marquis of Wellington: and, when all Spain was over-run by the French under Buonaparte himself, and the English army under Sir John Moore obliged to embark at Corrunna, was the chief prop of the Portuguese cause, and by its bravery and skilful disposition, under the orders of its distinguished leader, gave such a turn to the hostile attack upon Portugal, as to induce the
1813.

commander in chief, Sir John Craddock, to hesitate in re-embarking his troops at Lisbon; and laid a foundation for the successful resistance and brilliant exploits of the noble commander by whom he was succeeded. The account before us reaches from the period we have thus adverted to, to the celebrated battle of Albuera. It is written with perspicuity and spirit; and with a feeling for the good of the service, which does honour to the author, who avows himself to be Lieutenant-Colonel Mayne, as a soldier and as a man.

"Shipwrecks and Disasters at Sea: or historical narratives of the most noted calamities, and providential deliverances which have resulted from maritime enterprise: with a sketch of various expedients for preserving the lives of mariners." 3 vols. 8vo. This is an interesting and valuable work. It comprises a long catalogue of human misery and misfortune arranged chronologically, and for the most part drawn up in the words of the original historians. Vol. I. commences with the shipwreck of Pietro Quinni near the coast of Norway in 1431; and terminates with the preservation of nine men in a small boat, surrounded by islands of ice, on a voyage to Newfoundland in 1706. The second volume opens with the loss of the Nottingham galley on a rock called Boon Island in 1710; and closes with the wreck of the Brigantine St. Lawrence on the island of Cape Breton in 1780. Vol. III. begins with the loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman on the coast of Caffraria in 1782, and closes its narrative with that of the Nautilus sloop of war on a rock in the Archipelago in 1807. This volume terminates with a brief sketch of some of the expedients which
2 B have

have been recommended or adopted for the preservation of mariners. Among which are particularly noticed the Chinese frame, the cork-jacket; the marine collar, belt, and spencer; the canvas girdle; the seaman's friend; inflated skins and bladders; the air-jacket; metal tubes; and mattresses filled with cork-shavings. Next follow some peculiar methods of constructing vessels so as either to render them capable of resisting the effects of a stormy sea, or adapted to bring the crew of a stranded vessel to a level shore. To this succeed various descriptions of life boats, as those of Bernieres, Lukin, Greathead, Clarges, Gotberry, Bremner, and others. The author then proceeds to enumerate various expedients for forming a communication between a vessel in danger and the neighbouring shore; such as conveying a rope from the shore to the ship, or *vice versa* by means of a balloon, a cask, or a kind of umbrella fixed on a large buoy; or by discharging a bullet, an arrow, or a sky-rocket with the rope attached to it. Among other useful expedients to diminish the dangers of the sea the author particularly mentions the effects of oil, when diffused even in small quantities, in calming the most outrageous storms; upon this point we suspect him to be somewhat too credulous, nor could even the attempt take place but in a pretty good anchorage, or when the wind though violent is steady, and the vessel sails right before it.

The two chief political objects of a *foreign* nature that have engaged the attention of the public are the grand military drama which is now performing with so much success, and, as we trust, with so near an approximation to its catastrophe, in the heart of France; and the minor

warfare with the Americans. The career of the first has so completely outstripped the pen, not merely of the grave historian, but of the lighter memoirist, that we have nothing but detached accounts of battles or sieges that have yet been offered to the public, and we must probably wait for the close of the whole before we obtain a finished picture of its separate parts. A similar remark may be made with respect to the dispute with America; for since the repeal of the orders in council we have not seen a single pamphlet issuing from our own press of an anti-ministerial character, excepting so far as relates to the war not having been conducted on our part on a scale sufficiently large to have inflicted summary justice on the only state in the civilized world that has at this time of day the hardihood to avow itself an ally of the downcast ruler of the French, and a supporter of his tyranny and crooked politics.

Perhaps the chief political object of a *domestic* nature has been the question relative to the expediency of renewing the charter of the East India Company, and the restrictions under which it should be allowed. We rejoice that this important question is now settled, and, as we trust, most amicably to the parties interested, and beneficially as to the nation at large. We shall only observe further, therefore, that the chief pamphlets to which it has given rise, during the period before us, are Mr. Malthus's "Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Grenville," in opposition to various observations that fell from his lordship during its discussion in parliament; Mr. Grant's "Expediency maintained of continuing the system by which the trade and government of India are now regulated;" and a "Short Conversation

on the present crisis of the important trade with the East Indies," written on the same side of the question.

"Observations on the Military Systems of the British Empire, &c. by John Phillippart, Esq. &c." 8vo. The great effective military strength of the country, in the opinion of the writer before us, is to be derived in the first instance from the different volunteer, and militia corps, especially the latter; the regular army, under the present state of things, being chiefly supplied from these. It is his aim therefore to point out, as a principal object of attention, a variety of circumstances, which may tend to make these services, and especially that of the local militia, more popular and attractive. Many of his remarks are entitled to attention: he has justly dwelt upon the inconveniences to all the branches of the service which result from changes of ministry, and the consequent introduction of new systems and regulations: he also strenuously contends for the necessity of introducing, as far as possible, one uniform modification of plan. "The superior advantages, he observes, which one description of troops may command over another, is a matter of debate, of discontent, and cannot fail to produce a want of unanimity when quartered together. At present we have them raised for the following services, militia, local militia, garrison battalions, guards, dragoons, regulars, fencibles, &c. &c. and men entitled volunteers. In some, engagements are made for limited service, others unlimited, others not disposable, and others totally unserviceable. Until the whole are converted into a regular and consistent establishment, the military system of Great Britain cannot be

otherwise than imperfect." This however is pushing the plan of uniformity to a useless and perhaps impossible extent.

"A Plan for the Improvement of the British Army; containing hints to all military and naval officers; and suggestions to *Bible* and *other* Institutions; also a scheme for increasing the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, By a military man of nearly eighteen years standing." The author thinks if he can make the army better men he will be sure to make them better soldiers; he proposes therefore to improve the army by a stricter *evangelical* rather than *military* discipline; and having thus improved the armed force of the nation, he proposes *vice versa*, to increase the funds of the Bible Society by inducing in this manner every soldier to be a supporter of it and a contributor to its income.

"An Enquiry into the various Systems of Political Economy, their advantages and disadvantages; and the theory most favourable to the increase of National Wealth. By Charles Ganilt, advocate, translated from the French, by D. Boileau." 8vo. 12s. 6d. This is a useful work, and shews that the writer has abundantly studied the subject on which he has written, and formed opinions on an extensive survey, though we cannot always accede to his sentiments. It consists of six books; and the theories chiefly examined are those of our own countrymen, Adam Smith, Lord Lauderdale, and Mr. Henry Thornton. He thinks manufactures and commerce more productive sources of national wealth than agriculture. He opposes the fixing a rate of interest by law; defends public loans against Dr. Smith, and a sinking fund against Lord Lauderdale;

Lauderdale; and prefers public loans, even when they abstract capital from productive labour, and serve towards an unproductive consumption, to excessive taxes, which impair every capital, and exhaust the powers of labour. He condemns, in strong terms, the monopoly of colonial trade, as hostile to the general interest of both public and private wealth.

The chief works, besides the above, which have occurred to us on the subject of political economy are, "An Enquiry concerning the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and present State, and the Management of the national Debt of Great Britain. By Robert Hamilton, L.L.D. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen." 8vo. p. 212. "Temporary Taxation, productive of future advantage. Containing, with other particulars, remarks on the conduct of republican parties; a review of the lawless usurpations of the ruler of France; on the North American war; the Catholic Question, &c." 8vo. price 4s. 6d. "The impending Ruin of the British Empire; its cause and remedy considered. By Hector Campbell." 8vo. This *impending ruin* is supposed to result from the increase of our parochial poor; the axiom laid down and combated through the whole of Mr. Campbell's book is, that pauperism has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished: and the means by which all the evils attendant upon this augmentation of public poverty, are to be subverted, are *the making corn, instead of money, the standard of value of land and labour; and the providing agricultural employment for all those to whom trade, mechanism, commerce, or war, can*

no longer furnish the means of subsistence."

The author of the second of these three publications somewhat loses himself in the extent of his complicated subject; but he writes with great loyalty, and proves himself a staunch abominator of Buonaparte, the Americans, and the Irish Catholics. Dr. Hamilton's *Inquiry*, had we now space for the purpose, would much more largely engage our attention. The work is divided into three parts, and the following are the topics treated upon. Part I. General principle of finance. Part II. History of the public debt of Great Britain. Part III. Examination of the plans for the redemption of the national debt, and other financial operations. The professor is a violent enemy to the system of a sinking fund; chiefly, so far as we are able to perceive, not from the expense attending the managing such a system, which he admits to be sufficiently moderate, but from the extra loans to which it gives facility, each of which is accompanied with a premium at a bonus of such an extent as to render it, in his opinion, a most expensive mode of raising money. He is, in truth, no great friend to any scheme of acquiring money by compound interest that is to be called into action at some very distant period: believing them to be constantly visionary in their result, though highly productive in a speculative point of view; and upon this subject he brings before us the following curious calculations and historic facts. "Paradoxical effects are ascribed to the increase of money by compound interest. One penny put out at the Christian era at five per cent compound interest, would, before this time, have increased to a greater sum than could be contained in *five hundred*

hundred millions of earths, all of solid gold. Mr. Ricard appointed by his will that the sum of 500 livres should be divided into five portions. The first at the end of a hundred years, amounting to 13,100 livres, to be laid out in prizes for dissertations proving the lawfulness of putting out money to interest. The second, at the end of two centuries, amounting to 1,700,000 livres, to be employed in establishing a perpetual fund for prizes in literature and arts, and for virtuous actions. The third, at the end of three centuries, amounting to more than 226 millions of livres, to be employed for establishing patriotic banks, and founding museums with ample establishments. The fourth, at the end of four centuries, amounting to thirty thousand millions, to be employed in building a hundred towns in France, containing each 150,000 inhabitants. The fifth, at the end of five centuries, amounting to four millions of millions of livres, to be appropriated for the payment of the national debt of Britain and France—for producing an annual revenue to be divided among all the powers of Europe—for buying up useless offices, purchasing a royal domain, increasing the income of the clergy, and abolishing fees for masses—for maintaining all children born in France, till they be three years of age—for improving waste lands, and bestowing them on married peasants—for purchasing manors, and exempting the vassals from all servitude—for founding houses of education, workhouses, houses of health, and asylums for females—for portioning young women—for conferring honorary rewards on merit; besides a large surplus to be appropriated at the discretion of *his executors*." Dr. Franklin planned a simi-

lar will. It is theoretically true that compound interest may accomplish all these things; but such extravagances rather tend to throw ridicule on the subject than increase our confidence in its operations.

On the political constitution of Great Britain we meet with two publications that are especially entitled to our attention. The first is "Historical Reflections on the Constitution and representative System of England, with reference to the popular propositions for a reform of parliament. By James Jepp, Esq." 8vo. 10s. 6d. The object of which is to disprove the reiterated assertion of Sir Francis Burdett and his friends, that the representation of the people has for the last century or more been gradually losing its independence, and resigning its power into the hands either of the crown or of the members of the upper house; by an historical examination of the rise and progress, and the ancient and present powers of the house of commons. We approve of most of the writer's opinions, but cannot follow him into his assent that peers should be allowed to interfere in popular elections; or his view of the perfect harmlessness of close boroughs. This last, however, we acknowledge to be a delicate point; and, with Junius, the great assertor of public liberty, we feel afraid to disturb the present system, lest while we do a little good we should be the cause of much more evil. The second book we refer to on this subject is entitled "Rudiments of the Laws of England; designed as a preparatory study for persons entering the profession, as a compendium to strengthen the memory of those who have studied the law, and to convey a general idea of jurisprudence to all classes of people. By Mr.

Mr. F. M. Van Heythuysen, Member of the honourable society of Lincoln's Inn." 8vo. 9s. This book is admirably calculated to fulfil the object to which it pretends. It is chiefly drawn up from Sir Matthew Hale and Sir William Blackstone; and has a considerable resemblance to the well known *analysis* of the latter; but purposely made richer in distinct references and other explanatory matters.

On particular branches of English law we may notice with approbation the following: "A Treatise on the Law of Actions on Penal Statutes in general, and on the several statutes

of Winton, 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13;—2 and 3 Ed. VI. c. 13;—and 5 Eliz. c. 4. By Isaac Espinasse, of Gray's Inn, Esq. barrister at law." "A Treatise on the Offence of Libel, with a disquisition on the rights, benefits, and proper boundaries of political discussion. By John George, of the Middle Temple, special pleader." "Littleton's Tenures in English, Printed from the second edition of the Commentary of Sir Edward Coke." "Inquiry into the Nature of the Trading as a Scrivener. By George Rose, Esq. of the Inner Temple, barrister at law."

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE LETTERS.

Containing Transactions of Literary Societies, Biography, Classics, Criticism, Philology, Grammar, Poetry, Drama, Novels, Tales, and Romances.

WE shall, as usual, commence this chapter with a brief notice of the Transactions of the Royal Society, of which, however, at the present period of writing, we have only received the first part. This consists of seventeen articles as follows:—I. “On a new detonating compound, in a letter from Sir Humphry Davy, LL. D. F. R. S. to the Rt. Hon. Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. K. B. P. R. S.” This compound appears to have been first discovered at Paris, where it seems also to have been kept a secret in regard to its constituent principles, or rather their modification: all that Sir Humphry was capable of learning upon the subject being that it is a mixture of azote and chlorine, that in its appearance it resembles an oil somewhat heavier than water, and that it detonates with all the force of fulminating metals by the mere heat of the hand; insomuch that the author of the discovery has been hereby deprived of an eye and a finger. Sir Humphry, assisted by Mr. Children, tried a variety of preparations of azote in conjunction with chlorine: and, at length, succeeded in ascertaining that the best modification of azote or nitrogen for this purpose is the nitrate of ammonia in a state of saturated solution: but that a solution of oxalate of ammonia, or a very weak solution of pure ammonia, answers the pur-

pose as well. In the course of one experiment, so violent was the explosion that Sir Humphry had nearly paid as dearly as the original discoverer himself; the tube and glass being broken into small fragments, and a severe wound, which for a time deprived him of sight, being hereby produced in the transparent cornea of the eye.” II. “On a remarkable application of Cotes’s Theorem. By J. F. W. Herschel, Esq. Communicated by Wm. Herschel, LL. D. F. R. S.” III. “Observation of the Summer Solstice 1812 at the Royal Observatory. By John Pond, Esq. Astronomer royal.” XVII. “The same of the Winter Solstice, by the same.” VIII. “A Catalogue of North Polar Distances of some of the principal fixed stars, by the same.” IV. “Observations relative to the near and distant sight of different persons. By James Ware, Esq. F. R. S.” Near-sightedness is, in Mr. Ware’s opinion, gradual in its progress, with a few exceptions: and the use of glasses to relieve the defect constantly increases it, so that deeper and still deeper concave glasses are perpetually needed and sought after by those affected with this infirmity; that the disease is more common to the higher than the lower classes; and that instances are not wanting in which deep convex glasses have been thrown aside at a late period

period of life, and the eye has recovered its proper power. XIV. "An appendix to Mr. Ware's paper on Vision. By Sir Charles Blagden, F. R. S. in confirmation of the remarks it contains." V. "The Bakerian Lecture on the elementary principles of certain crystals. By W. H. Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." These principles are supposed to be spheres or spheroids. VI. "On a substance from the Elm-tree called Ulmin. By James Smithson, Esq. F. R. S." VII. "On a method of freezing at a distance. By W. H. Wollaston, M. D. Sec. R. S." XV. "Method of drawing extremely fine wire." By the same. XVI. "Description of a single lens micrometer." By the same. IX. "Description of the solvent glands and gizzards of the ardea argala, and other birds. By Sir Everard Home, bart. F. R. S." XII. "Experiment to ascertain the coagulating power of the secretion of the gastric glands." XVIII. "On the tusks of the Narwhal. Both by the same." X. "Additional remarks on alcohol. By W. T. Brande, Esq. F. R. S." XI. "On a new variety in the breeds of sheep. By Colonel David Humphreys." XIII. "On some properties of sight. By David Brewster, LL.D. F. R. S."

"Transactions of the Linnean Society of London, Vol. XI. Part. I. The attention of the members seems rather to have been directed to zoology than to either of the other branches which its constitution embraces; the branch of botany being noticed upon a smaller scale; and that of mineralogy comprising only a single article. The subjects are as follows: 1. Description of several new or rare animals, principally marine, discovered on the south coast of Devonshire. By George

Montague, Esq. F. L. S. 2. Observations upon the supposed effects of ivy upon trees, in a letter to the President. By Humphrey Repton, Esq. 3. Essay on the British species of the genus melœe, with descriptions of two exotic species. By William Elford Leach, Esq. F. L. S. 4. On artificial and natural arrangements of plants; and particularly on the systems of Linnœus and Jussieu. By Wm. Roscoe, Esq. F. L. S. 5. Remarks on Lichen Scaber, and some of its allies. By the Rev. Hugh Davies, F. L. S. 6. Strepsiptera, a new order of insects proposed; and the character of the order with those of its genera laid down. By the Rev. William Kirby, F. L. S. 7. A monograph of the British species of the genus choleva. By William Spence, Esq. F. L. S. 8. Description of a new species of the genus mus, belonging to the section of pouched rats. By John Vaughan Thompson, Esq. F. L. S. 9. Analysis of Satin Spar, from Alston Moor in Cumberland. By the Rev. John Holme, A. M. and F. L. S. 10. Description of mus castorides, a new species. By the Reverend E. J. Burrow, A. M. F. L. S. 11. On woodsia, a new genus of ferns. By Robert Brown, Esq. F. R. S. Lib. L. S. 12. An account of some rare species of British birds. By Mr. William Bullock, F. L. S. We think Mr. Kirby's paper on a proposal for forming a new order of insects one of the best: we have not space to enter into a discussion of the subject; but notwithstanding all that has yet been done by the foreign entomologists to simplify this class in its arrangements, much yet remains to be performed, and the ordinal and generic characters here laid down are fully entitled to the attention of methodical zoologists.

gists. Mr. Thompson's account of the pouched rat is curious. The isolated paper on mineralogy to which we have already alluded is Mr. Holmes's analysis of satin spar: it does credit to his industry and judgment.

“Life of Luther, by Alexander Bower.” 8vo. It is a singular fact, and not a little complimentary to the liberality of our own country at the present day, that at the very period in which we are more decidedly engaged in supporting by the sword catholic countries, and the catholic religion, in consequence of those countries being trampled upon and ground down by one of the most detestable, and, at the same time, one of the most universal tyrannies that have ever shewn their monster head,—we should have more histories of Luther or of the reformation, which he was the chief instrument in accomplishing, than in almost every former period whatever. Omitting a variety of minor attempts upon this subject, we have within the last seven years received a pretty extensive edition of M. Villers's well known “Essay on the Spirit and Influence of the Reformation of Luther,” written in French, as a prize composition in answer to the very extraordinary question upon this subject proposed by the National (now the Imperial) Institute; and which received, as it was fully entitled to receive, the honour of the approbation of the Institute; we have had the same translated into English by two different hands; we have had M. Villers's “Life of Luther” prefixed to a subsequent edition of his work *vernaculated* (if we may venture upon a new word); we have had Mr. Roscoe's more extensive account of the same extraordinary series of events related with great elegance in his “Life of

Leo X.” and we have now presented to us Mr. Bower's attempt upon the same subject. What, under the circumstances of the preceding narratives, biographies, histories, and memoirs, induced him to enter as a new candidate into the list, we certainly are not told, and perhaps the writer may think we have no authority to enquire: yet we may, at least, venture to hint our surprise, if in reality he knew, as he certainly ought to have known, of the existence of the works we have thus glanced at, that he has never adverted to them even in his introduction. For the rest Mr. Bower has performed his part modestly, carefully, and impartially: and if he have not given us the elegance of Roscoe, or evinced the philosophical and comprehensive spirit of Villers, he has composed a book that, from the busy and eventful tenor of its subject, cannot fail to excite general interest, and from the unostentatious size to which it is limited, is within the general reach. It is divided into eleven chapters, which follow each other in a chronological order; and closes with an appendix consisting of notes and extracted papers, some of them authoritative and others explanatory. Of the general nature of the biographer's style the reader may form his own opinion by a perusal of an interesting passage we have selected from it, and introduced into a preceding part of the present volume.

“Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A.” 2 vols. 8vo. The subject of these volumes was one of the most extraordinary characters that ever lived. The real incidents of his life are eventful enough for a romance,—they are all signalized by firmness, liberality, political

political and religious consistency, and a diplomatic wisdom that most of our statesmen of the present day might study and copy from with advantage, and that peculiarly fitted him for being the founder and legislator of a new state upon new principles; the whole is, at the same time, tessellated with strokes of singularity the most amusing, of tenderness the most affecting, and of eloquence the most winning: and, with the exception of various prosing chapters, in which the biographer introduces himself and his own comments, or opinions, rather than the subject of his work, and which every one will doubtless skip over, whether we advise them to do so or not, we have no hesitation in saying there are few lives that have lately fallen into our hands that we have perused with more secret satisfaction and pleasure. Few men have ever been more tried, whether in poverty or in wealth, in oppression or in power, in courtly favour or in bigotted persecution, than Mr. Penn: yet in every scene we are sure of the man; in all circumstances and changes of life he is still the same, firm but courteous, true to his principles, and ever labouring to do good, whether in palaces or prisons. It is a most extraordinary fact, that amidst all the political changes that occurred in the history of England from 1680 to 1710, William Penn, the quaker, was almost uniformly one of the chief favourites at the English court: highly esteemed by Charles II.—in the closest confidence and friendship with James II.—duly valued by William III.—and still more highly distinguished by Anne. And throughout the whole of this period, instead of flattering the ear of whoever might happen to be the sovereign of the day, he was al-

most perpetually applying to them for grants of toleration and other political indulgencies in matters against which the court or the ministry, and occasionally the sovereign himself, had decidedly set their faces. Yet in most cases he succeeded, and contributed not a little to the foundation of that spirit of toleration which has so peculiarly marked the progress of the last century. Yet these were not the whole of his royal friends and intimates; for we find him also on terms of much esteemed acquaintance with Peter the Great of Russia, at the period before us, on a visit to England, and on the most familiar footing with several German princes and princesses. He never, however, frequented the court as a courtier; nor allowed it, on any occasion whatever, to keep him from the sacred duties of preaching at the different meetings where his presence was most wanted: and posterity will perhaps smile with some degree of scepticism at learning that his royal friends were most, if not all of them, occasionally amongst his auditors; that the Czar Peter was highly pleased with him; James II. a frequent and reverential attendant upon him; and that one or two of the German princesses were so overpowered by his zeal and address as to become converts to the religious persuasion of *Friends*. It should be remembered, however, that William Penn, to a mind of uncommon talents for study, and a natural courtesy of manners, had added a collegiate education at Cambridge; and that, in order to wean him from his religious propensities, his father, Admiral Sir William Penn, had not only purposely introduced him into the gayest parts of his own gay and extensive circle of acquaintance, but had sent him to France and other foreign

foreign countries, under circumstances in which it was impossible for him to do otherwise than be constantly in the company of the most accomplished and polished characters of the day; and hence we have no doubt that he exhibited more native grace in his plain drab coat, with his broad brimmed hat on, in the presence of majesty, than many of our new made courtiers do with their swords, silk-hats, and embroidered waistcoats. Still there are two other parts of his character with which we have been yet more delighted: we mean his simple, tender, and patriarchal affection for his family (and we now particularly allude to his letter on leaving them for the first time on his voyage to America—and his conduct during the trying scene of the last illness and death of his eldest and very amiable son); and his wisdom and simple dignity as a legislator and the founder of a new state. As far as the political principles of quakerism would allow him to form a perfect system of government, he seems to have accomplished it, and Plato himself might have been satisfied with the excellency of his code: but the fact has been tried, and it has been sufficiently proved, even by the sect themselves, that their principles are in no respect qualified for the purpose. They can neither duly curb internal enormities nor provide against foreign force: and even Governor Penn himself, in his laws for raising a militia, erecting forts, and contributing to the protection of the adjoining province that was more exposed to French invasion than his own, not only felt compelled to relinquish the quaker to a very considerable extent, but, in various instances, to an extent to which his own council and

assembly of friends could not, as they thought, conscientiously accompany him.

“An Historical Sketch of the last Year of the Reign of Gustavus Adolphus IV. late King of Sweden; including a narrative of the causes, progress and termination of the late revolution; and an appendix containing official documents, &c. Translated from the Swedish.” 8vo. 10s. 6d. Gustavus IV. was certainly, in the turn and character of his mind, most inadequate to the gigantic spirit of the present times, though, had he flourished a few centuries before, when the doctrine of *jure divino* was more popular, and the continent less convulsed, he might have passed through life as a great man, from his chivalrous pride and inflexibility of character, and have been canonized after death for his fanaticism. We have already, in a previous part of this year’s Register, noticed the chief incidents that led to his abdication, and the election of Joachim Bernadotte to the high rank of Crown Prince. The ungovernable passions of the king, and his blindness to the real interests of his country, rendered such a change absolutely necessary; and it is wonderful to behold with how little disturbance it was produced. The author before us takes, of course, the popular side. In his introduction, however, he affects the nicest impartiality, and professes to have nothing more in view than to give a simple narrative, and “permit the reader to form his own conclusions;” yet, in the very next paragraph he openly avows the side he means to espouse, and attempts to prejudice the reader in favour of the same bearing. “The following pages,” he observes, “are principally addressed to the present times,

in order to dissipate groundless prepossessions, and to prove that the causes of the great events which they have witnessed are not to be sought for in deep-laid and long-concerted plans, but in the *criminal abuse of power*, and *inordinate ambition*." After which he immediately warns his reader, that if the side of the question which he thus avows himself to have taken, be not his own, "let him not peruse the following work; the sentiments which it contains must be to him unintelligible; and we think it unnecessary to attempt to prove what no despot has yet ventured openly to deny." We are not acquainted with the names either of the anonymous author or of the anonymous translator: the former appears to have been an eye-witness of much that he describes, and the latter has executed his task with credit and apparent fidelity.

"The Life of Nelson. By Robert Southey." 2 vols. 12mo. We have already had many lives, both plain and splendid, of this first of British naval heroes, but the course was still open to the present biographer, who has executed his task in a manner worthy of himself, and of the distinguished character he has biographized. We do not know that he has communicated much novelty, though we must except a few interesting anecdotes both of his boyhood and more active maturity; but what he has communicated is written with a sort of enticing simplicity that bears the stamp of sterling truth. He is warm, as who, indeed, is not, in the praise of Nelson's unrivalled talents, indefatigable spirit, and unconquerable heroism; but he is also open to the deep blot that stained his escutcheon in its domestic quarter through several of the last years of his life. It is absurd to conceal

it, and still worse to varnish it over as it has hitherto been too often attempted, and that not in the *press* only but even in the *pulpit*: we approve Mr. Southey's fidelity upon this, as well as almost every other point.

"The Life and Administration of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval, &c. By Charles Verulam Williams, Esq." 8vo. We are surprised, that amidst the numerous friends and admirers of the late prime minister, there should have been no one found anxious to commemorate his public talents and private virtues in a work commensurate with his own worth, and which might have a chance of conveying some faint idea of him to posterity. It is not yet, however, too late; and the meagre publication before us will, in no respect, stand in its way. This labour of Charles Verulam Williams, Esq. is a patch-work compilation of the political incidents of the times, culled chiefly from the newspapers, with a few brief notices of Mr. Percival's ancestry, collected from the same standard authority; from some cause or other, deteriorated in its language below what we meet with in most of the journals of the present day, and about as dull as it is inelegant. Could we have put our fingers upon a single page that is worth copying we should have extracted it, and introduced it into a previous department of our Register, on account of the statesman whose name it bears.

"Memoirs of Frederic Cooke, Esq. late of the Theatre Royal, Covent Garden. By William Dunlap, Esq. composed principally from the personal knowledge of the author, and from the manuscript journals left by Mr. Cooke, &c." 2 vols. 8vo. The personal knowledge of the

the author, who appears to be an American artist, was of short duration, and comprises only the short remainder of Mr. Cooke's life which he spent in America. The *manuscript journals*, we take it for granted, are genuine; for had they been manufactured for the occasion, there can be little doubt that they would have contained more interesting or imposing matter than they do at present; for we have never met with such strings of diminutive events in any journal that has yet had the honour of being submitted to the eye of the public: and what Mr. Cooke's motive could be in penning such unimportant transactions, as the author has not informed us, we are not able to surmise; it could scarcely, we think, be the pleasure of idling his time away, and it certainly could not be with a view of laying the basis of an imperishable history of himself—*monumentum are perennius*. The following may serve as a specimen: "Piccadilly West, No. 9, Saturday, Feb. 5, 1803. Arose between eight and nine:—after breakfast, and putting some things in order, went to the theatre and heard Pierre. The rehearsal on my part not very regular, as I was obliged to read several of the speeches; after visiting *the wardrobe* and *my butcher's* at *Charing Cross*, returned home; dressed, and dined at four. Read the Morning Post of the day, (which, as I regularly take it in every morning, I need not again observe, unless to make memorandums from it.) Citizen Sebastiani's report, addressed to the Chief Consul, of his tour in Egypt; I think plainly proves the French mean to pay another visit to that part of the world. At half past five went to pay a visit by appointment to Mrs. Hunn, who lives at

No. 11, Trifton Street, Westminster. Met Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, the latter Mrs. H's eldest daughter by the late Mr. Reddish of Drury Lane theatre. Drank tea; supped, and spent a pleasant evening. About half past twelve, took a coach from Old Palace Yard to the top of St. James's Street, and then walked home; sat until two, and then went to bed. This day began to keep my accounts regularly." This, however, is one of the fullest and busiest of the MS. diaries of Mr. Cooke; and, after all, even these authorities occur but very sparingly; and the biographer is obliged to have recourse to collateral documents. Of the place or country of Mr. Cooke's birth, his parentage and education, Mr. Dunlap speaks without much authority: Cooke himself affirmed, it seems, that he was born in Westminster, but admits that he was generally supposed to have been born at Dublin; while some have made him a native of Berwick. He seems, when a boy of twelve or fourteen, to have had a strong inclination for the stage; and no man, perhaps, was ever better qualified for it by nature; for he had a quick conception of characters, strictly original manner, impressive, and powerful action, pliant muscles, and variable voice. His predominant vice is well known to have been drinking:—this drove him from the London stage, where he might have continued as long as he had chosen, a successful rival to Mr. Kemble; and it not long afterwards drove him from the stage of life, as he was on the point of returning from America, in consequence of a new application to him by his friend Mr. Harris, of Covent Garden theatre. He died of an affection of the liver, accompanied with

with dropsy, Sept. 26, 1812, in the fifty-eighth year of his age.

“Memoirs of the Life and Ministry of the late W. Huntington, S.S. with an estimate of his Character. By Onesimus.” 8vo. 3s. 6d. We have now to take a glance at another extraordinary character, and of a diametrically opposite description, who has trod the stage of life, and lately made his exit. William Huntington, or Hunt, which was his original name, was born of poor parents in the Weald of Kent, about the year 1744. He professed to have had a few occasional impressions of religion while a child, but was afterwards pursued with the deistical principle that God takes no notice of our proceedings. He was at first an errand-boy in a gentleman’s family; afterwards gardener to a manufacturer of gunpowder, in which situation he commenced his preaching career. The concern proved for many years unprofitable to him; for he was driven from the post of gardener in consequence of his having assumed this new capacity, and was at length compelled to turn coal-heaver at Thames-Ditton, where he found no higher degree of success, except in a few stray sheep from other folds; and where in consequence he was the perpetual butt of the ridicule and raillery of the multitude. A dream, inspired, as he expressly asserted, by the Deity himself, sent him to London, and ordered him to relinquish every other business except that of preaching. Here he soon found means of success, established by his dexterity and zeal an extensive congregation, acquired considerable fame, and ultimately, from the scanty allowance of one hundred pounds a year, obtained by a second mar-

riage and congregational contributions, an annual income of about two thousand pounds. He died of a diabetes at Tunbridge Wells, July 1, 1813, without suffering any bodily pain, and in his own view, in full certainty of going to heaven. “All,” said he, “lies straight before me; there are no *ifs* or *buts*: as sure of heaven as if I was in it.” The friends of the S. S. or sinner saved, seem to have believed the same, and hence he has been described by one of them as “one of the greatest men of God the church has had since the apostolic day, or that, perhaps, it will have till after the suffering state of the church by persecution:” while he himself, with a sort of similar claim to the same pretensions, drew up, shortly before his death, the following epitaph, which has since been inscribed on his monument.

Here lies the COAL-HEAVER :
Who departed this life July 1, 1813,
In the 69th year of his age,
Beloved of his God, but abhorred of men,
The omniscient Judge
At the Great Assize shall ratify and
Confirm this,
To the confusion of many thousands;
For England and its metropolis
Shall know that there hath been
A Prophet among them.

W. H. S. S.

Let us turn to a better subject: “Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt. LL D. F.R.S. F.S.A.” late President of the Royal Academy. Comprising original Anecdotes of many distinguished Persons, his contemporaries; and a brief Analysis of his Discourses. To which are added varieties on Art. By James Northcote, Esq. R. A.” 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d. The life of Sir Joshua offers nothing of abrupt incident, noisy bustle, or involution

involution of fortune; but it affords another instance of successful activity and talent in what may be comparatively called quiet life. He was born in 1723 at Plympton, in Devonshire, a few months before the death of Sir Godfrey Kneller, in the language of his surviving friend and biographer, "as if thus perpetuating the hereditary descent of the art;" much in the same manner, as he might have added, that Virgil is said to have been born on the death of Lucretius. The father of Sir Joshua was a clergyman beneficed with a small living, and he himself was the seventh of eleven children. His education was therefore confined and chiefly domestic; he discovered an early taste for drawing, which, as it gradually unfolded itself, was progressively encouraged; and the result was that by a laudable spirit of ambition and indefatigable activity, its constant concomitant, it raised him by degrees to the acme of his profession, and introduced a new æra in the history of British painting. It is to him chiefly that the Royal Academy owes its birth, which was founded, under the patronage of his Majesty, in 1768. It received for several years, from the royal purse not less than 5000*l.* annually, till at length the annual exhibition was found to produce an income equal to its support, and which is here calculated at about 2500*l.* per annum. Sir Joshua died February 23, 1792, and was interred at St. Paul's with great magnificence. The present biography was certainly called for by the nation which lies under so great an obligation to his pre-eminent talents, we may add by the world at large: and does equal honour to himself and to his friend who has written it.

"Memoirs of the *Public Life* of John Horne Tooke, Esq. By W. Hamilton Reid." 12mo. 5*s.* Mr. Hamilton appears to have strictly abided by his own limitation, and confined his memoirs to Mr. Tooke's *public* life, with the exception of a page or two devoted to his birth and early studies. The life itself forms a perfect contrast to the preceding: it is always in a storm, and almost always in danger of shipwreck. Mr. Horne Tooke had great talents, but unfortunately a perpetual tendency to abuse them. He has been called a staunch patriot; but if patriotism consist in the love of our country, and an ardent desire to make it beloved by every one around us, there are few men who have less claim to such a title; for although, during the range of his political existence, we have experienced almost every mutation from prosperity to adversity, from unbounded peace to unbounded war, and have had ministers, at the helm, of every diversity of sentiment, no time or tide, no system or opinion has ever squared with his own, or induced him to think the country worth praising or possessing at the moment: its intrinsic excellence, and the perfection of its constitution were always in the past or future, and never in the present time. As a philologist his labours possess value, and evince great ingenuity; yet even these are poisoned by the political canker that fed for ever on his heart; and his skill is rather that of a logical gladiator than of a candid controvertist. He was born near Soho-square in 1737: his father was a poulterer, who appears to have given him every opportunity of acquiring a good education: for we find him successively at Westminster, Eton, and Cambridge. He died at his
own

own house at Wimbledon, March 19, 1812.

“General Biography: or Lives, Critical and Historical, of the most eminent persons of all ages, countries, conditions, and professions, arranged according to alphabetical order. Composed by John Aikin, M.D. the Rev. Thomas Morgan, and Mr. William Johnston.” 4to. Vol. VIII. The celebrity which this work has long acquired renders it unnecessary to introduce it formally before the reader. It is sufficient to observe that the volume for the year before us extends from *Pearce* (Zachary) to *Samuel* the prophet, and exhibits the same classical simplicity of style, the same indefatigable research for genuine information, and the same freedom from personal bias which has characterised those which have preceded it.

Among the works of the year that relate to ancient classics we have to notice the following: “Ricardi Porsoni Adversaria, &c.” “Adversaria of Richard Porson.” Notes and Emendations upon the Greek Poets, selected, arranged, and prepared by J. H. Monk, A. M. and C. J. Blomfield, A. M. from the MS. papers of Porson, in the possession of Trinity College, Cambridge.” With a vignette of the author. 8vo. 1l. 5s. large paper 3l. 3s. These notes are a valuable collection, and do great credit to the celebrated scholars by whom they have been compiled and digested. We are astonished, however, at the enormous price which is demanded for the volume, and which amounts almost to a prohibition of its circulation among those for whom it would appear at first sight to be chiefly intended. We by no means blame the highly respectable bookseller, whose name appears at the foot of the title-page, and who

we are informed has purchased the copy-right; but we cannot avoid repeating our surprise that a college which has sent forth so many illustrious scholars, and has uniformly professed so strenuous a desire to encourage learning, and classical learning more especially, should have consented to demand such a sum for the purchase of the copy-right as to render so high a price absolutely requisite to give a chance of repayment.

“Comedies of Aristophanes, viz. the Clouds, Plutus, the Frogs, the Birds. Translated into English,” with Notes. 8vo. 12s. Of Aristophanes eleven plays have reached us; and this is all that remains to us of the attic comedy. Of these only three have hitherto been presented in an English dress. The Clouds and Plutus, which have both been attempted by White and Theobald, and the former also by Cumberland, whose excellence as a Greek translator, and especially of Aristophanes, has been admitted on all sides; and the Frogs, which has been admirably given by Mr. Dunster. The two comedies rendered by Cumberland and the one by Dunster are here reprinted; to which a translation of the Birds is added by the present editor, a member of one of the universities. It is given in prose for the following reasons offered in the preface, to the whole of which, however, we by no means accede. “With respect to those who think that a metrical version would be better adapted to the purpose, we are bound in duty to give our reasons for differing from them in opinion. A sort of *comico-prosaic* style, if we may be allowed the expression, is the style which suits best the language of English farce. The style of Aristophanes approaches nearest to this.

this. A translation, therefore, upon this principle, will combine two advantages. The force of every passage, and the keenness of every joke, will be the more effectually preserved; while the fulness of every expression will be the more naturally represented, each line being free from the necessity of consisting of a certain number of syllables. It will come at once within the reach of the English reader, and will assist the scholar in acquiring a knowledge of the original Greek." Now each line would certainly bear a much nearer resemblance to the original Greek if in easy and regular metre; nor needs it, even in this case, be under "the necessity of consisting of a *certain* number of syllables; for the Iambic of ten syllables may be, as in truth it most commonly is, occasionally intermixed with a terminating alcaic or redundant syllable, or an Alexandrine verse; and all these again may casually be varied by a break or hemistich. The version, however, as it is, has considerable merit, and is for the most part well elucidated from the commentaries of Professor Beck, with occasional assistances derived from Bentley, Porson, and Kuster. The text is that of Brunck. "If the plan upon which *the Birds* has been executed, shall be found acceptable to the public," says the translator, "we shall speedily commit to the press a second volume, containing a version of *the Wasps*, *the Acharnians*, *the Peace*, and *the Knights*."

"Funeral Orations in praise of Military Men: translated from the Greek of Thucydides, Plato, and Lycias: with explanatory Notes, and some account of the Authors. By the Rev. Thomas Broadhurst." 8vo. 16s. The subjects of this ele-

gant and interesting volume are the following: Life of Thucydides; Character of Pericles; brief Remarks on ancient Funeral Orations; description of the Funeral Ceremony, by Thucydides; Oration of Pericles; Life of Plato; Menexemes, or Funeral Oration of Plato; Life of Lysias; Oration of Lysias; additional Observations; Index. The memoirs are purposely concise, and are chiefly intended as explanatory prolegomena. The funeral harangues are for the most part rendered from the original text as edited in 1746, by the Rev. Dr. Bentham, formerly Canon of Christ Church, Oxford, who accompanied it with a learned preface and notes.

"Collections from the Greek Anthology: by the Rev. R. Bland and others." 8vo. 16s. This volume commences with a preface containing an historical notice of the principal authors (as far as they are known) and collectors of Greek epigrams, with remarks on the editions of Brunck and Jacobs. The work, as intimated in the title-page, is the joint production of several hands, indicated by a single capital letter at the foot of the piece, though the only name that appears at length is that of the editor, who is a considerable contributor. The poems are divided into classes, as moral, symposiac, amatory, satirical, humorous, and sepulchral. At the end of each class is subjoined a series of explanatory notes, interwoven with specimens of a more modern date. There is much spirit in many of these renderings, and we have already selected from them accordingly with some degree of freedom.

"The two last Pleadings of Marcus Tullius Cicero against Caius Verres: translated and illustrated with Notes by Charles Kelsall, Esq.

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author

author of a Letter from Athens." 8vo. 15s. The pleadings here presented are selected, and justly estimated, as the finest of all that belong to the Roman orator: they are in the main given fairly, though we think they might have been equally literal and possessed more *aroma*, or *unction*, as the French theologians would call it. We have also strenuously to object to the use of such finical terms as *fêtes champêtres*, *boudoir*, *ridicule* (*reticulum*) a little net-work bag, in the present instance stuffed with roses: as also to the promiscuous use, in the very same sentence too, of the singular and plural pronoun of the second person, as in the following passage: "Here Quintus Catullus, I call upon *thee*. I am speaking of *your* splendid and beautiful ornament. It belongs 'o *you*, not only to reprobate this crime with the severity of a judge, but even that of an enemy or accuser."

"Ovid's Metamorphoses: translated by William Orger; with the original Latin text." Vol. I. 8vo. 10s. This translation is rendered with great ease, sufficient fidelity, and no deficiency of spirit. The writer's intention is to publish a Number quarterly, till the whole of Ovid has been mastered. The volume before us (for we have not yet received more than the first (is limited to the first seven books of the Metamorphoses. We wish Mr. Orger success; for in our opinion he well deserves it.

"Correspondence of the late Gilbert Wakefield, B. A. with the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox, in the years 1796-1801: chiefly on subjects of Classical Literature." 8vo. We have been more than ordinarily pleased with this little volume; and we have been pleased on

various accounts. First, we have been accustomed to contemplate the writers as peculiarly characterised by somewhat of an ebullient, though always an honest warmth, in the different kinds of controversy (sometimes, indeed, in the same kind) to which they were directed by their professional pursuits; and we here find all ebullience subsided; undue heat softened into the most polite and mutual deference of opinion, and the storm of politics exchanged for the calm and purity of philological studies and Greek and Roman literature. Secondly, we find this subject maintained with a spirit and comprehensiveness of survey, for which we did not give either of the writers full credit while alive, aware, as we have never ceased to be, of their natural talents, and highly cultivated understanding. Thirdly, it is a work of elegance, therefore, that breaks upon us unexpectedly, and is consequently the more cordially welcome. And fourthly, under the peculiar circumstances and period of time through which the correspondence extends, it does the highest honour to both the writers; for although there is nothing more than a few incidental allusions to the fact, it commences upon a literary subject, not long before Mr. Wakefield's prosecution for a libel, continues through the whole of his confinement of three years in Dorchester gaol, and terminates almost immediately upon his liberation. The opening letter is dated Dec. 17, 1796, and is from Mr. Fox to Mr. Wakefield, in acknowledgement of the present of the first volume of Mr. Wakefield's Lucretius, dedicated to himself, and evidently shows that at this time nothing more than a nominal acquaintance subsisted

subsisted between them. The second is from the same to the same, in acknowledgment of the receipt of the second volume, as also of a pamphlet of Mr. Wakefield's upon Porson's *Hecuba*; and though without a date, must have been written in the summer of 1797, at which time this volume was published. The classical correspondence commences from this period, in consequence of a few queries proposed by Mr. Fox in relation to subjects more or less connected with the *Hecuba*; and from this point it spreads to a variety of other quarters of elegant criticism, chiefly, as we have already observed, Greek and Latin, though not unfrequently involving allusions to the polite literature of modern times, and especially of our own country. There is one thing with which we have been particularly pleased, and that is the delicate attention and shades of advice (for they do not amount to more) that Mr. Fox ventures incidentally to address to Mr. Wakefield, upon the first severe feeling of his sentence and imprisonment. While he adverts to the subject only incidentally, yet always honestly, and therefore consistently with his own political opinions with strong expressions of disapprobation, he seems to labour with the most friendly assiduity in calling off his attention from his sense of suffering, by a more than ordinary rapidity in exercising his critical acumen, and thus drawing forth from Mr. Wakefield in his own support, the master passion of his heart. And as soon as he finds Mr. W. is about to engage, during his confinement, upon some work for the purpose of occupying his time, and benefiting his family, he strongly, but in the most gentle manner, dissuades him, by all

means, from directing it to a political subject. The chief points discussed are verbal and grammatical criticisms; but they are discussed with so much taste, collateral reference, and elegant quotation, as to be always interesting and often important. Among other peculiarities of opinion on the side of Mr. Wakefield, we have to notice his hypothesis that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are two distinct bundles of poems, written by different blind bards. 'Ομηγοί rather than 'Ομηρος, in very early though different periods of the Greek language, and afterwards put together by some persons through the means of a few interstitial verses; and he thus endeavours to account for the different degrees of merit that belong to different parts of these excellent productions, and especially for the diversities that occur in the use and omission of the digamma: to which opinion, however, his Right Hon. correspondent does not incline, though he treats it, as he does every other opinion of Mr. W. with great respect. Another singularity in Mr. Wakefield seems to have been his dislike of Cowper's blank verse, and the rhymed stanza of Spencer, to both which Mr. Fox appears to have been most warmly attached. Mr. Wakefield's observations upon the digamma, however, and the supernumerary *ν* at the termination of certain words in the Greek tragedians, are peculiarly worthy of attention.

“A Tour through Italy, exhibiting a view of its Scenery, *its* Antiquities, and *its* Monuments; particularly as they are objects of classical interest and elucidation, &c. By the Rev. John Chetwode Eustace.” 2 vols. 4to. These are splendid volumes, occasionally illustrated with engravings, and to men of *classical* taste, for whom they are

peculiarly intended, cannot fail to afford a rich as well as a plenteous entertainment. Mr. Eustace is a Roman Catholic clergyman of enlightened mind, and liberal principles, ardently attached to Greek and Roman studies, and especially to the polite literature with which they are so splendidly inwrought. The tour sketched out in the following pages," says the journalist, "was undertaken in company with Philip Roche, Esq. a young gentleman of fortune, who, while he spared no expence to render it instructive, contributed much to its pleasures by his gentle manners, and by his many mild and benevolent virtues; virtues which, as it was hoped, would have extended their influence through a long and prosperous life, and contributed to the happiness, not of his family only, but of an extensive circle of friends and acquaintance. But these hopes were vain, and the author is destined to pay this unavailing tribute to the memory of his friend and companion. The two gentlemen, who, with the author and his fellow-traveller, formed the party often alluded to in the following pages, were the Hon. Mr. Cust, now Lord Brownlow, and Robert Rushbroke, of Rushbroke Hall, Esq." The tour, as stated in the title-page, is devoted to the classical beauties of Italy, although the author cannot avoid occasionally indulging a digressive and venial imprecation against the Goths of our own times, who have pillaged the country of its finest productions, both of nature and art, and have in a thousand instances, with the most unfeeling barbarism, wantonly destroyed many of the best monuments of Greek or Roman taste. He starts from Vienna by Inspruck, crosses the Alps, passes

through Bolsano and Trent, and arrives at Verona, of the ancient and modern state of which he gives an interesting account. His course then tends through Vicenza and Padua, to Venice; from which he returns to Padua, and passes on to Mantua, where he forgets not to pay due honours to Virgil; nor to weep over the robberies his birth-place has endured, first from Austrian *protection*, and afterwards from French: though we are glad to find that shortly after the establishment of the Austrian government in this city, "the arts and sciences were not neglected:" that "an Imperial academy was erected, a noble palace devoted to its meetings, and a fine assemblage of antiquities collected in its galleries." Nothing of this sort, however, appears to have consoled the Mantuans for their second loss of liberty under the accursed kiss of French fraternity. The fostering genius of Buonaparte plundered the academy which the Austrian court had founded, and carried off the revered bust of Virgil, which having been dug out of the lake in the sixteenth century, was placed by the Austrians in the academical gallery, and esteemed by the Mantuans the richest jewel they were possessed of. To complete the farce, while this disgrace was openly cast upon the prince of the Roman poets, they celebrated with cruel mockery civic feasts in honour of him, and erected *plaster* busts in the place of his marble statues.

Pursuing his picturesque course our author advances progressively to Cremona, Placentia, Parma, Reggio, and Modena, constantly enriching his journal with notices that evince a refined taste and a cultivated understanding. Bologna occupies a more detailed description, and he at length

length reaches Rome, by Rimini, Fano, Ancona, and Loretto, the description of which, together with its fascinating environs, the banks of the Anio, Tiber, and the Digentià, the Tivoli, and the Vicenza, the Sabine farm, the retreat of Catullus, the villas of Mæcenæ and Virgil, carry us from Chapter VIII. to Chapter XX. We then accompany the author and his pleasant party to Naples, where we are as agreeably enraptured, and for nearly as long a period of time: the smooth waters of Baiæ, the fields of Elysium, the groves of Cumæ, the Pompeian lake, the rich and interesting ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, all passing in succession before our eyes, and each rivetting our attention as it advances. The second volume is somewhat more detached and erratic in its lucubrations, and seems, in some degree, intended to supply various occasional lacunæ in the first. It notices Beneventum and Pæstum; passes on to a description of the royal family of Naples (now of Sicily) and of the modern Neapolitans: returns to Rome, and delineates a variety of other facts in relation to it, both of ancient and existing times. We then start for Florence, and take a survey of its buildings, mausoleum, gallery, museum, and environs, particularly the Arno, Fæsalæ, and Vallambrosa. Piza next solicits our attention, Genoa, Pavia, Milan, Como, and Turin: we recross the Alps, and find much matter for agreeable remark on traversing Mount Cennis. The work concludes with a dissertation containing general observations on the geography, climate, scenery, history, language, literature, and religion of Italy, and on the character of the Italians. The minute survey we have taken of it shews sufficiently

the agreeable impression it has made on our minds, and we are hence anxious to make the same on the minds of our readers.

Of elementary books for acquiring classical literature we have to notice the following: "A Sketch of the Greek Accidence arranged in a manner convenient for transcription; by means of which learners may be assisted in committing it to memory. By John Hodgkin." 8vo. 4s. 6d. Mr. Hodgkin appears to have been an active labourer in the initiatory field of school-learning: for we find him appealing in his title-page to the following works which he has already supplied in this line, and of which the little book before us is intended as a part of the series: Introduction to Writing; Sketch of the Geography of England; Definition of some of the terms made use of in Geography and Astronomy; Calligraphia Græca et Pœcilographia Græca; Specimens of Greek Penmanship; and about half a dozen others. The plan of the present production is to habituate the learner to a knowledge of the Greek grammar by accustoming him to copy the elementary parts repeatedly as etymological exercises, and this in conjunction with the same parts of speech in Latin, English, French, and Italian. Frequent transcription unquestionably tends strongly to fix the matter transcribed on the memory; and so far the present plan may be highly useful.

"First Rudiments of General Grammar, applicable to all languages. Comprised in twelve Elementary Lessons." 8vo. 3s. 6d. The author attempts to follow the method of the Abbé Gaultier; to explain things while he induces the pupil to learn lessons; and to reach that happy medium which lies between
too

too superficial and too multiplex a mode of instruction. We think the attempt is not sufficiently dignified or formal for a foundation of solid learning; for we are old-fashioned enough to believe that real learning, and especially elementary learning, cannot be acquired without actual labour (a principle that should first and foremost be impressed upon the mind of the pupil), and that the relation of master and scholar can never be duly supported by the chit-chat of infantine colloquy. We may take an example from the writer's advertisement; "My dear children," says he, "you are now come to an age when it is necessary to learn grammar, which teaches you how to express your *ideas* by *words*. You know what words are; but you do not *exactly* understand what is meant by the word *idea*. It shall therefore be the object of my first lesson to explain it to you. You see in your grammar that an *idea* is the mere representation or image in our own mind of any thing external that came to our knowledge through the five senses. And that you may perfectly understand what this means, let me ask you some questions." It is not necessary to follow the author in his questions, for they by no means answer the purpose. It is enough to hint that in his very outset the pupil is here initiated into error, and that the teacher commences with one of the most abstruse doctrines of logic, instead of one of the plainest parts of speech. The author flatters himself that he *exactly* understands and is able to make the ring of little children, to whom he addresses himself, equally understand the meaning of an *idea*; and he tells them that it is an *image of any thing eternal*. This might have done in the days of Aristotle and Epicurus; it would

scarcely, however, have answered in Des Cartes's time; and has been exploded from every school both at home and abroad ever since the days of Mr. Locke. We do not profess to know either *exactly* or at all what an *idea* is; but in no sense whatever can it be scientifically regarded as an *image*, whether the mind be contemplated as material or immaterial. But we have another objection to this definition; we are farther told that it is an "*image in our own minds of any thing external that came to our knowledge through the five senses*:" the writer, indeed, would have spoken more correctly if he had said "*through any one of the five senses*." But this is not what we refer to: our objection is to this extraordinary limitation of ideas, and to the child's being taught as a first principle that the only source of ideas (for there is no other pointed out to him) is external objects, or the external senses. Now it so happens that by far the greater number of ideas is derived not from an *external* but from an *internal* source, not from the *senses without* but the *reflexion within*. It would have puzzled the teacher not a little, we apprehend, had any one of his young pupils inquired of him from which of the five senses the mind derives its *idea* or *image* as he calls it, of grammar, the subject before them? from smell, taste, touch, sight, or hearing? From which of them it derives the *idea* or *image* of *right* and *wrong*? of superiority and inferiority? of gratitude, love, benevolence? We recommend Mr. St. Quintin to a re-perusal of Locke's Essay before he gives a second edition of his "*first rudiments*" to the world.

"Elements of English Grammar,
with

with numerous Exercises, &c. By the Rev. W. Allen. 12mo. 5s. "A Grammar of the English Language; containing a complete summary of its rules, &c. By John Grant, A.M. 8vo. 6s. Both these are useful works, and evince a patient attention to a variety of points which to the superficial multitude it may appear strange in this late period of our vernacular language, have never to this day been fully ascertained and settled. Mr. Allen's Grammar is designed expressly to embrace all the important principles of the *Epea Pteroenta*; and his dicta are well supported by examples drawn from the purest and most approved writers; very frequently, and in our opinion, correctly, from the old English poets, especially Chaucer. Mr. Grant shoots with somewhat of a longer bow, and extends his rules to an elucidation of the general principles of elegant and correct diction, accompanied with critical and explanatory notes, questions for examination, and appropriate exercises; he has also considerably simplified the rudiments of the English grammar, by discharging a variety of fictitious parts of speech, as well as cases of nouns and tenses of verbs.

"Gymnasium, sive Symbola Critica. By the Rev. Alexander Crombie, LL.D." 2 vols. 8vo. 18s. Dr. Crombie, in the work before us, soars to a flight somewhat above the elementary publications we have just been noticing; and attempts to ground his pupil in a correct knowledge, not merely of his vernacular grammar, but in the peculiar idiom, phraseology, vocal values, and terms of expression of his mother tongue. The work accordingly consists of critical observations of a miscellaneous nature, but chiefly philological, illustrated by

exercises progressively adapted to the scholar's rising talents and capacity; and ingeniously contrasting the peculiarities of one language with another.

"*Horæ Sinicæ*: Translations from the popular Literature of the Chinese. By the Rev. Robert Morrison, Protestant Missionary at Canton. 8vo. 3s. The intrepid and migratory spirit of our own countrymen has connected England with almost every other country in the world; and there are few in which, from motives of the purest virtue and benevolence, the customs, manners, and language of the natives, are not at this moment studying. The book before us consists of small tracts that are usually put into the hands of children in China, to initiate them in learning. The first tract is entitled *San-tsi-king*, or three genuine characters: no member of a sentence introduced into it being allowed to consist of more than three characters or keys, as they are called by other writers. The second tract before us is entitled *Ta-hio*—the Great Science: Account of Foe the dignified founder of the Chinese: extract from the *Ho-Kiang*: account of the sect *Tao-Szu*: specimens of Chinese epistolary correspondence. "There are in China," the writer tells us, "a great number of teachers; and the rudiments of learning may be had in some cases, at so low a rate as two dollars a year; yet either from the poverty of the people, or the difficulty of attaining the written language, or from both causes combined, not more than one half of the community are able to write and read. Government support school-masters for the children of the soldiery, but not for the children of the poor generally. Nor are there any charity schools

schools supported by voluntary contributions. Indeed, I have not been able to find that there exist any voluntary associations among the people for charitable purposes."

We proceed to the poetry of the year; and have in the advance ground to notice a fresh supply from the inexhaustible fountains of Mr. Walter Scott and Lord Byron: the first of whom he gives us another poem, entitled *Book of the Plot*, which we have not time to decipher, but the general character, which, incidents, descriptive scenery, and ease of versification, forms a near parallel to those by which it has been preceded. In the structure of the verse it is more regular; in the progress and catastrophe of the fable, it is, to say the least of it, as interesting as any: the prominent figures are strongly portrayed, and there is many a fine touch of pathos and sentiment. Yet we begin to feel that the author doubles upon us rather too frequently, and to fear that at the rate at which he has been riding for the last three or four years he will soon run himself out of breath. Lord Byron, however, seems to have measured lances with him even in this respect: the year before us has been marked by him with two distinct poems of great merit, though short and singularly abrupt. "The Giaour," and "The Bride of Abydos." He too has great facility of versification, great dexterity of colouring, great strength of description, great power of pathos. His pathos, however, is always of a melancholy kind; and his fable is unfortunately without moral or improvement of any kind.

"The Year: a Poem, by John Bidlake, D.D." 8vo. 10s. 6d. We have witnessed the poetical talents of Dr. Bidlake on several prior occa-

sions, and if they do not stamp him for a poet of the first water, they at least prove that he is fond of poetry; and that he is capable of amusing himself with his own efforts, although the more fastidious world should refuse to partake in the amusement. In the instance before us, however, he has been not a little unlucky in his subject: the *Year* is followed up through its *Seasons*; and after the descriptions we have already had of it under this classification from the powerful pencils of Thomson and Cowper, there is little left for Dr. Bidlake but to copy from the paintings which they have set before him. He is rather the follower of the former than of the latter; yet we cannot avoid adding that his text compared with that of his prototype, is like Virgil's *Georgics* in the Delphin *ordo*. We ought, however, to add what we learn (and are sorry to learn) from the advertisement, that the poem has served occasionally to lessen the affliction of a deprivation of sight which the author has now to lament."

"The Bees: a Poem, in four Books; with Notes moral, political, and philosophical. By John Evans, M.D. F.R.M.S. Ed. Book. III." 4to. 7s. We merely notice the continuation of this elegant didactic poem, of which the two first Books have been already noticed by us; and shall return to it with a fuller account as soon as it is completed by a publication of the fourth Book. It is correctly descriptive, and uniformly neat and easy in its versification: but it wants force, feeling, and variety.

We have had numerous attempts at wit and satire under the patronage of the Maids of Aonia, who have proved variously liberal in the bestowment

stowment of their favours. The following are the principal that have occurred to us : " Horace in London ; consisting of imitations of the first two Books of the Odes of Horace, by the author of the Rejected Addresses, or the New Theatrum Poetarum." We have here many specimens of the same elegant gaiety, and sportive fancy which so much pleased the public in the Rejected Addresses : but being the same, or nearly the same, the book loses the charm of originality, and hence has not met with all the success which accompanied its more fortunate predecessor. Some of the pieces, moreover, have already been presented to the public, in a miscellaneous repository, and are hence second hand to a part of the world.

" Intercepted Letters ; or the Twopenny Post Bag. To which are added Trifles reprinted. By Thomas Brown the younger." 8vo. 5s. 6d. The title is ingenious : the plan is nearly akin to that of Horace in London ; and the humour is in various instances more pointed and better sustained. We are wittily informed in the introduction that " the bag from which the following letters are selected was dropped by a twopenny postman about two months since, and picked up by an emissary of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, who, supposing it might materially assist the private researches of that institution, immediately took it to his employers, and was rewarded handsomely for his trouble. Unhappily it turned out upon examination that the discoveries of profligacy which it enabled them to make lay chiefly in those upper regions of society, which their well-bred regulations forbid them to molest or meddle with." Being hence regarded as of no conse-

quence, the Editor purchased the packet shortly afterwards at a low price, and having a turn for versification, put some of them into easy metre, and in this manner furnished the volume before us.

" Waltz : an apostrophic Hymn. By Horace Hornem, Esq." 8vo. 3s. The tendency of this satire is also good ; it is designed to hold up to reprobation the licentiousness and indecorum of the dance from which the work assumes its title. The characters of the piece are ease and vivacity.

We proceed to the drama, which, however, has been but little productive of real genius during the period to which we are limited.

" The Tragedies of Maddalen, Agamemnon, Lady Macbeth, Antonia, and Clytemnestra : by John Galt." 4to. 1s. 1s. Our readers have long known Mr. Galt as a traveller ; the pieces before us, with one exception which was composed at different intervals, were written while on ship-board at various times and places, when he could think, as he tells us, of no better way of employing his attention. He does not ascribe much merit to them, and his readers, we apprehend, will in this respect agree with him. " In compositions," says he, " so *hasty*, polished correctness ought not to be expected. I think it would be easier to write others than to make these more worthy of perusal by any application which I might exert : and I have printed them because I do not think that they ought to be destroyed."

" Count Julian, a Tragedy." A Spanish story ; dressed up with some degree of art, and exciting some portion of interest.

" Sharp and Flat." A musical Farce ; in two acts. This has had

its day upon the stage of the metropolis:—it made people laugh while it lived; and now that it is dead, it need not fear the unhallowed hands of a *resurrection-man*.

Our principal novels, tales, and romances are the following: “Mount Erin: an Irish Tale; by Matilda Potter.” 2 vols. “Cambrian Pictures; or every one has Error; by Ann of Swansea.” 3 vols. “The Border Chieftains: or Love and Chivalry; by Miss Houghton.” 3

vols. “The Heart and the Fancy; or Valsinore; a Tale: by Mis Benger.” 2 vols. “Vaga; or a View of Nature; a novel, in 3 vols. By Mrs. Pack.” “The Lady of Martendyke; an Historical Tale of the Fifteenth Century; by a Lady.” 4 vols. “History of Myself and my Friend; a Novel, by Ann Plumptree.” 4 vols. “Pride and Prejudice.” 3 vols. “The Marchioness!! or the Matured Enchantress. 3 vols. By Lady ——.”

FOREIGN LITERATURE

OF THE YEAR 1812.

CHAPTER I.

BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL.

Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications in Germany, Hungary, Greece, France, America, Russia and the East.

THE brilliant and established success which the Almighty has at length vouchsafed to the righteous cause of the allies, has reopened our accustomed channels, and revived on the continent a taste for biblical and theological studies. The university of Halle, suppressed by Jerome Buonaparte on account of the loyalty of its members to their legitimate sovereign, has been restored to full activity by a cabinet order of the King of Prussia; and the lectures were to re-commence January 3, 1814. In the same city we find just established a moral and patriotic journal, under the title of "Gazette for the Prussian Provinces between the Elbe and the Weser," which promises to be highly beneficial to the cause of religion and virtue. During the fire of the French army on the city of Hanau, towards the end of October, the very valuable orphan-house printing office was totally destroyed, together with various important works on biblical, theological, and literary subjects. The office is re-building, and the different authors who have thus been

sufferers, have re-commenced their studies in order to repair the great injury they have sustained.

A very excellent German version of the New Testament has lately been executed by Charles and Leander Van Ess, both Roman Catholic clergymen of great piety and learning. In this undertaking, we rejoice on the score of Christian charity to perceive that they have been assisted in their translation, which they have made immediately from the Greek, by several protestant divines; and that their labours have been approved and publicly recommended by two of the most celebrated protestant clergymen of Saxony, the late reverend Dr. Reinhard, principal chaplain to the court, and the reverend Mr. Hess, antistes of the Zurich clergy. Leander Van Ess is also the author of an interesting work, containing extracts from the fathers and divines of the catholic church from the earliest ages to the present times, exhibiting the clearest and most pointed testimonies of the excellency of the holy scriptures; of their adaptation to all
ages

ages and generations; and recommending their free, frequent, unfettered and serious perusal to all ranks, classes, and conditions of people. This admirable biblicist has lately been appointed catholic professor of divinity at the university of Murburg.

Whilst we are upon this subject we cannot avoid expressing our pleasure at beholding the readiness with which most catholic clergymen on the continent are now assenting to a free circulation of the scriptures among their respective congregations. Nothing indeed but bigotry and the grossest ignorance have ever pretended to suppress their diffusion in any æra or country. Leo X. is well known to have promoted the translation of the bible into a variety of tongues, and to have spared neither personal labour nor expense in rendering the sacred text correct. He established and endowed a Syriac chair in the university of Bologna; personally superintended, and, as long as he lived, corrected Pagnini's Latin version of the bible from the original Hebrew, and gave every countenance to that master-piece of human labour and learning, the Cardinal Ximenes's polyglot version, to whom, indeed, on its completion, it was justly dedicated, and which, from its having been printed at Complutum, is now generally known by the name of the Complutensium polyglot. In like manner Pius VI. was frequent in recommending to the Cardinal Borgia, at that time patron of the Society *De Propaganda Fide*, to circulate the bible as generally as possible, and to print it in various languages; affirming that by such means more than by any other, good might be expected in parts of the world where Christianity was un-

known, or had ceased to be cultivated, particularly in the Morea, Syria, Arabia, Africa, and the Isles. He considered the bible as capable of fortifying in the faith Christians that are widely scattered broad and cannot easily associate; of establishing those who are wavering and falling off; and hereby, under the divine interposition, of laying open and accomplishing the way of salvation.

We know that something of the same kind has been lately proposed among the catholics of our own country; only that there has been a wish to restrain the circulating text to the Douay version, which is in a few places accompanied with notes. We confess ourselves somewhat surprised at this proposal, considering the very low estimation in which the Douay lection is held by most learned English, and we believe all learned foreign catholics. Yet such is our desire to see the bible circulated among the laity, and particularly the poor community of every country, that a diffusion of even the Douay copy would give us pleasure; and it has not been without regret therefore that we have beheld this proposal of the English catholics strongly, not to say bitterly discountenanced by various zealous and certainly well-meaning members of the establishment in this metropolis. It is better the English community of catholics should have a licensed and gratuitous distribution of this version than have none; the errors or corruptions may be easily pointed out and exposed; and it is not very readily to be conceived that the catholic English clergy will allow a free circulation of our *established* text without note or comment, while we behold many of the established clergy themselves advancing a similar objection.

In the Greek islands we perceive
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a like liberality and consent among the catholic priesthood to a diffusion of the scriptures in the vernacular tongue; and hence, at Smyrna, Zante, and Scandizari, French, Italian, and even *Romeika* (modern Greek) versions of the New Testament are now becoming not uncommon: this last, we believe, being chiefly, perhaps altogether, supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society of our own metropolis.

It speaks well, also, of the candour of the Austrian court, that the emperor has, during the last year, withdrawn from the protestants of Hungary belonging to the Augsburg confession, an old interdiction, and allowed them the privilege of erecting a printing press of their own: in consequence of which a press is now just established at Presburg, and various protestant works on theology and biblical criticism are about to be published in the Slavonic tongue.

Our intercourse with France has been so completely broken off, that we know but little of the state of the biblical and theological spirit or publications of this country; and of the little we do know there is still less to approve. The philosophy of France is not favourable to revealed religion, or we should rather, perhaps, have said that the opinions of the chief philosophers of France are by no means favourable to it. The institute, which divides itself into distinct departments for every other branch of science, has no place for sacred criticism. The only pulpit orations of which any account has reached us, are servile and fulsome eulogies upon the *first captain of the age*; whose grossest blunders have been panegyrised under the title of sublime ideas, and who, till of late, at least, has been supposed to wield

the thunder of the Omnipotent. The Cardinal Maury, whose learning as well as his sacred office, should have made him superior to such mountebank tricks, has led the way on all such occasions, and his example has been followed, with few exceptions, by all the inferior clergy. One of the most popular works of a religious kind published in France, that has any pretensions to serious reality, is M. Chateaubriand's "*Beauties of Christianity*," in two volumes octavo, which, however, though possessing a lively style, and an air of unquestionable devotion, is by far too superficial and fanciful for the horizon of our own country. By attempting too much it effects too little; and by endeavouring to prove Christianity the best stimulus and guide to the useful, the beautiful, and the sublime; to poetry and the fine arts; to history and philosophy, to eloquence, genuine courage, and patriotism, divests it of its real simplicity of character, and overlooks its essence in its accidents. This rhapsody, however, has been translated into our own tongue, and probably has been perused *with entertainment* by considerable numbers.

We know almost as little of the biblical or theological literature of America. We find, however, from the annual report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that institutions for the diffusion of the sacred scriptures are numerous and active, particularly at Baltimore, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Philadelphia, New Jersey, Albany, and even among the Esquimaux, where an English mission has for some time been established, and the missionaries have made a considerable proficiency in acquiring the Esquimaux tongue. The United States, indeed, like France, have been so deeply engaged

engaged in warfare, and the public opinion upon this subject has been so warm and so divided, that but little time or opportunity has been left for sober and serious study: while even the stimulus of religion itself, as in France, has in too many instances been had recourse to, with a view of exciting the passions of the people in favour of the violent and ruinous proceedings of the government party. In a few instances, however, we are glad to perceive the contrary; and we have been highly pleased with the sober and devotional spirit of the proclamation for a general fast published by the governor of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, Caleb Strong, Esq. June 1812; which commences as follows: "Whereas it has pleased the Almighty Ruler of the World, in his righteous providence, to permit us to be engaged in war *against the nation from which we have descended, and which, for many generations, has been the bulwark of the religion we profess*; and whereas, by this awful and alarming change in our circumstances, the people of this commonwealth are, in a peculiar manner, exposed to personal suffering, and the loss of a great proportion of their substance: it becomes us, in imitation of our fathers, in their times of perplexity and danger, with deep repentance to humble ourselves before him for our sins, and for the ungrateful returns we have made to him for his mercies: to ascribe righteousness to our Maker when he threatens us with the most severe of all temporal calamities, and to beseech him to avert the tokens of his anger, and to remember us for his former loving kindness and tender mercy." It then proceeds to fix the 23d of the ensuing July "as a day of fasting,

humiliation, and prayer; that with penitent hearts we may assemble in our places of public worship, and unite in humble supplications to the God of our fathers, who was their defence in danger, and to whom they never sought in vain, and beseech him, through the merits of his Son, that he would forgive our ingratitude, and the innumerable transgressions of which we have been guilty. That he would give wisdom, integrity, and patriotism to our national and state governments, *that the leaders of the people may not cause them to err*. That he would inspire the *president and congress*, and the *government of Great Britain*, with just and pacific sentiments. That he would dispose the people of these states to do justice to the Indian tribes—to *enlighten and not to exterminate them*. And that he would protect our frontier settlements from their ravages: and that he would preserve us from *entangling and fatal alliances* with those governments which are hostile to the safety and happiness of mankind. That he would regard with tender compassion the nations *whose most essential rights have been wrested from them by fraud and violence*, and who are groaning under the cruel hand of oppression; and that he would break in pieces *the power of the oppressor, and scatter the people that delight in war*."

Proceeding in an eastern and high northern direction, we perceive a very considerable extension of biblical literature. We learn from the valuable report we have just adverted to that a national Bible Society has been established in Russia under auspices of the happiest kind, and completely sanctioned by the imperial government. In consequence of his imperial majesty's most gra-

eious approbation of the plan a general meeting of the most distinguished characters in St. Petersburg was held early in the current year; Prince Galitzin was elected president, the vice-president and directors are of the highest distinction, excellence and interest; and the object of the institution, as we learn by a letter from Prince Galitzin to Lord Teignmouth, is "the distribution of the Old and New Testament throughout the Russian empire in all languages except the Slavonic, for which a particular privilege is preserved to the Holy Synod. When your lordship," continues his highness, "considers the number of European and Asiatic dialects which prevail in the several provinces of the Russian empire; above all, if a correct idea can be formed of the state of many of these provinces with regard to religious knowledge, then I am sure that your lordship will feel with me that no Bible Society yet formed on the continent of Europe can have objects in view more vast in extent and importance than those to be accomplished by the Bible Society in St. Petersburg."

We find also, from the same source, that oriental versions of the

bible are now printed wholly or in part, or prepared or preparing for printing, to the following extent. In Sanscrit, the whole of the New, and half the Old Testament printed, the former in circulation: in Chinese, the New Testament completed, the Old to the 1 Sam. ch. 5: in Bengalee, a third edition of the New Testament completed; and a second edition of the Old to Leviticus; in Orissa, the New Testament completed, and nearly the whole of the Old: in Mahratta, the former completed and in circulation, the latter to the book of Numbers: in Hindu, a second edition of the former completed; and the latter as far as the Pentateuch inclusive: in Telinga Skikh, and the Asam, the former printing: in Kurnata, Cashmire, Burman, and Pushtoo or Affghan, copy prepared or in hand. For the use of the native Christians of the Malabar coast one translation of the New Testament has been nearly finished in Malayalim or Malay, at Bengal, under the immediate sanction of the Syrian church; while another from the Latin Vulgate is in hand for the use of the catholic Christians of the same country.

CHAPTER II.

PHYSICAL AND MATHEMATICAL.

Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications in France, Germany, Italy, Sweden, and America.

THE labours of the Imperial Institute of France are, as usual, of great diversity of merit. The volumes for 1812 are the latest that have reached us. In botany and vegetable physiology, M. Mirbel appears to be sedulously pursuing his inquiries into the structure of the organs of fructification, zealously seconded by M. Schubert, a travelling professor from the school of Warsaw, for the purpose of opening a course of lectures on botany on his return home. M. Feburier, of Versailles, has written a paper to revive the old doctrine of two distinct saps, an ascending and descending; the former of which, in his opinion, contributes chiefly to the developement of the branches and buds, and the latter to that of the roots, and the multiplication of the flowers, and enlargement of the pericarp. M. Beavois has an instructive article on the pith of plants, which he regards as highly useful, not only during the first year, but through the whole duration of the plant. M. Lechnault de la Tour, one of the naturalists who sailed with Capt. Baudin, has given us some interesting details upon the trees, with the juice of which the natives of Java, Borneo, and Macassar poison their arrows, and which, under the name of upas, have made so much noise in the world. Of these poisons there are

are two kinds, the upas anthiara, and the upas thiente; the former belongs to the family of the nettles, the latter is a strychnos or sort of nux vomica.—In zoology and animal physiology we meet with a valuable paper from M. Lamarck, containing a new and more correct edition of his classification of invertebrated animals. M. Cuvier has, in like manner, given a table of the divisions under which he proposes to arrange the animal kingdom in his great work on comparative anatomy which he is now on the point of putting to press. The other writers on this subject are M. Humboldt, M. Geoffrey Saint Halaire, and M. Jacobson. In the department of chemistry M. M. Clement and Desormes have followed up Mr. Leslie's ingenious experiment of producing extreme cold by absorption in an exhausted receiver: M. Dupertal has given a description of a most useful process by which M. Edward Adam, distiller at Montpellier, has applied Count Rumford's plan of heating by vapour, to the production of spirit; and Count Rumford himself has presented several useful memoirs upon the properties of light.

From the school of medicine at Paris we have been furnished with various prize dissertations on the Croup, or Angina Trachealis; of these the two most interesting, and which appear to have been honoured with the

the chief marks of approbation, are by M. G. Viesseux, M.D. 8vo. 8s. and by M. F. J. Double, 8vo. 14s. both of which are imported by De Boffe. M. Viesseux appears to us the best practitioner, M. Double the most elaborate reader and writer. They agree that the first regular history of croup, as a distinct disease, is that published by Dr. Home, of Edinburgh in 1765. They agree also that many of its more prominent symptoms are to be traced in the writings of various earlier physicians; but they disagree as to the conclusion which ought to be drawn from this admitted fact: M. Double believing that the real disease is here described, though indistinctly and confounded with other diseases; and consequently that it has been always as frequent as it is at present: that it exists in all countries, and climates on the sea-coast, and in crowded cities: that it is never chronic, nor epidemic, nor contagious; that there is no reason for believing it hereditary; and no clear case on record of its having attacked adults, being confined in its ravages to those of an earlier age. M. Viesseux, on the contrary, apprehends that the disease, which seems to have resembled the croup, was the *cynanche trachealis*, and particularly that described by Boerhaave and Sauvages: and he brings forward many documents to prove that it was little noticed in many cities and countries till within about half a century; and that it is now becoming more common in all situations. He conceives that its essence consists in an inflammation of the trachea; and lays down a line of distinction between this inflammatory state of the membrane, and that known by the name of *cynanche laryngea*, an inflammation of the larynx, or upper part of the

trachea. In the process of cure he first attempts to procure a resolution of the inflammation; he thinks that when the peculiar membrane lining the trachea under this disease, is formed, the disease itself is irremediable; and hence that all attempts to dislodge it are useless. He endeavours, therefore, to subdue the inflammatory action by blood-letting, chiefly by leeches applied to the neck; by blisters, by emetics, and warm bathing; of which, however, the last two are of smaller importance: and rarely, though he admits very rarely, he has found service from opiates and antispasmodics. He discusses the merits of tracheotomy, and sensibly asserts that the operation can seldom, if ever, be advisable; because in the origin of the disease other more powerful, and less severe methods ought to be had recourse to, while it must be altogether useless towards its conclusion.

M. Giuseppe Jacobi, of Pavia, has directed his attention to the doctrine of the retrograde action of the lymphatics, first started by Dr. Charles Darwin, and afterwards interwoven into the hypothesis of his father; and has published a work upon the subject which is entitled to attention from its ingenuity, though we believe the question will still remain as it is at present.

M. Gräfe, a German army-surgeon, attached to the fourth corps of the allied army, under Count Taunzien, employed in the siege of Torgau, has been engaged in devising means for checking an epidemic disease which raged with great violence within the walls of that place, and for preventing its spreading beyond the walls. His work is entitled "Art of guarding against the contagion of Epidemic Diseases, being a word of advice

from a Physician to the inhabitants of Torgau." The account communicated to us merely states the success of his regulations and practice, but unfortunately does not enter into a description of the system recommended.

"*Philosophie Zoologique*," &c. "*Zoological Philosophy*," &c. By J. P. Lamarck. Paris," 3 vols. 8vo. There is a considerable degree of resemblance between the fanciful principles here laid down and those of our ingenious but visionary countryman, Dr. Darwin. Like the latter, M. Lamarck supposes life to have commenced in every tribe and order from some peculiarly simple origin; he supposes that that origin is the cellular texture, that which, even in the present advance of all animals towards perfection, possesses least animalization; he supposes that life commenced, in every instance, in an aqueous element; and that intelligence, under every modification, results from a material organization. Sensation, in his view of the subject, does not belong to the molluscous and infusorial tribes, but commences with insects, which last are, generally speaking, destitute of intellect. "Agreeably to these principles," says M. Lamarck, "the faculty of performing acts of intellect scarcely begins earlier than with fishes, or, at most, cephalopode mollusca. In these stages, it exists in its greatest imperfection: it is somewhat gradually unfolded in reptiles, especially in those of the highest order; it has made great advances in birds; and in the mammiferous families of the higher orders it presents the utmost limits to which it can attain in the animal creation." The faculties common to all living bodies are, according to this hypothesis, those of production,

growth, regeneration, or the reproduction of like kinds; the special or particular faculties of the higher classes are, digestion, respiration by an appropriate organ, muscular locomotion, feeling, sexual intercourse, circulation of essential fluids, different degrees of intelligence.

"*Phisionomies Nationales*," &c. "*National Physiognomies*; or a comparison of the Features of the Countenances of different Nations, with their manners and characters: with twenty-five engravings. Paris." 12mo. This tract is drawn up agreeably to the system of M. Blumenbach, who, in truth, has derived his classification from Gemin, with a mere variation of the names: for the five divisions under which the human species is enumerated by the former, we mean the Caucasian, Mongul, American, Ethiopian, and Malay, are only the white man, brown man, red man, black man, and tawny man of the latter. From a sort of modesty very uncommon in a Frenchman, the author has given no physiognomy of his own nation, assigning for it the following very curious reason, that the discrepancy of features afforded in different parts of the empire, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to lay hold of a national set: he observes, however, with some complacency, that by this combination of features and of faculties, the individuals to whom it applies are equally fitted for the study of science, the practice of the fine arts, or the pursuits of war and commerce. Under the Caucasian, European or white variety, he travels but a little northward for national examples, and hence has omitted the Poles, Swedes, and Danes, and has said but little of the Russians. Upon the whole, he ranks the English countenance above
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the Dutch, German, or Spanish. "The English forehead," he tells us, "is expressive of thought; the German of erudition. The Englishman creates ideas, the German refines and arranges them. The vast memory of the latter is denoted by breadth of forehead, and marks him as the man to undertake works of research and reference. The Dutchman has still less sensibility than the German; but his features announce a certain energy, approaching sometimes, indeed, to obstinacy, but characteristic of a man who goes straight forward to his purpose, and is determined to surmount every obstacle by dint of patience." The plates are plain and meagre productions; far better might have been obtained by copies from Daubenton on a diminished scale.

"Prolegomènes de l'Arithmétique de la Vie Humaine," &c. "Prolegomena of the Arithmetic of Human Life, containing a general classification of Talents, a Scale of the age of Man, and a formula for estimating all geographical Positions: the whole on an uniform system. By William Butte, Doctor in Philosophy, Counsellor of the King of Bavaria, and Professor of Statistics, &c. Paris." 8vo. A new, whimsical, and unintelligible hypothesis, rendered still more unintelligible by the coinage of new terms. The Bavarian sage appears to be as staunch a materialist as Spinoza, but as unfixed and fleeting as spirit. The *order of nature*, and the *order of the world* are with him two distinct things. Nature, so far from being the principle of life, as the vulgar error teaches, "is the opposite of that principle, and her true name should be NON-EXISTENCE:—while the world is the combination of parts presenting the primitive, continual, and

universal connection of finite and infinite.—The finite part is nature; the infinite is destiny; and the union of nature and destiny constitutes what we call life; and all life is a repetition, more or less perfect, of the system of the world.—The business of the naturalist is to follow in his researches the order of nature; while the speculative man follows the order of destiny, and the philosopher combines both." Talents allow of a classification, and among those who are admitted into its different divisions are, "men of competent property, rich, poor, and *deranged persons*." Genius allows, in like manner, of a classification; and here we find, for some reason or other not specified, the poor and the deranged altogether excluded; but instead of the deranged we have an order of *incomprehensibles*; persons respecting whom, we are told, "there is no harmony in their composition; their productions are colossal; and every incomprehensible is a messenger extraordinary commissioned by fate." Linnéus made a new order of amphibia, which he calls *meantes*, for the express purpose of including the *siren*, as he could find no other place in which to arrange it. We suspect M. the Doctor Butte, has, in like manner, formed this new order of incomprehensibles as an express gallery for Buonaparte, whom, to say the truth, he has actually placed in it; and our readers may, perhaps, by this time be of opinion, that the inventor may take his own stand in the same division at no great distance. How far Plato and Charlemagne, whom he has introduced as companions to the French Emperor, ought to be placed in the same section, we have not time at present to examine. They certainly appear to have no more title

than Cæsar and Alexander, who are here utterly excluded from the list of incomprehensibles, and sent to another quarter.

“Correspondence sur la Conservation,” &c. “Correspondence relative to the preservation and amelioration of Domestic Animals, &c. drawn from the practice of skilful persons, and published periodically by M. Fromage de Feugrê, Veterinarian in chief of the Gendarmerie of the Emperor’s Guards.” 2 vols. 12mo. Paris. This little work contains many valuable, some amusing, and a few questionable observations on the best mode of employing and managing domestic animals while in health, of treating them during disease, of multiplying their kinds, and improving their breeds.

“Essai sur les Merinos.” “An Essay on Merino Sheep. By M. Giron de Bazurlingues.” 8vo. Paris. This work is rather adapted to the meridian of France than to that of our own country. M. Giron describes himself as a shepherd, and his remarks as the result of personal experience and practice: and there is a particularity in many of them which induces us to believe that he has described himself correctly. His work is indeed clogged with particularities of another kind; we mean those of a sort of a sermonic division and subdivision.

Another singular discovery in the variable region of chemistry has characterized the year before us; we mean the detection of a new, and apparently elementary substance, which bears a striking analogy to oxygen and chlorine, in its being a supporter of heat, exhibiting an acidifiable principle, a strongly electric power, and having a close affinity for the metals. The merit of the discovery is due to M. Courtois; it has been accurately

examined by many of the best chemists of the present day, as well in our own country as in France, and the characters given of it by M. Gay-Lussac, in the *Moniteur* of Dec. 12, have been for the most part sufficiently established. This new substance is obtained in great abundance, from kelp, by a particular process; from its violet colour and that gas which it exhibits when put into a gaseous state, it is denominated iodine, from *ἰωδης*, *violaceus*. The action of phosphorus upon iodine furnishes the means of obtaining new, or iodine acid in its gaseous and liquid state. If these two substances, however, be brought into contact in a dry form, they produce a matter of a reddish brown colour, but no gas is disengaged. As soon, however, as we moisten this matter with water it gives out acid fumes in abundance, while at the same time phosphorous acid is produced. So that while the oxygen of the water unites with the phosphorus and forms phosphorous acid, its hydrogen combines with iodine, and forms the new acid. Admitting the existence of chlorine as an established element, we have now therefore three distinct simple supporters of combustion. And supposing also the existence of Sir Humphry Davy’s conjectured fluorine, the number will not be less than four: so that the science of chemistry is but yet in its infancy, and we know not what alterations its first principles will still have to undergo.

Dr. Berzelius, to whose accuracy we are indebted for much of the knowledge we possess of the relative combinations and properties of a large field of mineral and aeriform substances, has lately given a convincing proof of his proficiency in the higher branches of physiology by his

his able "View of the progress and present state of Animal Chemistry;" forming an octavo volume in the Swedish tongue. We had a useful work upon the same subject published a few years ago in three volumes octavo, by Mr. W. Johnstone, drawn up with great care and attention from the best authorities of the day: but the science has since undergone so many changes, and been detected to be erroneous in so many of its sturdiest and best supported principles, that a work of this kind is really wanted to collect into one focus the general result of the numerous experiments and discoveries which have taken place on the continent and in our own country during the last ten years. At this moment we are greatly ignorant of the constituent principles of that common current of life which we denominate blood. It was at one time very generally supposed clear that its red colour is produced by an oxyd of iron, either generated in this fluid, or introduced from without by means of the materials that constitute our food: and the quantity of iron contained in the body of an adult was attempted to be calculated; and was rated at about seventy scruples, or nearly three ounces avoirdupois, admitting twenty-eight pounds of blood to be a fair ratio for the adult form. This cause of the red colour has, however, for some years been doubted; and within the last two years we have had sufficient evidence that the blood contains little or no iron whatever; that its red particles afford not more than its serum; and that its serum gives forth not more than any other fluid. This was first determined experimentally by Mr. Brande, and Berzelius confirms the same result in the work before us. He

concurs also with Mr. Brande, in ascertaining that most of the materials found in the different organs are secreted by the action of those organs themselves, and that the blood only furnishes the common plastic *wash*, if we may be allowed to take a term from the distillery, for the general use of the whole. Even gelatine is by both these chemists sufficiently proved to have no existence in the texture of the blood itself. The materials and the economy of respiration are in our opinion quite as little known as those of the blood and sanguineous system. M. Berzelius seems to adhere to the common opinion: but if the very curious experiments of Mr. Ellis be founded in truth, and we are not aware of their being controverted, this opinion is in every respect erroneous. Our author however, does not seem to be acquainted with Mr. Ellis's productions, and his work is thus far considerably deficient. For ourselves we lament this deficiency, as being anxious to have the same ground fairly trodden over by other physiologists, and we know of no man better qualified for the purpose than Professor Berzelius. Our knowledge of the process of digestion, moreover, is still open to much improvement. We know but little of the nature, and not much of the powers of the gastric juice.—Whether acid, whether alkaline, whether neutral—by what means, and under what circumstances the one, and by what means and under what circumstances the other. And we are totally ignorant of the relative aid afforded by the collatitious fluids that co-operate with it in the process of chyli-faction. We withdraw from this subject with regret; but we shall have occasion to return to the work itself

in our volume for next year, as we have just learned that it is now translated into our own tongue by Dr. Brunnmark, Chaplain to the Swedish Legation at our own Court.

We observe an anonymous work put forth from the press of Philadelphia, "The Extent of Fossile Shells," that evinces a considerable portion of geological attention on the part of the writer. It is indeed a curious subject, and requires to be more minutely investigated. After noticing the vast beds of fossile shells traced in different parts of the loftiest and inland territories of Europe and Asia, the author observes, that "in Virginia, at a great distance from the ocean, and westward of the Blue Ridge, is a tract of *forty thousand* acres, covered with oyster-shells: sea-mud was also found in the same region by General Lincoln. In the neighbourhood of Paytu, in Peru, six hundred feet above the high-water mark, oyster-shells are found in such quantities as to furnish all the lime used by the neighbouring inhabitants, more easily than it can be obtained by raking them from the harbour below, where nevertheless they abound." And he might, had he been aware of the fact, extended the same remark to the English colony of New South Wales, where not the smallest stratum, or even bed of limestone has hitherto been discovered.

"Tableau Comparatif," &c. "Comparative View of the Results of Crystallography, and Chemical Analysis, with reference to the classification of Minerals. By the

Abbé Haüy, Honorary Canon of the Metropolitan Church of Paris," &c. 8vo. Paris. The writer of this publication stands foremost in support of what may be called the geometrical analysis or test of minerals, in opposition to the chemical. The work before us is expressly intended to correct various errors, which, from the imperfect state of geognosy at the time, erept into the author's well known "Treatise on Mineralogy," to offer additional arguments in favour of his own hypothesis, and to repel objections which have been advanced against it. In many points the author has been eminently successful. There can be no doubt of the truth of his general principle; but where the varieties are umorphous it cannot be always possible to apply it: in this case, however, he thinks that the term *laminar*, *lamellar*, *granular*, compact, &c. are sufficient to furnish a definition.

"Introduction à la Géologie," &c. "An Introduction to Geology, or the Natural History of the Earth. By Scip. Breislak, Administrator and Inspector of the Gunpowder and Salt-petre of the kingdom of Italy," &c. M. Breislak is well known by various earlier writings on cognate subjects. The present work was published in Italian, and has been translated into French by Dr. Bernard, of Paris. The author is a firm advocate for the igneous or Plutonic origin of the earth from its chaotic state; and consequently a strenuous opponent of Kirwan and Werner.

CHAPTER III.

MORAL AND POLITICAL.

Containing Notices or Analyses of various Publications of France, Germany, Italy, Holland, America.

THE publications we have received from the continent on the customs and manners of nations, though somewhat numerous, with a few exceptions, are not of much interest or value. The following are among the best.

“Moeurs, Usages, Costumes, des Othomans; et abrégé de leur Histoire,” &c. “Manners, Habits, Customs of the Ottomans, with an Abridgment of their History. By A. L. Castellan, author of “Letters on the Morea and on Constantinople. With illustrations selected from Oriental works, and communicated by M. Langles.” 6 vols. 18mo. with seventy-two plates. Paris. Price, in London, 2l. 2s. M. Castellan is a very useful compiler, as his former works have sufficiently proved: he has a peculiar dexterity in turning to proper quarters for information, and a peculiar facility in seizing the pith of their contents. The well-known name of M. Langles appears to be chiefly added to render the compilation somewhat more taking: since, though he is occasionally brought upon the stage, it is but seldom, nor for any very important purpose. The engravings are neat; but appear to be derived for the most part from a quarto volume entitled *Costume of Turkey*, published in our own metropolis in 1802. The materials thus selected are put together in an

agreeable form, and enlivened with a variety of interesting or pleasant anecdotes; as a specimen of which we select the following, which is introduced into the chapter containing an account of the *divan-khaneh*, or hall of judgment. ‘A Turkish merchant of Constantinople lost a purse containing two hundred pieces of gold, called *thograly*, in his way from the bath to the mosque. He did not perceive his loss till he was leaving the mosque, when he went to the crier, whom he ordered to proclaim it in the streets, with the necessary particulars, and a promise of half the contents to him who would bring the purse. A *levendy*, or sailor, had the good fortune to find it. As soon as he heard the crier he felt some compunction about keeping what did not belong to him; and preferred gaining honestly a reward of a hundred *thogralys* to the chance of being detected and punished as a thief. The sailor made a confession of having found the purse with the two hundred pieces of gold. He proposes to keep half according to the promise of the crier, and to restore the rest to the proprietor. The latter being informed of this, wishes to break the agreement into which he had entered, and to recover the whole sum. But as he could not openly break his engagement, he pretends that, besides the money, the purse contained a pair of diamonds

mond ear-rings of the value of seven hundred crowns, which the sailor was required to surrender to the right owner. The sailor called God, the prophet, and heaven and earth to witness that he had found nothing more in the purse than what it still contained. He was carried before the cady or inferior magistrate, and accused of the robbery. The cady, either through negligence or corruption, decrees that the sailor, whom he nevertheless acquits of the charge of robbery, should receive no reward in consequence of his carelessness in losing jewels of such great value. The sailor, enraged at finding himself disappointed of the sum he expected, and at the attempt to ruin his character, presents an *arzonhh* or petition to the grand Vizier. The merchant and the crier are ordered before him. Each pleads his cause. The Vizier asks the crier what loss it was that the merchant had directed him to announce; "a purse," replied the crier, "containing two hundred *thogralys*." The merchant said that he omitted to mention the ear-rings, lest, if the purse should fall into the hands of persons not much acquainted with the nature of jewels, the specification of the value should have caused a detention of the whole. The sailor swore that he found nothing but the money in the purse. Mogruly-Ali-Pacha pronounced this sentence: "Since the merchant, in addition to the two hundred *mogralys*, says that the purse contained also a pair of diamond ear-rings; and since the sailor avers on his oath that the purse which he found contained nothing but money, it is clear that this cannot be the purse which the merchant has lost. Let the merchant therefore have the

identical purse which he did lose, cried again till it is restored by some one who has the fear of God before his eyes. On the other hand let the sailor keep the purse and the money for forty days, and if no one claims it in the meantime, let it remain with him." Thus the avarice of the merchant was punished by the loss of his money and credit, while the sailor was enriched at his expense, and returned in triumph to his ship.

"Histoire générale de l'Espagne," &c. "A general History of Spain from the earliest times to the end of the eighteenth century. By G. B. Depping. Vols. I. and II. 8vo, Paris. Imported, price 11. 6s. This work when completed will extend to four volumes, each of which is intended to comprise one of the four grand epochs into which the history of Spain is commonly divided. The first of the two volumes before us comprises an account of Spain under the Phœnicians, Carthaginians, and Romans, to the termination of the republican government at Rome; the second embraces the period under the Roman emperors, and the Gothic kings up to the Moorish conquest. There is much useful matter introduced into this history, and the style is sufficiently chaste and animated, but we cannot approve of the division of the work; for the civilized, we had nearly said, the *only interesting* parts of it are thus, for the mere sake of method, thrust into the same length and breadth that are allotted to its chaotic and barbarous state.

"Reise durch Norwegen und Lappland," &c. By Leopold Von Busch, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin." 2 vols. 8vo. It is only necessary to notice the title of this valuable work in our present

present rapid sketch, as we have already, in our *Domestic Literature* for the year, endeavoured to give the reader some general idea of its merit from a version that has just been made of it into our vernacular tongue, under circumstances peculiarly propitious to its success, and which render the translation a more valuable book than the original work itself.

"Voyages dans l'Inde," &c. "Travels in the Western Peninsula of India; and the island of Ceylon. By M. Jacob Haafner. Translated from the Dutch by M. J." 8vo. 2 vols. Paris; imported, price 1l. 4s. This is pretended to be a translation from the Dutch; and prodigious pains are taken to render the assertion credited. Yet, as though the real writer was afraid of trusting to living evidence, he conveniently enough makes the pretended author die just after the completion of his work; takes an epoch just near enough to be highly interesting, yet just remote enough to render fabrication easy of intermixture with fact: and the work comes forth at last, even in its French version, anonymously. A very great part of it is a gross attack upon the honour, good faith, and liberality of the English, who are uniformly painted in the blackest colours; while many of the anecdotes introduced into the work are scandalous and notorious falsehoods: such, for example, as that relating to Mr. Hastings, who, we are told, "knew how to get rid of the charges against him, and to obtain an acquittal.—What is more," continues Mr. J. "he had the good fortune to be raised to the rank of a British peer. And why should we wonder at this? Mr. Hastings was worth several millions of money, and

had found means to make himself friends in various ways." He does not venture to give us Mr. Hastings's *title* upon his elevation to the peerage, or to point out in what bank these millions of money were deposited.

"Voyage aux Isles de Trinidad," &c. Voyage to the Islands of Trinidad, Tobago, and Margarita, and to different parts of Venezuela, in South America. By J. J. Dauxion Lavaysse." 2 vols. 8vo. Imported, price 1l. 8s. This is certainly an authentic, and in many respects a valuable work, though written under strong prejudices. The writer left France at an early age in 1791, to visit a wealthy relation at St. Lucie, who dying without a will, left him friendless in the midst of strangers. He settled at Trinidad, became a planter and married: a liver-complaint drove him in 1807 to Cumana, on the Spanish Main; whence, having recovered his health, he returned by the way of Guadaloupe and North America to France, from which he has occasionally visited England and Scotland. The increase of population in Trinidad since it has passed into the possession of our own country, is wonderful from the account before us. In 1783 the inhabitants consisted of two thousand Indians, and not more than eight hundred whites and negroes. At that time it belonged to Spain. It was soon, however, transferred to France, and on its capture by the English in 1797, the inhabitants altogether amounted to eighteen thousand, chiefly negroes. In 1807 the population had reached thirty-one thousand, of whom, however, two-thirds were negroes. Before 1787 a single vessel of 150 tons burden executed the whole carrying trade of the island. In this last year

year the first sugar-work was established: in 1807 the sugar exports were eighteen thousand hogsheads. This work, if it succeeds, is to be followed by a much larger, to be entitled "*Tableau Physique, Historique, et Statistique des Colonies Françaises en Amérique.*"

Malta has furnished a subject for several foreign writers both French and Italian. One of the best is the work of Father Carlo Giacinto, entitled "*Saggio di Agricoltura par le Isole di Malta e Gozo:*" and gives a better account of the natural productions and agriculture of the associate islands than any foreign account has lately communicated.

"*Essais Historiques,*" &c. "*Essays Historical and Critical respecting the French Marine from 1661 to 1789.*" By an old Officer of the old Navy." 8vo. London. These essays evince extensive knowledge of the subject: the writer, though he has long lost all chance of being employed in the service of his native country, still feels as he ought to do for the honour of that country, and describes, with obvious reluctance, the series of triumph, almost without an exception, which has marked the British marine over that of France during the period to which he has limited his inquiries. In the year 1789 the ships of the line belonging to England were 120, to France 80, Spain 60, Russia 40, Holland 30, Sweden 23, Denmark 18. At the present period the marine of all these powers, excepting

England, is considerably diminished, and some of them almost annihilated; that of England, however, consists of not less than 250 ships of the line, being just equal to that of all the rest of Europe at the above term, when all the rest of Europe possessed its greatest maritime strength; the sum total of European ships of the line, according to the preceding table, having been at that period just 251.

"*Exposé de l'Exposé,*" &c. "*An Exposure of the Exposition of the French Empire, and of its Financial Accounts,* published at Paris in February and March 1813. By Sir Francis D'Ivernois," 4to. Richenbach (Silesia.) The critical financier in this analysis pursues, and with just triumph, his favourite theme of the declining state of the French affairs; though he points out resources of which Bonaparte may still avail himself for a time, and some of which he has actually had recourse to since the publication of the work.

"Speech of the Hon. Josiah Quincy, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States of America, Jan. 5, 1813, on a bill for raising an additional military force." This is one of the best specimens of Transatlantic popular eloquence we have met with; and it takes the right side of the question. There is, however, a more formidable account given of the armies destined to conquer Canada than they are now found to deserve.

CHAPTER IV.

LITERATURE AND POLITE ARTS.

Containing notices or Analyses of various Publications of Italy, Malta, France, Germany, and Russia.

THE favourable turn which the war has taken for the last twelvemonth, and the general restoration of political liberty to the subjugated states and nations on the continent which has been the happy result, is about to open to us not only our old channels of continental literature, but a regular supply of that literature itself. We already learn that Signor Modesto Barolletti, of Milan, whose classical talents peculiarly qualify him for the subject, is engaged upon a general History of Italy since the commencement of the eighteenth century, to be comprised in four volumes octavo. We find also notices of the following works on classical and polite letters as commencing or in progress in the same quarter: Signor Petroni, well known as the translator of the Fables of La Fontaine, is engaged on an Italian version of the Tragedies of Corneille, two of which, the Phœdra and Andromache, have already made their appearance, and met with general approbation. The Chevalier Ippolito Pindemonti has completed a translation of the first two books of the Odyssey, and is translating, at the same time, the books of the Æneid. The versification of the Chevalier is represented as highly brilliant and harmonious, and his episode of Aricia, in the seventh book, affords an exquisite specimen of metrical adaptation.

Giuli Genoni, of Naples, has just published, under the title of "*Seelte di Poesie Anacreontiche*," "Selection of Anacreontic Poems," an elegant and lively octavo volume, in which he has also introduced, by way of appendix, the spirited odes of Giovanni Nelli, a Sicilian poet of high reputation.

"*Li Romani Nella Grecia*," 8vo. Malta. "The Romans in Greece." This is a work of elegant and classical fiction, adapted to the political state of the world at the present day, or rather (for we have emerged from a part of the miseries of modern politics) to the political state of the world as it was a few months ago. Greece is here only another name for Italy; the Romans for the French; the Macedonians represent the Austrians; the Russians, the Thracians; the Venetians, the Ætolians; while Bonaparte, the chief actor in the drama, is described under the name and character of Flaminius. The parallel is ably sustained; and the author evinces not only a close attention to historical fact and national costume, but great art and vigour, and an uninterrupted flow of impressive eloquence. The work commences with a description, under the veil of ancient history, as we have now deciphered it, of the causes which led to the conquest of Italy, the relative strength and disposition of the belligerents, and the character

character of the tyrannical captain of the invaders. After the battle which fixed her destinies (unless, indeed, they should be fortunately unfixed by the present glorious and triumphant invasion of France by the allies), the author becomes more circumstantial, and gives a detail of the measures resorted to in order to seduce, divide, corrupt, and terrify the people. He is singularly happy in his exposure of the ephemeral government of Italy, devised expressly with a view to their own speedy dissolution; and of the imposture, the delusion, and other arts by which the political fanaticism of the nation was irritated, till reduced, by a succession of paroxysms, to the last stage of debility,—she fell an unresisting victim to the tyranny of the Corsican chief.—Dressed up in its present guise, it is possible that the work may have penetrated into the heart of Italy, and have powerfully co-operated (as it must have done if it should have reached thus far) in the happy change which at this moment we are contemplating, and which we trust in heaven will be completed and perfected. The author of the work is Signor Barzoni, a native Italian; who has already proved how deeply he has felt for the miseries and degradation of his country by his *Rivoluzioni della Repubblica Veneta*. He is at present a resident at Malta in the pay of the English government, superintending the Maltese Gazette, and translating articles for it out of the English newspapers. We wish him a post more suitable to his genius and talents.

“Biographie Universelle, &c.”
 “Universal Biography, ancient and modern. By a society of men of letters and science.” Vol. I.—IV. 8vo. Paris. This work evinces ex-

tensive research, indefatigable labour, much originality, and an easy disposition to be pleased. It is so comprehensive that few names are suffered to slip through the editor's fingers; and we have, in consequence, met occasionally with names of Englishmen not to be traced in the general biographies of our own country. It is particularly rich in the lives of oriental scholars, warriors, and men of deserved renown, whose history is, for the most part, given from authentic and original sources. It is, however, rather a history of the works of the man than of the man himself, the examination being more directed to his productions than to his life and habits, or even the exact time in which he flourished. Thus of Banks (Thos.) we are told, in the opening of the article, that he was “an English sculptor, born *about the middle of the eighteenth century*.” Immediately after which the biographer enters upon a brief critical notice of his compositions, in the course of which we are informed that he travelled in Italy, and that the Empress of Russia bought his statue of Cupid, which his own countrymen had shown no disposition to purchase; but how, where, or when he died, or any thing further about him, this deponent sayeth not. We also find a good part of a page allotted to the life of Bridget *Bendish*, whose only claim to a niche in the gallery is her having been grand daughter to Oliver Cromwell: a family that for certain reasons seems to be acquiring more respect in France than they have lately possessed at home.

“Examen Critique de la Biographie Universelle, &c.—Suite de l'Examen, &c.” “Critical Examination,” and “Continuation of the Examination of the Universal Biography,

graphy. By Mad. de Genlis." It may be supposed, from this attack, that Mad. de Genlis has not been applied to by the editors of the work in question as an associate. Her objections are feeble, and in some instances evince chagrin. It might be as well, however, in the continuation of the work, to disarm the lady by the proposal of an alliance.

"De L'Allemagne,"—"Germany, by the Baroness of Staël Holstein." 3 vols. 8vo. This work has excited a great deal of interest as well in the political as the literary world, from the circumstance of its suppression, and the destruction of a complete edition by order of the French government, before it got into circulation. For this violent step we do not, perhaps, see into the real motive. It is the *literature*, and not the *politics* of Germany that forms the subject of the work: it had duly passed through the hands of the public censors whom the present enlightened and liberal government of France has appointed to superintend the press, and keep it free from political pollution, and there is scarcely a sentiment that can be tortured into a political bearing, much less into a reflection upon the existing constitution and wretchedness of the French empire: and whatever sentiments of this kind were to be traced in any part of the work, the scrutinizing eye of the censors to whom it was ordered to be submitted, hunted down, and ordered to be differently worded; which, having been acceded to by the author, "they permitted the printing of the book," says Mad. de Staël, "as I have now given it to the public, for I have not thought myself justified in making any change. It has appeared to me an object of curiosity to show what sort

of a work is capable at present of drawing down, in France, the most cruel persecution upon the head of its author. Just as this work was on the point of making its appearance, and when *ten thousand* copies had already been struck off for its first edition, the minister of police, who bears the name of General Savary, sent his *gens d'armes* to the booksellers with an order to destroy the whole edition, and to fix sentinels at the different avenues of the warehouse, for fear a single copy of this dangerous production should escape. A commissary of police was charged to superintend this expedition; in which General Savary obtained an easy triumph: and this poor commissary, it is said, has since died of the fatigues he sustained in having with too much minuteness ensured the destruction of so large a number of volumes, or rather their transformation into perfectly blank sheets, on which there remained not a vestige of human reason. The intrinsic value of these sheets, calculated at twenty louis, is the only recompence which the bookseller has been able to obtain from the general minister. At the very time my book was thus destroying at Paris, I received in the country an order to deliver up the manuscript from which the impression had been made, and to quit France in twenty-four hours:—the exact time allowed to conscripts to prepare themselves for their march. I wrote, therefore, to the minister of police to say that at least eight days were necessary for me to provide myself with pecuniary means, and to procure a carriage."

The answer to this letter is in many respects curious, but too long for us to copy: the request, however, is acceded to, with a remark

or two that we cannot allow ourselves to pass over. "It is not necessary," says the minister, (M. Savary, Duke de Rovigo) "to look for the cause of the order which I have notified to you, *in the silence you have maintained with respect to the emperor* in your last work,—it would be wrong—for there is no place in it that is worthy of him: but your exile is a natural consequence of the steps which you have been pursuing for these many years. It seems to me that *the air of this country does not agree with you*; and we are not yet reduced to look for models among the nations whom you admire. Your last is not a *French work*; it is myself who have stopped the publication. I regret the loss which the bookseller will hereby encounter, but I could not possibly let it appear.—I lament, Madam, that you have obliged me to *open* my correspondence with you with an act of severity: it would have been more agreeable to me to have solely offered you proofs of the high consideration with which I have the honour to be, Madam, your very humble and very obedient servant, the Duke de Rovigo."—This letter requires no comment: it shows us more than any thing else can do the miserable state to which the magnanimity of Napoleon, and the boasted constitution he has given to the country, have reduced the press and the people of France. A native of France—a woman—a woman of the highest personal distinction—the daughter of one of its most honest and most celebrated prime ministers—ordered to quit France at a moment's warning—not for writing against the tyrant who governs the country—but because she did not chuse to write in favour of him—for not having

flattered his vanity in a work which relates to other countries alone—and which the minister himself, with a severity upon his master and his master's servile minions, which he did not intend, admits is not a French work. It is possible this might not be the only reason, but it seems to be the *chief*, and is the only reason *avowed*. Such is the first idea that cannot fail to occur to every one who peruses this curious piece of *State History*. The next idea that will probably arise in the mind will be a contempt of the French tyrant for his own officers and institutions: his appointing licensors of the press, and then befooling them by acting in direct opposition to their award, and all this without any suspicion of their having been too tender in the performance of their severe duty. And we cannot next fail to notice the open robbery committed upon the bookseller, whose property was thus forcibly taken from him and destroyed, without the smallest remuneration whatsoever, although he had strictly complied with the law in relation to this kind of property, and had received the special guarantee of the official censors.

We have dwelt so long upon the very curious political history of Madame de Staël's work, that we can afford but a very small space to a consideration of the work itself. It is strictly a survey of German literature, considered intrinsically, and in comparison with that of other countries—chiefly England and France, though the former is far more frequently brought into the field of vision. It is divided into four parts. The first, which is nearly the shortest, is allotted to a description of the manners of the Germans, with an introductory chapter

chapter on the face of the country. The second part, which is the longest, is devoted to German literature and arts:—in the course of which the author examines, at some length, the question whence it is that the French have not done justice to German literature, while the English have done so? The general answer is, that few people in France read German, which is more cultivated in England: that the beauties of the German tongue, and especially in poetry, cannot be translated into French, which they can easily be into English, which is only another branch of Teutonic; and that while German literature has not existed in all its originality for more than about forty or fifty years, France has, for half this period of time, been so overloaded with political events, as to suspend its attention to literary studies. The third part of the work before us is entitled Philosophy and Morals, in which we meet with far less information than we expected. The fourth part is allotted to the Religion and enthusiasm of Germany; this last term, however, signifying rather an ardent dithyrambic or rhapsodical feeling, than religious fanaticism: and which the present state of Germany is, in our opinion, far more likely to cultivate than the subjugated and gloomy period in which these volumes were composed. The Germans are naturally enthusiastic: their enthusiasm has now taken a proper turn; it has been called off from imagination to facts; it is now interwoven into their patriotism; it will hence appear in the liberty which it will certainly work out for their country; and we have no doubt will equally influence their devotional feelings. The favourite poet of Madame de

Staël is Klopstock;—her favourite philosopher Kant, of whose system she has given a brief account, comparing it with that of Locke, to whom, like *almost* all the writers on the continent, she erroneously ascribes the doctrine of deriving *all* our ideas from *sensation*, instead of only a part of them, and comparatively a very small part: the larger portion being in the system of Locke derived altogether from *reflexion*, or the operation of the mind upon its own powers or faculties. This error was, we believe, in the first place, sown by Condillac, and the views of Locke having in France, and even in Germany, been more generally obtained from Condillac than from Locke himself, the present as well as various other misinterpretations are common to almost all the continental writers. M. de Staël has given a pretty long account of the Kantian hypothesis, and has endeavoured, though in our opinion unsuccessfully, to represent it as an original system. For ourselves we have laboured at it for some years, but have scarcely been able to trace one idea that does not occur in Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, or Mallebranche. She has well observed, however, that the philosophy of Plato is more poetical than that of Kant, and the philosophy of Mallebranche more religious. *La Philosophie de Platon est plus poétique que celle de Kant, la philosophie de Mallebranche plus religieuse.* Upon the whole, we far more fully concur with M. Degerando, whose view of Kant we perused about eight or nine years ago, in regarding the whole system as a general mass of eclecticism or pillage from other schools. It is but justice, however, to the fair author before us to observe, that she reprobates his absurd technology

technology, and is not quite pleased with him for keeping so perfectly clear of every thing that relates to religion. It is not much to the credit of German theology that M. de Staël does not appear able to find a single favourite among any of the three classes to which she has chiefly devoted this part of her work, the *protestants*, the *Moravian brethren*, and the *catholics*. Upon the whole, Herder and Stolberg seem principally to divide her attention, yet the first is scarcely orthodox enough, and the second, though a liberal catholic, is still a catholic. The length of this review is the best proof we can offer of the respect we entertain for the work before us, and the general talents of its author. She discovers considerable research, great rapidity in seizing ideas, a comprehensive mind, a correct taste, a judgment not often erroneous, and an elegant and spirited style. The work ought to be translated into English, and, while writing this sentence, we perceive a translation advertised.

“Nouveaux Elémens de Littérature, &c.” New Elements of Literature; or Analysis of the different kinds of Literary Composition, and of the best classical works, ancient and modern, French and foreign: containing extracts from translations of the most esteemed authors. Partly translated from the German of Eschenburg. By M. Breton, 12mo. 6 volumes.” Imported, price 1l. 4s. The work of M. Eschenburg here referred to was published not long since under the title of *Beyspiel-Sammlung zur Theorie der schonen Wissenschaften*; and treats of literary productions of all kinds under their respective names, whether fable, tale, epigram, idyl, ode, epopee: the respective theories are then added to the different divi-

sions from the most approved critics; and the whole closes with specimens borrowed from German authors and translators. From the vast cargo of German literature which the late subjugation of the continent threw into the bosom of France, M. Breton has selected this production of M. Eschenburg, as his text book; he has compressed many parts, and enlarged others chiefly from La Harpe's *Cours de la Littérature*. The work is valuable, and we should like to see it translated into our own tongue. It affords, upon the whole, a fair picture not only of the different kinds of literature, but of the different tastes and powers of different nations: it evinces an extensive range of reading, and knowledge of languages; and a judgment highly creditable to the author. In his appreciation of the merits of our vernacular writers it is not often that we have had occasion to differ from him. Like all foreigners, the original author, or compiler, or both, are least acquainted with the eloquence of the English pulpit: the best orators here enumerated under this class are Tillotson and Littleton. Tillotson every one knows, and every one reveres; less, however, for his popular oratory than for his perspicuity and unfeigned piety. But of Littleton no one knows any thing except as the author not of a series of sermons, but of a quarto Latin dictionary, which laid the foundation for Ainsworth's. Some other name was probably intended; but whether Hooker or Hall, Bunyan or Barrow, it is impossible to determine. This division of the work is the lowest and most erroneous part of it.

“Tableau de la Littérature Française pendant le Dixième Siècle.” “Sketch of French Literature

ture during the Eighteenth Century." 8vo. 1813. It is sufficient to point out the merit of this work to notice that it has already acquired a second, we believe a *third* edition on the continent, and has had two impressions in our own metropolis. It presents us with a sort of brief abstract of the intellectual causes which conspired to produce that turn of thinking in the eighteenth century, particularly on religious, moral, metaphysical, and political subjects, which alienated the reason and the sympathies of the people from the existing civil and ecclesiastical institutions; and at length produced the revolution by which they were overwhelmed. The persons whose writings, perhaps, chiefly contributed to this calamitous effect were Buffon, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Voltaire: of these the talents of Voltaire enabled him to embrace the widest circumference, and operated with a greater or less vivacity of impression or extent of influence on a multitude of all classes from the prince to the scavenger; for there was no style, whether of prose or poetry, which he was not capable of employing; no subject which he was not capable of writing upon, and of writing upon with considerable force and effect. Rousseau had not so many admirers as the philosopher of Ferney; but his votaries were generally men of a more impassioned temperament; and they supplied by enthusiasm what they wanted in numbers. The writings of Buffon tended, even in a more direct manner, (for he expressed himself more openly than either of the preceding philosophers) to discredit the Mosaic testimony, and disturb the foundation of the Christian faith. The works of Montesquieu evince a strong revolu-

1813.

tionary leaven. The best of them is his Spirit of Laws: yet even this assisted to put in motion a great part of the thinking multitude in France on the high subjects of government; and the comparisons which it excited, probably led many to speculate on some airy scheme of policy which might eclipse every existing code in the distribution of political power, and the extension of national liberty. Of the characters we have thus brought forward the present writer seems to entertain the worst opinion of Rousseau. He represents him as a concentration of vanity and selfishness, actuated at the same time by a fine imagination, and rapid facility of description. Though he possessed great sublimity of sentiment, he tells us that he was destitute of all personal benevolence. Virtue was painted in her highest lustre, and her most captivating forms in the focus of his fancy, but beyond that region all was a dark void, a deadness unanimated by the charities. He further affirms that "the life which he led was a tissue of egotism: that the pleasures which he sought had always something exclusive and solitary: that he never sacrificed his interest except to his pride: that he was envious of every thing which he did not possess, and which, in many instances, he had made no effort to obtain: that even his affections had the stamp of selfishness; and that what he loved was rather for his own gratification than for that of the object."

"Histoire de la Littérature Espagnole, &c." "History of Spanish Literature; translated from the German of M. Bouterweck, professor at the university of Göttingen." 8vo. 2 vols. Paris. Imported price 11. This, in many respects, bears a considerable resemblance to the preceding

ceding work in regard to the manner in which it is offered to the public. The Göttingen professors undertook a few years ago to write conjointly a literary history of modern Europe, at the suggestion of M. Eickhorn, who engaged to arrange and superintend their general labours. The department of scripture-criticism was undertaken by Meyer; that of mathematical science by Käsner, and that of polite letters by Bouterweck. An introductory history of the progress of knowledge from the dark ages to the peace of 1490 was composed by M. Eickhorn himself; and was separately published under the title of "*Geschichte der Cultur*." The part executed by M. Bouterweck, as it is, perhaps, the most popular, and possessed of much real merit, has peculiarly attracted the attention of the scholars of most European countries. That portion of it which gives the history of Italian literature has for some years been translated in an abridged form into French by M. Guinguené, with a few necessary corrections: and the success which has accompanied this has tempted the writer before us to make a similar experiment on the history of Spanish literature. The poetry of Spain, though never carried to the height of excellence which was attained in Italy, is more truly national, self-derived, and original, than that of the Italians. It has an oriental colouring not to be traced in other European poetry; and its drama abounds with action and interest. Among its novelists many have attained a high, and Cervantes an unrivalled European rank; and no nation has availed itself so much of the supernatural agency of catholic Christianity, assembling on the stage, and embodying to the eye, the saints and angels

of their established religion. We have been pleased with the work before us, and have little doubt of its success.

"Correspondence Littéraire, Philosophique, &c." "Literary, Philosophical, and Critical Correspondence addressed to a German Sovereign, between the years 1770 and 1782. By the Baron Grimm and and by Diderot." 5 vols. 8vo. Paris, 1812. Of Diderot we need say but little; he is already sufficiently known to our readers. M. Grimm, a German by birth, and of obscure parentage, obtained an introduction into good society at Paris, from his being governor or tutor to the children of Count Schomberg. His earliest intimacy, among the wits and philosophists of the day, was with Jean Jacques Rousseau, Diderot, to whom he was introduced by the former, Baron Holbach, and the principal authors of the *Encyclopédie*. These connexions, aided by what his biographer calls '*la souplesse de son esprit*,' were not long in opening to him *une carrière brillante*. During several years he was employed as secretary by the late Duke of Orleans; and was applied to by several of the German princes to transmit to them, in the way of free and lively correspondence, all the literary and philosophical gossip of Paris. Of the mass of information and amusement which this miscellaneous correspondence must have contained, the editor tells us that it was not known that any portion existed until the discovery of the MSS. from which the present selection is made; and which, if printed entire, would extend to three times the present quantity. The selection might have been further abridged without much injury. The part contributed by M. Diderot is small,

small, and appears only to have supplied the correspondence of the baron when the latter was indisposed or absent from Paris. The sovereign referred to is probably the Margrave of Anspach. The correspondence is certainly well supported, and full of spirit: but the writers exhibit the utmost looseness of religious, and nearly so of moral principle.

“Galerie Mythologique, &c.” “The Gallery of Mythology; or Collection of Monuments, intended to assist the Study of Mythology, of the History of the Arts, of the Statues of Antiquity, and of the Allegorical Language of the Ancients. With a hundred and ninety plates of etchings, &c. By A. L. Millin, Member of the Institute.” 2 vols. 8vo. The title is sufficiently expressive. It is a truly valuable pantheon, and ought to be translated into our own language.

“Le Génie de Virgile, &c.” “The Genius of Virgil: a posthumous work of Malfilâtre; published according to his own MSS. With notes and additions by P. A. M. Migen.” 4 vols. 8vo. Paris. Malfilâtre was born at Caën in the year 1733; studied under the Jesuits of that city; showed an early taste for poetry; wrote several of the best odes in the French language; and left behind him translations in whole or in part of several of the Latin poets. Yet, from want of patronage or some other equally powerful cause, he never rose into popularity: in 1767 he fell at once a prey to the long sufferings of an agitated and unhappy existence; soon after which, as we are further told, “this unfortunate young man to whom, during his life, the justice which he merited was denied, lived in distress, and died in want.” Among his MS. papers were found

a translation of various detached passages both of the Georgics, and the *Æneid*, constituting what the translator conceived to be his best productions, and to which, therefore, he gives the name of “The Genius of Virgil.” To render these, however, the more fully understood, and the more poignantly relished, he introduces them by a prose analysis of the parts to which they refer, and of which they form a continuation. With these motley productions are intermixed various critical dissertations on different kinds of poetry, or on different parts of the *Æneid*: and the work before us is in this manner eked out to the extent of four volumes octavo. Some of the blank spaces are filled up by extracts from Dellille, of whose powers we are told the author had liberality enough to express a high opinion: and we have no hesitation in affirming, that, wherever this is the case, Dellille appears to more advantage than Malfilâtre, whose versification, however, is never contemptible, and frequently spirited and happy.

“Etudes sur La Fontaine, &c.” “Studies on La Fontaine; preceded by an unpublished Eulogy on him by the late M. Gaillard, of the French academy,” 8vo. Paris, 1812. The Irish Abbé Grosley first set on foot the project of editing *La Fontaine*. In 1775 he read before the academy of Nancy a dissertation on the sources of that author’s fables, and pointed out the use there made of Camerarius and Nevelet. Grosley was succeeded by the Abbé Guillon; who, under the title of *La Fontaine et tous les Fabulistes*, collected much curious and recondite matter concerning the antiquities of fable-writing. From these and a few other sources the present

Studies

Studies are derived: and the editor has displayed in his selection extensive reading and correct judgment.

"L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin, &c." The Hermit of the Chaussée d'Antin: or Observations on Parisian Manners and Customs at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century." 12mo. Paris, 1812. The Chaussée d'Antin may be regarded as the Bond Street of Paris. The Hermit before us, in a series of numbers, somewhat similar to those of our own *Tatler*, describes the more prominent of the Parisian customs or manners, to which any degree of ridicule or satire can be applied. He appears to describe with truth, and his pictures are full of colouring.

"Contes de Wieland, &c." "Tales of Wieland and of the Baron de Rambohr, translated from the German by M * * *; to which are added two Russian Tales and an Historical Anecdote." 12mo. 2 vols. Paris, 1812. A few of Wieland's best pieces are here copied from his Fa-

bliaux; but in plain prose, and in a foreign tongue, they lose much of their raciness. Who the Baron de Rambohr is we know not; but his genius by no means qualifies him for an associate with Wieland. The two Russian pieces have simplicity, originality, and an impressive romantic turn. The Historical Anecdote is a gipsy story, from an anonymous author.

The novels of the year have not furnished us with any thing peculiarly interesting: we may mention among the chief, "*Histoire de la Famille Blown*." History of the Blown Family, translated from the German of Augustus la Fontaine," 4 vols. 12mo. full of incident, but not destitute of incongruities; and "*Amelie et Clotilde*;" "*Amelia and Clotilda*: by J. Borous, 4 vols. 12mo. full of distress and horror, in which *dramatic* justice (if we may be allowed the term on the present occasion,) is not always dealt out as it ought to be.

THE END.

